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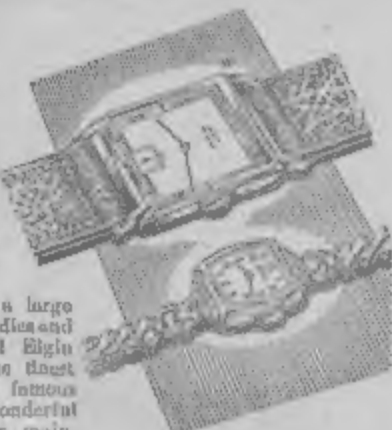
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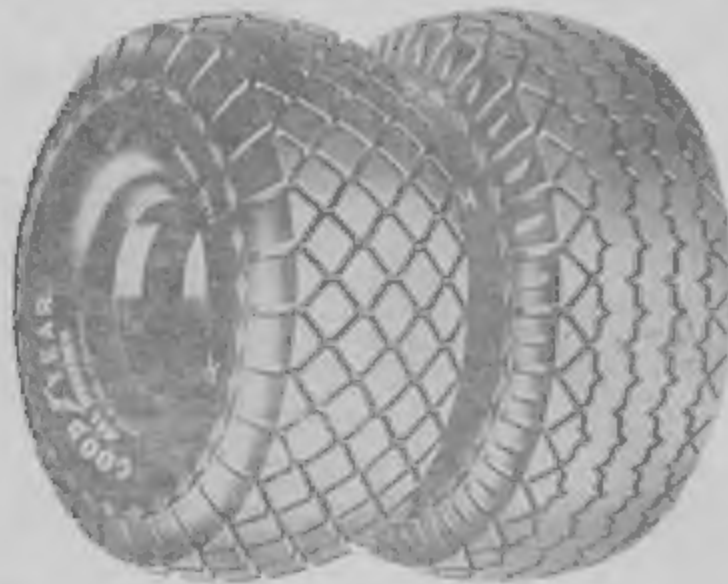
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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
-MAHATMA GANDHI-
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 2ND JANUARY, 1948

A Year Of Difficulties

THERE is no knowing what this year has in store for us. The prospects are that it is going to be a more difficult one than any has hitherto been. Our troubles were so long localised only in the Union of South Africa. The whole continent now seems to be enveloped. The virus of colour prejudice is spreading like the plague germ. It has now caught Rhodesia and the whole of East Africa. Rhodesia, which was comparatively quiet all these years, and the handful of Indians were enjoying with the other Colonists a happy and peaceful life has, all of a sudden, become a hot bed of anti-Indian agitation. The Bulawayo City Council has given the lead. Following in the footsteps of Natal, it has asked the Government to introduce an Act similar to the Ghetto Act.

Afrikaner Wrongly Blamed

In the Union the Afrikaner is blamed for anti-Indian agitation and yet the Ghetto Act was the result of the agitation in Natal, and particularly in Durban, which prides itself to be not only pro-English but pro-British. It was the Dominion Party, now changed into South African Party, which was so vociferous against Indians. Mr. Frank Acutt, who no doubt prides himself of having British blood flowing in his veins and who owes his existence to

Indians, has, by his very recent utterance, given fresh proof of his desire to see the Indian driven out of this country, lock, stock and barrel. Mr. Acutt might not be worse, perhaps, but he is certainly no better than the Nationalists, in his attitude towards Indians. A member of the Nationalist Party has expressed views, reproduced elsewhere in this issue and which we will refer to more elaborately presently, are far more liberal and in keeping with the teachings of Christianity than many of the most liberal Englishmen have expressed. This is however by the way.

East Africa

And then we come to East Africa. Whatever may be said to the contrary about South Africa it is an indisputable fact that East Africa has been almost wholly developed by Indians and they have therefore a prior right to that territory than the British. But to day it is a British territory in name only. It has thrown overboard all the recognised British principles of justice and fairplay and is falling in line with South Africa in respect of its Indian policy. The Indian community throughout East Africa is perturbed over the new Immigration legislation introduced in that territory. The legislation aims at depriving Indians of their existing right of entry and

at gradually weeding them out. At the rate things are moving it would appear that the dream cherished by Mr. Pirow on the one hand and by General Smuts on the other, of an African Federation, may soon be realised. With the door wide open for European immigration and a closed door policy in so far as Indians are concerned and with the restrictions imposed on Indians in particular and non-Europeans in general on their natural rights and opportunities for their development, it is not difficult to see what the result would be in a few years' time. It would be the perpetuation of the domination of the White man over the non-White. These deliberate acts of insult against the Indian settlers in South Africa, Rhodesia and East Africa, are a challenge to the Indian settlers in the respective territories and to the Dominion of India. Thus clouds threatening trouble are hovering over us. War against Nazism is over. War against Imperialism begins. Nazism is said to have been crushed. Imperialism too will have to be crushed. What is real will exist. What is unreal does not, cannot exist.

Our Duty

What is our duty in such circumstances? A weak-kneed policy as represented by the so-called "moderates" will not help. It will bring about our destruction or moral degradation which is worse than destruction. Nor will an ultra-extremist policy, as represented by the Communists, help. The chal-

lenge must, in any case, be met by a firm determination to do or die. The doing does not consist in merely fighting but in straining every nerve for an honourable compromise that would enable all to live a life of self-respect. Indians in Africa and India are prepared for such a compromise, but the White people will have to shed the White supremacy notion. There can be no place for it if we truly and sincerely aspire for the establishment of human brotherhood. If the White people are proud of their civilisation, they must prove its worth by their action. To-day the most ignorant person is able to see that their action is contrary to their profession.

The Correct Approach

In this respect the letter by a Nationalist in *Die Transvaler*, referred to above, has appealed to us. "There can be no solution of any problem unless the solution can stand the test of justice. Must we Afrikaners in dealing with national problems, adopt an attitude of total disregard of the demands of justice? It is not our own point of view that is to be considered." These are his words which are very precious. Referring to the meaning of guardianship he said it was not the formal legal principle which was laid down in our laws that was to be followed but the principle of justice, which was accepted by our ancestors, because of the natural sense of responsibility towards our fellow-beings, who are deprived of the privileges of a Christian civilisation.

If such an approach is made in seeking a solution of our difficult problems we have not the least doubt that it would not be found impossible to solve them in a manner that would be satisfactory to all concerned. Any other way smacks of arrogance which can lead to nothing else but another conflagration, which in the interests of humanity it is the duty of all thinking men to do everything in their power to avoid.

A SENSIBLE APPROACH TO OUR NATIONAL PROBLEM

BETHAL NATIONALIST CRITICISES APARTHEID POLICY

DISAGREEMENT on moral and religious grounds with the Nationalist Party's "apartheid" policy was expressed by a Nationalist in a letter published in *Die Transvaler*, last week. The writer signed himself "Boersoun," and gave his address as Bethal.

Complimenting Mr. J. G. Strydom on the "logical way in which he expounded" the Nationalist Party's native policy at a meeting, the writer said: "He mentioned two points, however, which, if they are embodied in the policy, cannot be approved by every Afrikaner who seeks to find a solution for this knotty problem in the teaching of the Bible.

"There is and can be no lasting solution of this problem—or any problem—unless the solution can stand the test of justice. Must we Afrikaners, in dealing with national problems, adopt the same attitude in which international diplomacy finds itself as a result of its total disregard of the demands of justice?

"It is true that these two points are of minor importance from the point of view of the European, but it is not only our own point of view that has to be considered. And, what is more, it is our duty always to keep in mind the point of view of the Native, as he has no say in the solution of the problem."

The letter states that Mr. Strydom had said that a guardian was not legally bound to pay for the education of his ward, and that the European was, therefore, not legally bound to provide facilities for the education and development of native children.

"In this respect Mr. Strydom is correct. But the real question is: Is the guardianship of the European over the native a formal legal principle which is laid down in our laws, or is it a principle of justice which was accepted by our ancestors because of the natural sense of responsibility towards our fellow-beings who are deprived of the privileges of a Christian civilisation?

"Our guardianship is not imposed on us by the laws of our country, and, as a result, our duties are not defined by them. Our duty as guardians flows from our moral obligation as a Christian nation living among heathen people.

"My second objection is aimed at the proposal to allow the native to work in cities for six months while his family has to live in a native reserve.

"As Calvinists, we believe that the family is the creative ordinance of God and, as the nucleus of a healthy community, it must be allowed to develop according to its laws and circumstances. But why do we demand this right for ourselves and deny it to the native?

"The fact that the native is not a Calvinist does not absolve us from the duty to ensure that social order of a future native state will not consciously violate the creative ordinance of God."

"Boersoun" continues: "This letter is not an attack on Mr. Strydom or the native policy of the Herenigde Nasionale Party. It is simply a request to the leaders of our party who are also responsible, in that capacity, for the education of the people, to free our people of their unhealthy and blind prejudices towards this difficult problem, which will indeed be a real test of the integrity in practice, of the future government."

AS A WESTERNER SEES GANDHI

BY ALLAN MOOREHEAD

ANY night in New Delhi now, just dusk, you can drive out to the home of Mr. Birla, the Indian millionaire, and sit on his pleasant lawn behind the house. And presently Mahatma Gandhi will arrive to say his evening prayers.

He emerges from a side door looking like some remarkable tropical bird, a stork perhaps; his thin dark legs are quite bare to the thigh and above that he is swathed in folds of brilliantly white cotton cloth. The Mahatma's sharp little bird-like face is snook wearily into this garment and as he proceeds through the garden he supports himself on the shoulders of two pretty Indian girls. The general effect is that of great frailty and simple unalloyed wisdom.

A flock of white-robed disciples makes a way through the waiting people as they reach forward to touch Gandhi's cotton dhoti and in a minute he is concealed once logged on a sort of pagoda at the end of the garden.

A microphone stands before him. There is a moment of silence and then at a sign from the Mahatma the girls burst into one of those Indian songs which, to European ears, sound like a cry of mortal despair. Sometimes the audience keeps time by beating hands.

After the song Gandhi says his prayers and this is followed by a general homily upon any matter which happens to have taken his fancy that day. It might be something very simple as when, on the night before I was there, he complained that the people were trampling on Mr. Birla's flower beds and even taking his balls. Or it might deal with the vital Government crisis of the moment.

Either way the millions of India listen to him as they listen to no other man on earth. And in the morning the newspapers print long excerpts from the authorized version of his speech.

As a rule the Mahatma talks gently in parables. Thus if he wants to admonish us of the evils of racial hatred he will tell the story of how some Hindu dealer was attacked by Moslems in the bazaar that morning and of how his shop was burned down. And always the moral is this: one must suffer and endure.

It is dark before the meeting is finished; and this is the best moment in the Indian day. It

is cool at last. Flight after flight of brilliant birds come across the garden and even in the street outside there is a moment of stillness when all the teeming chaos of men and animals begin to settle for the night.

The people stand silently and reverently on the lawn as they watch the Mahatma make his way slowly back towards the house. He looks like an angel or a living prophet, very old and mad. Even to the most detached mind it is an impressive scene.

It is also, I suggest, the best possible introduction to the peculiar politics of India. The extraordinary mixtures of mysticism and earthiness, of crowding round the politicians in a public place, of arguments based on village incidents, of contradictory fatalism—all this might not have been of much consequence while the Indians were struggling for independence; but now it is in common Mahatma Gandhi is the Government, or at any rate a powerful guiding influence on the Government.

He may appear at evening prayers to be a frail and gentle old man, but those who have seen him at his morning exercises (he runs, not walks, at this at four or five in the morning) describe his excellent health; his strong brown barrel of chest; and as the day wears on many of the leading Ministers come to him for advice and instruction. He was in the thick of the Kashmir crisis. He was the centre of most of the recent negotiations with Pakistan and the British.

There is nothing very mystical about the Mahatma when he is conducting business. But he has a perfect bias of contradiction and in India now you will hear him described as mischievous, hypocritical, shrewd, saintly, wit, a trouble-maker and a holier man combined.

All this to some extent has become sanctified by age and his great power, and at any rate there he is, the most vital single entity in India. He stands for peace and goodwill on earth as he presides over the India scene like one of the more earthy and frolicsome of the classical gods.—*Natal Daily News*.

A Muslim Society's Warning

A MUSLIM society warns me against accepting any statement whether from Muslim sources or non-Muslim ones and entering upon argument. The better course is to verify them and then act. The society further proceeds to advise me that I should go to Kathiawad and see things for myself. This, I have already said, I cannot do today. I must attend to my duty in Delhi and roundabout. These advisers forget, too, that by the friendly method I adopted I have a definite withdrawal to the extent necessary from the very parties who had complained. The moral is that where there is pursuit of truth for its own sake, the result is always happy as has been verified in innumerable cases. Patience and perseverance are essential in any such search.

Doleful Letter From Sind

Doleful letters continue to come from Sind. The latest from Karachi says that there are practically no murders, but there is no life or self-respect for the Hindus. Thus, Muslims from the Union enter your house whenever they like and calmly declare that they have come to occupy it. They have no authority. Yet, you dare not say no. Such instances are not rare. The Karachi of a few months ago has become a dream. This is the substance of a long letter which I hold to be trustworthy. This betokens anarchy. This kind of treatment is what may be called killing by inches and at the same time the soul also. I would plead with the Pakistan authorities to arrest this lawlessness. It is an unhealthy growth, the sooner removed the better.

Controls Again

Sugar control has gone and control on cereals, pulses and cloth will go. The object of the removal is not to lower the prices at a bound, it is to return to normal life. Superimposed control is bad any day. It is worse in this country in that we are a nation of millions spread over a large area 1,900 miles long and 1,500 broad. I need not take into account the division of the country. We are not a military nation and we grow or can grow our own foodstuffs and enough cotton for our requirements. When this control is removed, the nation will breathe free, it will have the right to make mistakes. This ancient method, of progressing by making mistakes and correcting them, is the proper way. Keep a child in cotton wool and stunt it or kill it. If you

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

Birla House, New Delhi, 8.12.47

will let it develop into a robust man, you will expose his body to all weathers, teaching him how to defy them. Precisely in the same manner, a government worth the name has to show the nation how to face deficits, bad weathers and other handicaps of life through its own collective effort instead of its being effortlessly helped to live anyhow.

transport have to be put in order, and those of growing more food have to be brought home to the people and to that end the agricultural department has to learn how to serve the small grower rather than the capitalist grower. The Government has on the one hand to trust all arms of the nation as well as to watch and check their movement, regard

to the grower than he would otherwise command from the open market. Hence, to the extent that he gets a higher price, the prices of food must rise. These, the consumer will not grudge. The Government has to see that in the new set up the whole of the percentage in the rise of prices goes to the grower. This has to be made clear to the public from day to day or week to week as the case may be. The wealthy factory owners or middlemen have to work in co-operation with and in subordination to the Government. I understand that the process is going on. There should be perfect co-ordination among these few men or corporations who have hitherto exploited the poor for their selfish purpose and have not hesitated to enter into unhealthy rivalry among themselves. This has to go especially in the case of food and cloth where the profit motive is to be wholly absent. Any successful attempt at adding to their profit owing to decontrol will defeat its purpose. Let us hope that these warped interests will rise to the occasion.

Their Change

Gandhiji referred to a newspaper report saying that Sardar Patel and he were going to Pilani for change of air. Neither Sardar Patel nor he had any time for such a change. Their change consisted in getting rest at night. But he had no right to speak for the Sardar, who might seek a quiet place for giving himself cessation from interviews and office work. For himself, he had no cares of office and he had vowed to do or die in and about Delhi. He had heard too that elaborate preparations were being made in Delhi for sending all kinds of provisions for them. This was fantastically false. The report about Pilani, he saw in the papers. Why they did not verify the report from the Sardar or him, he did not know.

Worse Than Murder

Gandhiji next referred to a Sindhi friend's letter. Some days back he had referred to the letter of a doctor from Sind describing the hardships of the Harijans in Sind. The letter said that the doctor had been put under arrest and that several other workers were also arrested, though not with the doctor. The idea, it was said, was not to let anyone, who could speak for the Harijans, be free in Sind. It was a terrible state of affairs. He warned the Pakistan Government that such treatment was bound to give away all workers. It was worse than outright murder.

ADAMS COLLEGE APPEAL FOR £50,000

MR. F. W. AHRENS, retired Magistrate and Native Commissioner, Union and South-West Africa, who is the Organising Secretary of Adams College, writes:

"The above College dates back to 1847, with a break of a few years. It is therefore practically 100 years old.

"The normal attendance is 450 and there are at present over 1,100 students on the waiting list.

"During the past 11 years there has been a vacation school held at Adams during June/July. This is arranged by the N.U.C. and is for non-European.

"It started with 12, and last year it was attended by over 200. About eight tenths of these were Indians, the rest Bantu and one or two Chinese. This year's attendance by Indians has reached 300.

"The above fact alone shows how Adams College has been prepared at all times to assist in any possible way. I have therefore no doubt that you will support this most urgent and deserving appeal in a way it deserves. Cheques should be made payable to Adams College, and crossed and sent to the Organising Secretary, 111 Pietermaritzburg Street, Pietermaritzburg."

Over £25,000 have so far been collected and there is a

long way to go yet. Mr. Ahrens, who is nearing 70 years, is touring the whole country and we are pleased to learn from him that he is getting a good response from all sections of the people including Indians and even the Bantu. Past students of Adams College are contributing towards the above appeal and a leading Native, not connected with Adams College, has donated £1,000.

During his visit to Phoenix Mr. Ahrens visited Mr. Shemba of whom he writes as follows: "On my way back from you I visited Mr. Shemba. I found him absent, but I had a word or two with his two representatives. They were indeed pleased to hear me speaking in Zulu. When I opened my post today I found a cheque of £500 in respect of a donation towards the Adams College Appeal by Mr. Shemba."

This should give an impetus to Indians to give generously to this very deserving cause and to an institution from which they are themselves deriving so much benefit. It is a duty they owe to the Natives to whom they owe, to a large extent, their prosperity. We need hardly say that those who are in a position to give should give unhesitatingly and generously.

Messing Of Decontrol

Thus considered decontrol means that the business of foresight is transferred from the few members of the Government to the millions composing the nation. The Government will have new tasks to perform towards the nation so as to enable it to discharge the duty devolved upon it. Method of

being had always to the interest hitherto neglected of the small grower, who represents the largest majority of the millions. He is the consumer of his own crops reserving a small percentage for the mere consumer who, in exchange for the food stuffs he gets, gives cash for buying the other necessities of life. Control has meant less payment

'THE STAR' ON THE INDIAN QUESTION

THE *Star* (Johannesburg) in a leading article in its issue of December 26, writes:

Inevitably the quarrelsome subject of Europeans and Indians living side by side in Southern Africa has again broken out—this time in Bulawayo. There the Town Council unanimously passed a resolution calling on the Government to introduce legislation to provide that Europeans shall not sell, lease or hire property in a European area other than to Europeans and that local authorities may set aside or reserve areas for the use of non-Europeans. Outlining the reasons for the resolution one councillor gave the information that over £100,000 of European property in the city has passed into Indian hands in the past two or three years. Here in its early stage is the manifestation of the same problem that has caused such acrimonious and bitter feeling between Indians and Europeans in the Union and, through misunderstanding of the local circumstances, among overseas peoples towards the European population of the Union. Unfortunately the discussion at the Town Council meeting was marked by unnecessary aggressive language. This quite understandably drew from the Natal Indian Congress a strongly worded telegram of protest. This is not the atmosphere in which to open negotiations on such a thorny subject. From all accounts it would appear that the Bulawayo resolution is the first of a series to be submitted to other centres in Rhodesia and that Parliament will eventually be confronted with a Colony-wide request through the Municipal Association. Parliament, however, is not supreme in this matter. Final decision in matters concerning non-European affairs rests with the British Government.

There is no large Indian population in Southern Rhodesia and immigration of Indians is controlled according to economic requirements. If, for example, a shoemaker from Bombay wishes to enter the Colony his entry will be determined by the needs of his field of service. No active objection to this workable arrangement has so far been

raised. It has operated during the quarter century of responsible government with smoothness and satisfaction to all parties. Meanwhile, the Indian community has been a useful and law-abiding section of the population. At this pliable stage it will certainly be easier to approach the subject of reserved areas than to allow property transfers to continue on

an unrestricted basis. The experience of the Union should be Rhodesia's guide. Tackled in time, with a common-sense approach, a mutual understanding of each other's difficulties, and with no political interference from outside sources a solution to the problem is capable of achievement. Left alone to develop either from lack of foresight or courage it will inevitably lead Rhodesia into world controversy from which she will emerge both misunderstood and thoroughly mistrusted.

NATAL'S DEBT TO INDIANS

By Mr. S. PANDAY, B.A.

Specialty Composed For "Indian Opinion"

In the dreary days of Eighteen-sixty,
Natal in need of labour stood;
Durban awaited anxiously
Indentured workers to make good
After all her search and agonisation,
Natal with joyous shouts acclaimed—

On their arrival across the Ocean—
People to enrich her famed;
Indentured Indians they were all,
Noted for their industry;
India's sons did answer the call
Of Natal, the Garden Colony—
Natal was then a husky land;

So, when you call her Garden Colony,
Remember the tolls of the Indian hand,
Even if, in this land of plenty,
Gains and sorrows trouble no more,
Indians made her what she is,
And if base ingratitude you show,
Search your hearts, something's amiss:
In these days of racial prejudice,
"Back to India!" the die-harder say,
Ever forgetting the dismal day
Ragged Natal begged the Indians stay!

And among those to-day who wish them stay,
Many deny them the right to live
Where once their industrious fathers toiled,
Where once no Colour Bar rivelled
The honour and the dignity
Of India and her sons abroad—
Nor denied the toilers the right to abide
On the rocky terraces to labour stride.

Those rugged lands have been transformed
Into oases of fertile land
Through the sweat and tears of the Indian hand—
India's sons whose labour was grand!
Among such oases to-day,
"Zon'd" areas are proclaimed:
The Ghetto Act has made it such
And dare the toilers' sons live there!

Is this the type of gratitude
For which Nations fought with fortitude?—
Then what of the vaunted Freedoms
The Brave New World's to herald?
Justice is all one asks for;
Christian conduct and brotherly love
Are yet to be made manifest, we know.
So pray, all success to the Charter of UNO!

NO LIMITATIONS

By M. K. GANDHI in 'Harijan'

A correspondent says in substance:

"Individual *ahimsa* I can understand. Corporate *ahimsa* between friends is also intelligible. But you talk of *ahimsa* towards avowed enemies. This is like a mirage. It will be a mercy if you give up this obstinacy of yours. If you do not, you will forfeit the esteem you enjoy. What is worse, you being considered a *Mahatma*, mislead many credulous persons to their own and society's harm."

That non-violence which only an individual can use is not of much use in terms of society. Man is a social being. His accomplishments to be of use must be such as any person with sufficient diligence can attain. That which can be exercised only among friends is of value only as a spark of non-violence. It cannot merit the appellation of *ahimsa*. 'Enmity vanishes before *ahimsa*', is a great aphorism. It means that the greatest unity requires an equal measure of *ahimsa* for its abatement. Cultivation of this virtue may need long practice, even extending to several births. It does not become useless on that account. Travelling along the route, the pilgrim will meet richer experiences from day-to-day so that he may have a glimpse of the beauty he is destined to see at the top. This will add to his zest. No one is entitled to infer from this that the path will be a continuous carpet of roses without thorns. A poet has sung that the way to reach God occurs only to the brave, never to the faint-hearted. The atmosphere to-day is so much saturated with the poison that one refuses to recollect the wisdom of the ascendants and to perceive the varied little experiences of *ahimsa* in action. 'A bad turn is neutralized by a good', is a wise saying of daily experience in practice. Why can we not see that if the sum total of the world's activities was destructive, it would have come to an end long ago? Love, other wise *ahimsa* sustains this planet of ours.

This much must be admitted. The precious grace of life has to strenuously cultivated, naturally so because it is uplifting. Descent is easy not so ascent. A large majority of us being undisciplined, our daily experience is that of fighting or swearing at one another on the slightest pretext.

This, the richest grace of *ahimsa* will descend easily upon the tower of hard discipline.

FOSA's APPEAL TO TRANSVAAL

A TEAM of officials of the Friends of the Sick Association is to make a concerted drive in the Transvaal during the month of January, firstly to stimulate interest in the work of FOSA in its fight against TB, and secondly to make an appeal to the people of Transvaal for financial support for the work being done in Natal. The team is to consist of the Chairman and Secretary of FOSA, Messrs. Paul Sykes and Pat Poovalingam, and Mr. A. G. Narayadu who is Chairman of the Central Durban Area Care Committee of the Association.

Film show meetings are planned for Doornfontein, Fordsburg, Vrededorp, Krugersdorp, Beconl, Springs, Pretoria, one at the Wits. University, and at any other centre where the need is felt. Talks will be given on the TB menace and what may be done to combat it. It is hoped that the appeal to Transvaal will bring in at least £5,000. This is the first time that any such appeal is being made in Transvaal by the Friends of the Sick.

The work of FOSA is well known. Shocked into action by the inroads being made by tuberculosis into the health and well-being of the Indian community, five persons established FOSA in March, 1941, and today it has grown to proportions then unimagined. In the last six and half years of its work the Friends of the Sick Association has dealt with more than 3,300 cases of TB, involving about 15,000 contacts. The sum of £12,761 has been

paid out in relief to destitute TB families, and at present the Association pays out approximately £300 every month.

The Fosa Settlement was established and maintained quite apart from the care and relief work being done by the 33 Area Care Committees all over Natal. Started in December, 1943, with nothing but faith and hope, Fosa Settlement is now a little village of 142 inhabitants. In the five years following its establishment, the FOSA settlement has had a turnover of 30 contact families from slum areas, 104 convalescents, 136 children patients and 38 contact children. The fact that all these people have been rescued from the threat as the

danger of TB, the fact that happiness and joy has been brought into lives where formerly there was misery is well worth all the labour put in. On the financial side about £25,000 has been spent on capital construction and FOSA costs about £6,000 a year to maintain.

Hitherto the support has come largely from Natal. Since FOSA began its work the public has contributed about £45,000 to its work. But with the increase in scope and in number of cases involved, the burden has become heavier. It is in the knowledge that the people of the Transvaal will be prepared to render a helping hand to their brethren across the border in this drive being made. And it is hoped that the ever-generous Transvaalians will show their generosity once more.

BERNARD SHAW ON PROHIBITION

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, a teetotaler and vegetarian, believes that there can be no such thing as a nation of teetotalers.

Asked by the publisher of the *Irish Licensing World* whether he thought Ireland would be teetotal, Mr. Shaw replied: "In the South of Europe, where wine is a matter of course, on the table as water is with us, we should be regarded as lunatics. In Scandinavia we should be classed as a religious order."

"The question is idle. The fate of prohibition in the United States has shown us that. It proved that no such thing as a nation of teetotalers is possible."

Asked whether Irish writers would achieve greater creative thought if they abstained from alcoholic stimulants, he said: "Some of them would be unable to do without them. Ibsen was a soaker. Beethoven was a soaker. Sheridan was certainly not a teetotaler, nor was Moore. I forbear to cite modern Prime Ministers who were—and are—heavy drinkers."

"On the other hand, some great thinkers, poets and saints have been abstainers. I myself am a vegetarian and a teetotaler, but I cannot prove that I should not do better if I lived on brandy like Edmund Kean, the actor."—Sapa-Reuter.

Commenting on the above the *Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg) writes: "Whether more spirited fare would have made him (Mr. Bernard Shaw) a better writer is, of course, problematical, perhaps if he had foresworn the raisin and the lettuce leaf he would today be the Grand Old Man of Letters—a status which

he would have found quite painful. But at 91 he is still young enough to put the matter to test. In the cause of experiment, then, some South African patron of the arts should send Mr. Shaw a belated Christmas gift of a case of choice brandy, together with a cabinet of Havana cigars. If he found them too much to stomach, he could always pass them on to one of the "modern Prime Ministers" to whom he so interestingly referred.

NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO INTERNATIONAL CLUB

CANON Heywood Harris, President of the Durban International Club, sends greetings to the members of the Club and commends to them the following words of a very wise and holy man:

"Brethren, whatever is true, whatever is honourable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is any excellency, if there is anything worthy of praise, think of these things!"

Dr. Mabel Palmer, Chairman of the Club has sent the following message:

"I wish a happy and prosperous New Year to the International Club, its members and its staff. May it long continue to serve as an aqueduct by which the healing waters of understanding and sympathy are distributed to lands parched by the winds of ignorance and racial suspicion."

THINGS IN GENERAL

Mr. Acutt On The Indian Question

Mr. Frank Acutt, M.P. for Darban, Masegrave, last week announced his intention of resigning from South African (formerly Dominion) Party and joining the United Party, when he addressed a public meeting in his constituency. Expressing his views on the Indian question Mr. Acutt said that he supported the land tenure restrictions of the recently passed Asiatic Act, but not the political representation provision and he would continue to oppose giving the Indians any type of political representation. "I do not think Asiatics should have any vote in South Africa," he said. "They don't belong here. Let them get back to where they came from. I have been speaking on the Asiatic question for the last twenty years. It is the biggest menace, not only in South Africa but to the whole of Africa. If I can do anything in the way of getting rid of the Asiatics you can count on me."

City Council To Give Loan Facilities

Mr. K. Soobramoney chairman of the Overport and District Tamil and Telugu Protective Association states that his Association had pointed out to the Durban City Council that a number of Indian property owners in the Overport and surrounding districts were finding difficulty in installing sewerage at their homes owing to having no money available. Mr. Soobramoney states that the Association had asked the City Council if it could make such arrangements to assist property owners by advancing them loans for sewerage installation at a nominal interest to be repaid in small monthly instalments or alternatively the City Council carries out the installation. Mr. Soobramoney pointed out that Indians had been hard hit at the present time particularly by the attitude of Uniting Societies and others refusing to grant loans. In reply to his Association's representations the City Treasurer had replied stating that the City Council intended instituting a loan scheme for sewerage installations and that the City Treasurer hopes to commence dealing with applications in a short while. This step on the part of the City Council will be much appreciated by all concerned. The Association has written to the City Council asking for details of the proposed scheme.

Why This Anti-Asiatic Agitation?

We cull the following letter from the *Star* (Johannesburg) dated December 29:

Sir,—I refer to a letter in your issue of December 18, signed Anti-Asiatic. In the same issue I read that the Union has gained 20,000 white settlers during the year bringing with them £3,000,000. Could Anti-Asiatic define his objection to a Capetown Indian investing £1,000,000 in the Union or to other Indian immigrants?

Does Anti-Asiatic object to God's design? When we stand at God's judgment seat will we find separate heavens and hells marked "Europeans only," "Non-Europeans only?"

NON-ASIATIC.

Mr. Jinnah Gravely Ill

The New Delhi correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* says a report persists in responsible circles in New Delhi that Mr. Jinnah, Prime Minister of Pakistan, is gravely ill and must vacate his post within a relatively short period to leave for radio

the two Dominions because, they assert, his personal bitterness towards India colours the whole of Pakistan's policy, according to *Kemalcy Newspapers*.

Indian Commander For Indian Army

An Indian officer will be Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army from April 1, 1948, said Sardar Baldev Singh, the Indian Defence Minister last week. General Sir Rob Lockhart, the present Commander-in-Chief, would vacate his appointment on January 1 for health reasons and would be succeeded by Lieut-General P. K. Bucher, at present Chief of Staff. Lieut-General Bucher, who would be succeeded by an Indian Officer on April 1, would continue as chief adviser, Sardar Baldev Singh added.

New Year Calendars

We acknowledge with profound thanks the receipt of New Year calendars from the following:—Messrs. M. Joonab, 49(a) Market Street, Johannesburg, Messrs. Jayben Silk House, 39(a) Market Street, Johannesburg, Mr. Soui Mooljee Hirjee, 169(a) Grey Street, Durban, Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Co. (S.A.) Ltd., Port Elizabeth.

Wedding

The marriage of Mr. J. N. Singh, third son of Mr. and Mrs. Nasib Singh of Tugela and a prominent member of the Natal Indian Congress Executive, with Miss Radha Singh, second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. O. R. Singh of 166 Macdonald Road, Durban and sister of Dr. Miss Rati Singh, took place at the Regent Theatre, Mayville, on Sunday, December 28. The ceremony was attended by a large and distinguished gathering including prominent Congress leaders. The ceremony was followed by several speeches

congratulating the parents of the bride and bridegroom and wishing the wedded couple every happiness in their future life. The wedded couple was recipient of congratulatory messages and valuable gifts from friends and relatives from all over the Union.

INDIA RELIEF APPEAL

At least £2,000 must be reached in aid of suffering humanity in India. People in the Dominion of India are faced with distress, hardships, lack of warm clothing, blankets and medicine etc. To show our sympathy in the sad plight Indians are requested to give freely to the Dominion of India Relief Committee (Maitlandburg and Districts).

G. D. SONI, Chairman.
R. B. MAHARAJ, Hon. Treasurer.

S. R. NAIDOO, Vice-Chairman.
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Apply with a photograph, original testimonials, medical certificates of fitness to teach, and stating qualifications to:

THE HON. SECRETARY,
Broken Hill Indian Association,
P.O. Box 67, Broken Hill,
Northern Rhodesia.

FEBRUARY 29 TO BE CHILDREN'S DAY

ON February 29, 1948 (leap year,) every citizen of the 56 United Nations will be asked to give up one day's earnings for the relief of the world's starving children, under the slogan "One day's pay for one free world."

This is the first experiment in self-taxation on the basis of world citizenship, and it was agreed upon by the United Nations Assembly and supported by trade unions, co-operatives and farmers' and employers' organisations all over the world.

Mr. Aake Ording, director of the "United Nations Appeal Children," said:

"We estimate that there are in the world two to three hundred million children who are not adequately fed.

"The money brought in by the appeal is to be used for giving underfed children all over the world a supplementary warm meal every day for as long as the money lasts.

"No discriminations will be made,"—Sapa-Reuters.

treatment, probably in Switserland. Pandit Nehru is said to have invited him to India for treatment, but Mr. Jinnah refused. Radio treatment was formerly available in Lahore, which is in Pakistan, but the Hindu doctors who practised it are now all in New Delhi. Mr. Jinnah's illness is held in responsible Indian Government circles to be of the utmost significance in relations between

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'Indian Opinion'
Phoenix, Natal.



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Umzinto	7th	at 8.15
Scotchburgh	8th	at 3.15 & 8.15
Umkomaas	9th	at 8.15
Warner Beach	10th	at 3.15 & 8.15
Amosburg	11th	at 3.15 & 8.15
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માર્ગેટ	તા. ૫	અનુસારી	૩-૧૫	અને	૮-૧૫.
પોર્ટ શેપ્સ્ટોન	તા. ૬		૩-૧૫	અને	૮-૧૫.
અમકોમ્માસ	તા. ૭		૮-૧૫.		
સ્કોટ્સબર્ગ	તા. ૮		૩-૧૫	અને	૮-૧૫.
અમોકોમાસ	તા. ૯		૮-૧૫.		
વોર્નર બીચ	તા. ૧૦		૩-૧૫	અને	૮-૧૫
અમોસબર્ગ	તા. ૧૧		૩-૧૫	અને	૮-૧૫.
લેપિન્સ	તા. ૧૩		૮-૧૫.		

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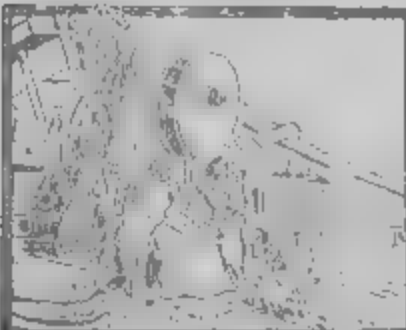
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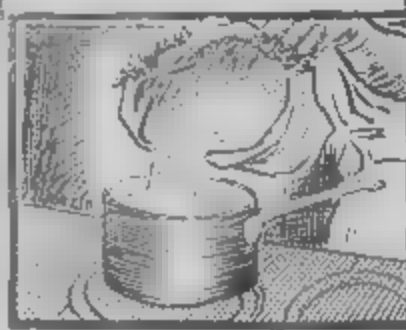
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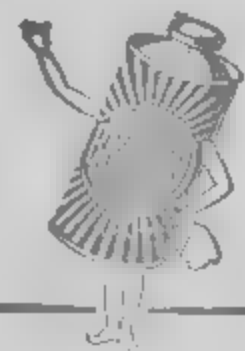


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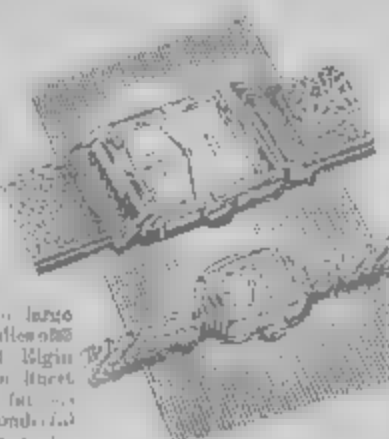
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FRIDAY, 9TH JANUARY, 1948.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 9TH JANUARY, 1948

Mr. A. I. Kaje

THE untimely death of Mr. A. I. Kaje removes from the life of the Indian community a prominent figure. It can be said of Mr. Kaje that he was a self-made man. He commenced life as an ordinary clerk and a book-keeper in the firm of the then Messrs. Bayat & Co. and soon became the manager of the firm. Subsequently he left the firm and became a broker and by his acumen built himself up to his present prosperous position. From the time he entered public life his name was associated with the Congress whose secretarial position he held for many years. He served the Congress creditably for some years. But when as a result of the passing of the Peggling Act and the subsequent Pretoria Agreement, the time came for a tussle with the Government, Mr. Kaje's influence began to wane so much so, that in the end the reins of the Congress were virtually wrested from the hands of the then officials including Mr. Kaje by those who believed the time had come when a strong fight must be put up against the Government if we wished to live in this country as a self-respecting community. Mr. Kaje made no secret of the fact that he was not a fighter. He believed in compromise and he held that no good purpose would be served by

antagonising the Europeans. His opponents however felt that his moderation up to a point was good but would be suicidal if he went beyond that point. Mr. Kaje's moderation went to extremes which led to his losing his popularity among the people generally as happened in the case of the Liberals in India. But his moderation suited the Government and the Europeans and so he became popular among Government circles and a section of the Europeans. This was really the turning point, unfortunately for the worse, in the life of Mr. Kaje, at a time, when his health, too, was not too good. From that time onwards Mr. Kaje could not face a public meeting. This was the period during which his views on religion too took a sudden turn. There was a time when Mr. Kaje did not take a narrow orthodox view of religion. He believed service to humanity as the highest religion. He always claimed to be an Indian first and an Indian last. Latterly however, he became more religious minded in the narrow sense and claimed to be a Muslim first and an Indian after. He became keenly interested in Mr. Jinnah's activities in India and became his staunch supporter. Thus he gained tremendous popularity among his co-religionists.

Had Mr. Kaje's intellectual ability, which he had in abundance been directed in the right channel, he would have won the esteem of the masses to a degree very few people have so far done. The Government and a section of the Europeans who profess admiration for Mr. Kaje we venture to suggest, have not played the game with him. They have, if we may be permitted to say so, played upon his weak points and have exploited them to serve their own purpose. We are not too sure if Mr. Kaje did not become conscious of the fact, perhaps a little too late, and the shock caused there-

by has not been one of the contributory causes that has hastened his death. Whatever his political views may be socially Mr. Kaje was a lovable person and was well liked by all who had come in touch with him. In other than the political field many people have benefitted by Mr. Kaje's services. Politics is a game which in a moment runs a man to the heaven and in the next drops him down to the ground. We join Mr. Kaje's many friends in extending to the bereaved family our deepest sympathy in the great loss sustained by them. May the soul of the departed rest in eternal peace.

NOTES

Shawcross Condemns War Talk

"Unless we believe like raving lunatics there won't be another war," said Sir Hartley Shawcross, the Attorney-General, speaking at the Central Hall, Westminster. "But there is always the possibility that men may be lunatics. Sir Hartley was addressing 2,000 school children at a meeting organised by the Council for Education in World Citizenship and declared it was people who spoke about war being inevitable who would make it so. If the nations did not make international organisation succeed, he said, all achievements of the different States of the world in national organisation would go by the board. Many people were greatly discouraged by the proceedings at the Assembly of the United Nations, from where he had just returned. It did seem that the Assembly was being used increasingly as a platform for violent propaganda attacks, matters that might not otherwise have seen the light of day were raised, because it was thought they might tend to bedevil and embarrass international relationships. Mr. Molotov had once said—and Sir

Hartley wished Mr. Molotov would remember it more often nowadays—at the time when the Soviet Union entered into its treaty with Nazi Germany, that the fact that outlooks and political systems differed must not and could not be an obstacle to establishing good relationships between States, and that the art of politics in foreign relations did not consist of increasing the number of enemies for one's country.

What we fail to understand is why Soviet Russia should be singled out in this respect. Are not other countries too guilty of increasing the number of their enemies? Is Africa, for instance, any better than Soviet Russia?

Mr. Heaton Nicholls On S.A. Indian Question

The Rt. Hon. G. Heaton Nicholls, former Union High Commissioner, who was made a Privy Counsellor in the New Year honours list, told the *Sunday Times*, regarding the Indian question in South Africa: "We are proud of the way in which Mr. H. G. Lawrence handled the matter, and credit is also due to those who worked with him." He would not comment further on the subject.

[The following are two radio addresses delivered by Kenneth L. Patton from Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A., recently. Being both informative and instructive to this country, we take the liberty of reproducing them from *Unity* (Chicago).—Ed. O.]

THE theme, "Declaring for Colour," occurred to me while reading "Kingsblood Royal," the novel on racial discrimination by Sinclair Lewis. In this book Neil Kingsblood, a prominent member of the "white" business and society world, discovers that he is part Negro, and after a series of incidents declares his ancestry and joins the Negro people.

The story interested me partly because there is some American Indian ancestry in our family. I confess that I tend to be as proud of my "coloured" Indian blood as that I am a quarrel Irish, with additions of French, English, Dutch and German. At one time we had a full-blooded Persian cat and Springer spaniel in our household, and I commend that they were the only full-bloods. The rest of us were mongrels. In fact there are no "pure" races among human beings. We are all of mixed racial parentage. Our primitive ancestors did not stay put. They roamed the earth, and as they roamed they intermarried. There is not only the platinum blonde Norwegian and the deep black Negro, but there is every shade of tan in between. There are all gradations of Caucasian and Mongoloid characters. Scientists have estimated that we would take seventeen generations of intensive hybridizing to produce a human strain that would breed true. Nature has decreed that there are no penalties for the crossbreeding of so-called human races. There are indications that strains are invigorated in the mixing of different races. The vigour of our own melting pot nation may be partially due to the mixing of races and nationalities we find here.

Is there any such thing as a white race? Why do we get a sun tan? The skin seems to protect itself against sun burn by calling up the help of the pigment in the skin. The heavier our pigmentation, the darker we become. Many of us get much darker after a summer on the beach than many whom we call coloured people. We might ask, when is colour colour and when is colour not colour? Obviously those who call themselves white have decided that their colour does not count.

Painters use the term "flesh colour." In the flesh tones of any so-called white person are

all the colours of the palette, creamy and pearly colours, yellows, oranges, siennas, tans of blue and greens. The only persons who are really white are albinos, and an albino is as likely to be born into the Negro race as any other. Even the albino has pink eyes and a pinkish cast to his skin due to his red blood. The great bulk of us are truly coloured people, some sallow, some peaches and cream, some olive, swarthy, yellow, brown or black or red, but it all adds up to more or less pigment. The Negro race might be said to have acquired a permanent sun tan, due to the need for pigment to resist the hot sun in the lands where they have lived.

During my life I have become increasingly disgusted at the behaviour of the so-called white people into which group I was accidentally born. When in the South I stood in one line to get on a bus, while coloured people stood in another line to take the back seats, when I sat in white waiting rooms or in white coaches, ate in white restaurants, I felt physically ill. How dare Madison real estate brokers keep Negroes from entering or buying homes in most sections, where clubs ban Negro members, where the medical school of the state university makes it next to impossible for a Negro student to enroll, I become uncomfortable.

So I have decided to do something about it. I have some Indian blood which according to common prejudice makes me all Indian. Even without that, anthropologists assure us that all so-called white people are a mixture of many strains or races if one traces far back enough. I do not have to be a member of the "white" race if I do not want to be. I have decided to declare in favour of what colour I have and join the coloured people. I am "crossing the line" in the other direction, as Neil Kingsblood decides to do, and throwing my lot in with the coloured peoples of the world. I do not tan as deeply as some, but I freckle. Sort of a spotty job, but I think I can muster enough colour to make the grade.

What does this mean in practical behaviour? One of the strangest indignities to which a minister is subjected is designating whether he is white or coloured in filling out a form for a clergy passbook on the railroads. Preachers have the same privilege as children under

THERE IS NO OTHER RACE BUT THE HUMAN RACE

twelve. They can ride for half fare. Even the clergy must be divided on colour lines. It would not do for a coloured minister to get into a white coach in the South. The next time I fill in a form of this kind I am going to fill it in coloured, not white. Wherever such information is asked I shall answer coloured. This is one way that "white" people can jam up the machinery whereby the silly and vicious discrimination is allowed to carry on.

If I ever try to buy property where there are restrictive covenants, I will insist that I am coloured. If I am refused the right to purchase, I will yell loud and loud. I will continue, as in the past, to work for the right of coloured people to own property and live in any part of town they desire or can afford. I will continue to work for the educational, economic and social equality of all, regardless of pigmentation. In my activities as a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People I will not be working merely to promote the advancement and betterment of others, but of myself as a member of those designated as coloured.

I would like to propose an organization to be called "The United Coloured Peoples of the World" to be open to all people of colour Negroes, all Oriental and Islanders, American Indians, Eskimos, and all others, along with their less heavily coloured brothers, the so-called "white" people who are tired of being called white, and have decided to move in with the coloured. The United Coloured Peoples of the World would thus be open to all who have decided to declare in favour of their colour. It would only be gracious to invite all albinos to be associate members as full standing. This is a modest proposal. Some organization such as the NAACP might adopt it as a promotional project. The discrimination now prevailing could not be easily carried on if a considerable number of the so-called whites decided to move across the line into the coloured race.

The lightness of our hue would be a handicap, but we might resort to a few "coloured" lies. When in a group where there is a talk against the Negroes, we could say, "I am a Negro," or "I am a member of the coloured race." An example occurred in a discussion where a woman asked, "What would

you do if your sister married a Negro?" Another woman answered calmly, "She did." Somehow that ended the discussion. Perhaps a distinctive lapel button could be worn to indicate membership in the United Coloured Peoples of the World. By this means we could recognize other coloured people regardless of their hue. If the emblem became well enough known, hotel clerks, theatre employees, restaurant keepers, railroad conductors, bus drivers, real estate operators, and all others who, willingly or unwillingly, work to separate the "white" sheep from the "coloured" goats, could know us for what we are, and see that we received no privileges not the right of a coloured person. If we insisted on sitting in the coloured sections in theatres, eating in the kitchen in snobbish restaurants, sitting in Negro bleachers, Jim Crow cars, etc., we could make such division ludicrous and awkward to handle. We could also, working from the inside, help secure privileges for coloured people equal to those of any man, which is our final goal.

If you would like to join the United Coloured Peoples of the World just drop a card to the Unitarian Society, Madison 3, Wis., and we will inform you as to further developments. Just as the world cannot exist half slave and half free, it cannot long endure half "white" and half "coloured." But we can unite as coloured people and help promote a true brotherhood of man.

When I announced that I was resigning from the "white race" to become one of the coloured people, I did not think it was anything very new or startling. I have said the same thing many times before in other ways. I have considered myself as being no part of any "race" idea for many years. I have resigned from the "white race" because there is no such thing as a white race. I have only resigned from a myth, for the whole idea of a "white race" is a lot of silly nonsense. Who wants to belong to nonsense?

Let us say it in plain English. There is no "white race." There is no "Negro race." There is no "Indian race." There is no "yellow race." Race is a lie. The whole idea of race differences and barriers standing between groups of men is a cause of bloodshed, fear and hatred. There is only one race, the human race, and all men belong to it.

Why did I resign from the "white race"? So I could join

the human race. So I could declare myself to be a member of one simple human race, that one race which includes all men from the Negro to the Caucasian, from the Australian Bushman to the Eskimo. I am a man. That is all I am. There is colour on my skin. If my skin is coloured then I must be a coloured man, whether I have a light or a dark colour, a red or a yellow colour. We talk about each other's complexion. Your complexion is your colour. People say, "My, what a nice colour you have this morning." Women buy different colours of powder and rouge, red lip stick and blue mascara to put on their faces. Their faces have some colour, more or less, before they put on their paint. Does not this make colour? Or does not this make colour? Or does not the word colour mean colour anymore? The only white men are albinos, biological freaks without pigmentation. I have resigned from the "white race" because the white part is a lie and the race part is a lie. You, housewife and mother, you are not white. You are coloured. If you do not believe me, go look in the mirror and see what colour your face is. You, factory worker, you are not a white man. White is white. Put a piece of clean white paper on the back of your hand. Is the colour of the paper the same colour of your skin? If it is you likely have leprosy. You, well-to-do society woman, you are not a white woman. You are a coloured woman. You, banker, merchant, you are coloured. Whether you are European, Caucasian, African, Englishman, Negro, Oriental, Chinaman, Catholic, Protestant—I do not care who you are or what you are—you are not white. You are coloured, and if you do not believe me, go look for yourself.

I do not like being misunderstood, especially when it is about something important. One paper headlined, "Join the 'Joint' Negro race." I said no such thing. I would not quit one stupid race idea to join another. I said that I joined the united coloured race of the world because all men are coloured and there is only one race.

Another paper misinterpreted the United Coloured Race of the World as an organisation to which only non-whites or non-Caucasians could belong, and that it implied that whites and non-whites were divided into two irreconcilable worlds. In fact I said nothing about an organisation to which only the non-whites would be admitted. The United Coloured Race of the World was proposed primarily as an organisation which "whites" could join when they

had become tired of the myth of the "white race" and had decided to join the "whites" and the "non-whites" into a common brotherhood with a united programme for combating racial prejudice.

I fully agree with the writer who writes that we must do everything not to divide humanity into two worlds of "whites" and "non-whites." But the only way that we can break down the divisions that now exist between those who are known as the coloured people and those who call themselves white is for the

"white" to admit that they are not really white after all, that this whole business about being white is stupid and dangerous. If we would quit talking about ourselves as white, and talk only about differences in colour, if we have to talk about differences at all, we could get together.

I resigned from the "white race" not to get publicity for myself. I neither expected nor wanted to be any spectacle. I resigned only to do my personal bit to bring humanity together, to wipe out the differences and

antagonisms that have made of men the most brutal and murderous enemies of other men. Until we get rid of the race idea, the idea of white supremacy, or the supremacy of any other colour or nationality, we can hope for little peace. There are other causes of strife and war, but racism is one of the worst.

My hope, and may it be the hope of all, is that men will begin to practice the brotherhood of man. This is the ideal of Jesus and Isaiah, of Lao-tzu, Moze and Buddha. We must become peacemakers. We must love one another. This may sound crazy. It has been said too often and practiced too little, but it is just as much a crying need as ever. But first we must accept each other as brothers, members all of the same race. Perhaps we might call the organization "The United Human Brotherhood," or just "One Human Race."

Although I did not want, and do not seek, publicity for myself, if by using my name and person, if by using publicity I can help kill the race ideas and help bring mankind together, I will not shun publicity. A minister is a person in public life. And what is my privacy, and what is your privacy, against the need for brotherhood? If Jesus was willing to die on the cross to bring men a bit closer to love of their fellow man, I am not going to cry about getting talked about.

The letters we received attacking coloured people and so-called white men who join their struggle for equality and justice would convince you of the desperate need for uprooting race hatreds out of our lives and society. In Chicago there has just been race disturbance to drive Negroes out of a non-segregated Federal housing project; 1000 police were needed to prevent full-scale rioting. There are in Chicago, as in New York, Detroit, and Los Angeles, situations that might flame into bloody rioting any time.

Farther away thousands of Hindus and Moslems have slaughtered each other in religious warfare. We cannot forget the slaughter of the Jews in Europe. Racism is nasty, brutal business, and its long, dirty arms reach into Madison as into every city of the earth. There is anti-Semitism and discrimination against the Negro and Oriental in our city as in others.

I thought I understood the race problem. I had read the books. But I can testify after one week of this—that you nor I nor any man who has not been born into one of the groups that meet segregation and discrimination.

DEATH OF MR. A. I. KAJEE

NEWS was received in Durban of the death at George (Cape) on Monday morning of Mr. A. I. Kajee. He was 51. Mr. Kajee, who had been ailing for the last three months, collapsed during discussions on the Indian question with Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of Justice. Medical aid was summoned immediately, but without avail.

The body was flown via Johannesburg arriving Durban on Tuesday at 3 p.m. The

painted by his secretary, Mr. A. N. Marker, the Mayor's Chaplain, the Rev. Father J. Kelly, O.M.I.

Mr. P. K. Chiff, Inspector of Schools for Natal, represented the Provincial Administration, and Mr. J. C. de Wet represented the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs. Other prominent Europeans present were: Mr. L. Rattray, the Hon. S. S. Brisker and Senator D. G. Shepstone. The Natal Indian Organisation was represented by



The Late Mr. A. I. Kajee

body was taken to the residence of Mr. Kajee's son, Mr. Bernard Kajee, in Mousfeld Road. The procession left from there at about 5 o'clock and was followed by thousands of Moslems with a sprinkling of other sections of the community.

When the funeral cortege reached the Mosque the crowd was so dense at the Grey Street and Queen Street intersection that the large force of traffic police on duty had difficulty in controlling them. After the ceremony at the mosque the coffin was carried through the streets to the Brook Street cemetery.

The Durban City Council was represented at the funeral by the Mayor, Councillor L. L. Boyd, who was repre-

sented by his secretary, Mr. A. N. Marker, the Mayor's Chaplain, the Rev. Father J. Kelly, O.M.I.

Mr. Kajee was born in India, the youngest son of Mr. Bhai Chacha and came to Durban with his parents as a child. After school he settled down in business and established his own firm, A. I. Kajee, Ltd., brokers, which is now one of the biggest Indian firms in this class of business in the country.

He was associated with every public movement affecting Indians in the past 20 years, and he even evidence before many commissions and select committees.

He is survived by his wife, at present on a trip to India, three sons and three daughters.

nation knows what these people endure. You do not know until you have been there. To put any man in a position of insecurity, to wound his pride and self-respect, to humiliate him with name-calling, with social ostracism and abuse, with poverty, job-discrimination, to make him a second-class citizen, is a crime against all decency and common humanity.

People have asked if I were not unfair to thus put my chil-

dren in a position of possible embarrassment. But what about the children of the 15 millions in the minority groups? Is it unfair for coloured parents to bear children because they will meet abuse and misery? How cruel can we be and still live with ourselves? Tom Paine said, "Wherever tyranny is, there is my country." Following him we can say, "Wherever men face persecution and discrimination, there is my race."

GANDHIJI'S POST-PRAYER SPEECHES

A Cunning Move

IN a post-prayer speech in New Delhi, Gandhiji read the following letter sent by a correspondent:

"I have just heard over the radio your post prayer speech delivered on the 11th December, 1947. Is this for say that certain U. P. Muslims who had been to you and secured on behalf of the Pakistan officials that non-Muslims especially the Hindus could go to Lahore and start their businesses there. Firstly, this invitation, to the Hindus alone and not to the Sikhs, is a cunning move on the part of Pakistan officials to create a split amongst the Hindus and Sikhs.

"All such assurances are farce and mockery and people like you alone perhaps can be misled by such Muslims. Herewith I am enclosing you a cutting dated 11/12/47 from the *Hindustan Times* which speaks for itself and fairly exposes the shrewdness of the Pakistan Government. After going through this, do you please still believe that such Muslims who come to you are honest? They only mean to show to the world that the Pakistan Government is quite fair in the minorities and everything well in Pakistan whereas the facts are quite the contrary. If these Muslims come to you again, kindly show them this cutting.

"Further, I am sure you remember well what fate the Hindus and the Sikhs met on the 20th November, 1947 when they went to Lahore to take their valuables from their banks. Even the Indian Military, under whose protection the Hindus and the Sikhs went, was attacked by Muslim mobs in the presence of the Pakistan officials who took no steps to check the violence."

The cutting referred to by the correspondent reads as follows:

"Non-Muslim businessmen and shopkeepers who had fled eastwards during the recent communal disturbances are gradually returning to Lahore with a view

to opening their trading concerns now closed for months, but on seeing the impossible conditions they are required to sign before getting possession of their shops, many of them have gone back to India in disappointment, according to a recent report published in the *Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore*.

"The report adds: Shops are being opened by owners on behalf of the Rehabilitation Commissioner. The following terms are required to be signed by these shopkeepers:

1. A promise to maintain proper accounts of all sales.
2. That the owner will not transfer any interest in his shop without previous written permission of the Assistant Rehabilitation Commissioner.
3. That he will continue to manage his shop as a running concern.
4. That all sale proceeds shall be deposited daily in a scheduled Bank and shall not be withdrawn without the previous permission of the Assistant Rehabilitation Commissioner.
5. That the shopowner will continue to reside permanently in Lahore.

"Many businessmen who had returned to Lahore with a view to opening their concerns have gone back to India. They feel that the conditions which they are being required to sign before possession is actually given them are such that it will not be possible for them to conduct their business etc. with respect to the fact of so much interference and supervision by the Government.

"Besides, they say, since the Pakistan Government have promised the minorities generous treatment, it does not behove them to treat non-Muslim businessmen in a different manner. A leading businessman said: 'No such restrictions are being imposed on Muslim traders and businessmen.'"

Trust Begs Trust

I dealt with the disappointment only the other day. Whilst the information may be quite accurate, it does not necessarily vitiate what the Muslim friends told me. They have not only their own reputation to keep but also of those in the Union whom they represent and of the Pakistan authorities who gave them the assurances. Let me add, too, that the friends are in touch with me. They came in today. As I was silent and busy writing my prayer speech, I could not afford to see them. They have, however, sent me their assurance that they are not idle; they are prosecuting their peace mission. I warn my my correspondent against being hyper-suspicious and hyper-sensitive. He will learn nothing by believing. Diabolical is a treacherous motto. Let him beware. For my part, I am apprehensive. I have treated all my life with my eyes open. I propose to treat these Muslim friends to all they prove themselves to be. Trust begs trust. It gives you strength to combat treachery. If there is to be return on either side by the assurances to their homes, it will be only by the means I have adopted and am pursuing.

Results Of Decontrol

After quoting some instances of the result of the removal of control over food stuffs Gandhiji said he was rightly accused of knowing nothing about orthodox economics and the fluctuations of prices. He talked of decontrol in his ignorance, but the consequences would have been borne by the poor people. The results, however, so far had falsified the fears. The poor seemed to be better off without the control. He had received numerous congratulations for decontrol. He could not appropriate them for many causes and many persons had worked towards the same end. If the middleman and the grower thought more of the whole country than of themselves, he had no doubt that decontrol all round was due to the expectation that the business community would not play the game. The capitalist distrusted the producer and the middleman. If the majority of the people were selfish and untrustworthy, how could democracy, or *democracy* for work? Gandhiji would ask the Government to utilize the services of non-Muslims equally with those of the Muslims. The difference was that the latter were highly paid the former were volunteers. Each was amenable to law for fraud.

Salaries And Civil Service

He had received complaints about the high salaries of the civil servants. The Civil Service

could not be done away with all of a sudden. Their numbers had already been reduced, with the result that those remaining had to work harder. The Sardar had, therefore, complained them for their work. He (Gandhiji) did not grudge credit where it was deserved, but he could not help noting that they draw salaries which before independence the Congress had considered too much. The real Civil Service were the people. After all, Congressmen had been working without any salaries in the past. If a Congressman becomes a parliamentary secretary today, why should he be paid a high salary? He did not know that parliamentary secretaries were needed. The Congress party must be chary of imposing more paid secretaries on the Government. It would be wrong to tone down the high standard the Congress had set before the country. Greater care was necessary in that they had now crossed in their disposal. It would be imprudent to let the expenditure go up when the income remained stationary. Every business firm had to see that the credit side was larger than the debit side. Could they run the business of free India by ignoring this basic fact? They had some money today and they could squander it in any way they liked. But it would not last long unless they acted like wise businessmen.

Transvaal Indians Condemn Ghetto Move In Rhodesia

THE executive committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress has passed the following resolution: "This meeting most emphatically protests against attempts by certain municipalities in Southern Rhodesia to introduce racial legislation on the lines of the 'Group Areas' (the Apartheid Tenure and Indian Reservation Act) aimed at restricting Indian ownership and occupation of landed property."

"The resolution added that 'the racialists responsible for this anti-democratic agitation in Southern Rhodesia are sowing the seeds of dissension between the white and the non-white population of this British possession, dissension which can lead to disharmony and conflict.'"

A SAPA message from Nairobi states that a call to the youth of Kenya to strive incessantly for the betterment of the colony's people without racial or creed discrimination was made by the president of the Indian youth conference. He urged delegates to "learn from the Indians in South Africa and stand united against the powerful forces of reaction who were trying to hamper progress."

ON the 9th Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, made a statement in the Indian Parliament in which he announced that a settlement had been reached between India and Pakistan on the following major issues: 1. Division between the two Dominions of the cash balances of the undivided Government of India as on August 14, 1947. 2. The ratio in which the uncovered debt of the undivided Government of India belong the excess of the liabilities over assets should be divided between the two Dominions. 3. The manner in which Pakistan would discharge its share of the public debt to India. 4. The division of the sterling balances between the two Dominions. 5. The division of military stores between the two Dominions. 6. The ordinance factories.

Indians Abroad

At question time Pandit Nehru said in Parliament, re: the revised proposals of the British Government for the creation of an inter-territorial organization for the British East African Colonies, that so far as the representation of the Indian community was concerned, the principle of nomination had been substituted for the principle of election, and the number of elected Indians had been reduced from two to one. In the original proposals Indians were given equality of representation with Europeans and Africans on the unofficial side. The revised proposals did not guarantee such equality. The Government of India had asked for a modification of these proposals in order to protect Indian interests. Pandit Nehru, replying to another question, said that the Government of India had been informed by the Governor of Fiji that an Indian domiciled in the Colony would be exempt from the provisions of the ordinance (controlling immigration), subject to the proviso that one absconding himself for five years or more would lose the exemption.

UNO And India

In the course of a statement describing her experiences at the UNO, Mr. Vijayalakshmi Pandit said: "It is to be regretted that in spite of an awareness of the gravity of the issues at stake and the need to deal with them in accordance with the principles of the Charter, delegates sometimes allowed their better judgment to be overruled by temporary considerations of expediency."

This was particularly true in regard to our fight for the rights of Indians in South Africa. Our resolution on the subject suffered

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Baroda, December 12.

INDO-PAKISTAN SETTLEMENT

a technical defeat but it polled nearly though not quite, two-thirds of the votes cast, thus showing clearly that majority opinion in UNO was convinced of the justice of our cause.

There is no excuse whatsoever for anyone to claim that the General Assembly approves of racial discrimination or endorses the policies of the Union Government in this regard. But it is for the nations who voted against us, or who abstained from voting to reflect on the consequences of their action.

It is certainly not for the good of the future of UNO that it is becoming increasingly difficult to get an affirmative vote on racial issues.

Kashmir

"We will see this Kashmir business through," said Pandit Nehru at Jammu. "We do not believe in leaving things half done. We will send more troops. We will muster all our resources and fight till we succeed." What form of government the people of this State would like to set up after the expulsion of the raiders, he stated, was for the people to decide. No part of India would interfere with that. In Kashmir, despite the distress of the people and the damage done to large parts of the country, the people had shown strength and faced difficulties with courage and had shown that they want to live in Kashmir as free sons.

Hyderabad

Though a standstill agreement has been reached between the Indian Union and the Nizam, the struggle of the Hyderabad people has not ended. "India's freedom is not complete without the freedom of Hyderabad," said Swami Ramaswami Vith, President of the Hyderabad State Congress. The people had risen in revolt against the despotic rule in the State. They would not slacken their movement until democratic rule was established in the State and until Hyderabad had acceded to the Indian Union. The Nizam's Government, the Swami said, was not checking anti-social elements in the State, which were responsible for arson, loot, and the terrible suffering of the people in the countryside. "We shall fight till the state accedes to the Indian Union, and our right to decide our future by a plebiscite is recognised." It was

a tussle between reactionary forces and democratic forces. "Why should the Muslims of Hyderabad oppose the establishment of responsible government? We oppose parity. We can understand weightage being given to the Muslim community, but under the name of parity, they want to thwart democracy. That is not going to be allowed, and we are not going to be a party to it. The atrocities perpetrated on the people of Hyderabad are so immense and so great that the present regime cannot justify its existence any longer."

In a Press conference at New Delhi the Swami described the Hyderabad Government as "irresponsible, feudal, autocratic and communal regime." Every bullet, he said, supplied by India to the Nizam would be a bullet fired at the people struggling for freedom. Explaining why the negotiations between the Nizam's Government and the people failed, he said: "It was made quite plain to me that parity between Hindus and Muslims both in the Executive and the Legislature was a condition precedent in the recognition of the principle of responsible government. Parity for a minority of 12 per cent turns responsible government into a huge mockery." "The problem of Hyderabad," he added, "is an all-India issue. A fascist, undemocratic Hyderabad in the heart of India is a menace to Indian democracy and freedom. The slavery of sixteen million people of Hyderabad make Indian freedom incomplete."

Support The Government

Speaking at Calcutta Shri C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor of West Bengal, said: "There is restlessness abroad and this restlessness takes all kinds of shape which, if not repeated, will smother the new-born baby. All kinds of isms are gathering disciples. The ambition of individuals for personal power tries to clothe itself in some ism or other and plays about with the simplicity of innocent youth."

"If men do not exploit personal loyalties and organise youth based on force and intimidation, we can endure every evil in the world. The dependence of modern civil life on labour, the power of organized non-cooperation thereof, hunger strikes, and irritating demonstrations, that make public

service miserable, the technique of sabotage can all be used for personal ambition. And this, if allowed, will kill the hope of the reconstruction of India."

"I hope that you, who have assembled here, will give every help that you can to the Government here and at Delhi and give courage all forms of sabotage and delay any obstruction to reconstruction and peace. The sacrifices of the past are sacred but they are things of the past. We want fresh and new forms of sacrifice."

A Secular Democratic State

"The Fascist element in our country which are agitating for the establishment of Hindu Raj in India are like a hoarding kept which warms a little bit of its surroundings but can achieve nothing more. We should not be misled by such people whether they style themselves as R.S.S. or by some other name," said Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Premier of the United Provinces. Two horrible events in the Punjab had threatened at our time to shake the foundation of our freedom but fortunately we had come out successfully through that terrible test.

Pandit Pant said that after the division of the country they had burnt the two nation theory to ashes and only those could now live here who had a love for this country and were ready to sacrifice their all for it. Those who were still thinking of themselves as a separate nation had better leave this country and go to Pakistan, he said, as Indians would not allow any power on earth to hamper their way and hinder their progress by force.

The Premier advised the Muslims to live in harmony with other people in the Province and asked them to banish all suspicion against the majority community.

He also advised the Hindus to be proud of their grand civilization which taught them to love all human beings alike. "After achieving our freedom," Pandit Pant said, "we have now to establish a secular democratic State in the country. In that State all people will enjoy equal rights of citizenship and there will be no barrier of colour, caste or religion in their progress either in executive posts or in any other sphere."

WE are witnessing such a horrid tragedy in our midst today and our hearts are wrung in sorrow. What is the way out of this morass of madness and murder.

There are two ways possible. One is the annihilation of Hindus in Pakistan or Muslims in India, or their evacuation into India or Pakistan, and the creation of two mainly Hindu and Muslim States. That is, as Mahatma Gandhi has pointed out, the way to national perdition, national slavery, and eternal misery for both. Leaders in India, we responsible and enlightened leaders, have recognised this fact and are trying their best to get on this problem facing themselves as far as possible from the blinding influence of the hot waves of mass murder and rapine. There are signs that some Pakistan leaders are also becoming alive to the ultimate realities of the situation.

The second way is the way of religion, of civilised human beings, of common sense, and the use of common sense to common welfare politically, economically and otherwise, and that is the only rational differences in a friendly and peaceful way.

It is the way of religion because neither Hinduism nor Islam advocates or condones the barbarous murder of innocent members of the other, women and children. False and wicked followers of Hinduism and Islam are they who advocate such heinous massacres, and they deserve to be wiped out of the face of the fair earth which they are polluting by their devilish practices.

It is the way of civilised human beings, for none but better understanding in the form of human beings will advance the slaughter of innocents and the looting of their property.

It is the way of common sense, for Hindu and Muslim are those fools who imagine that so many millions of Hindus in Pakistan, or Muslims in India can be wiped out of existence, and who imagine that they can establish purely theocratic states. Nor is it possible to destroy the various forms of religion. Swami Vivekananda said at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893:

"If anyone here hopes that the only God of all religions will be the triumph of any one of the religions and the destruction of the others, he is a fool. Brother, yours is an impossible hope."

The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist to become a Christian. But each is to realign the spirit of the others and yet preserve his individuality and grow according to his own law of growth.

MORASS OF MADNESS AND MURDER

WHAT IS THE WAY OUT?

"If the Parliament of Religions has shown anything to the world it is this: It has proved to the world that holiness, purity and charity are not the exclusive possessions of any church in the world, and that every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character. In the face of this evidence if anybody dreams of the exclusive survival of his own religion and the destruction of others I pity him from the bottom of my heart."

Mahatma Gandhi has condemned them and again in no uncertain terms this madness which would use religious differences for the most irrational ends, and has exhorted people to eschew religious hatred. Quoting a verse from the Sikh scriptures he said: 'The verse affirms that man calls God by many names—Rama, Khanda, etc. Name no pilgrimage and faith in a sacred river; others go to Mecca, some worship Hindu temples, others in mosques, some fast bow their heads in reverence, some read the Vedas, others the Koran, some dress in blue, others in white, some call themselves Hindus others Muslims. Mahatma says that, he who truly follows God's law knows his secret. This teaching was universal in Hinduism.' Then he exhorts the Hindus to stay in and stay out, not to depart from the path of Dharma.

Let us remember that the duty of the Hindu is to follow the greatest Dharma. If, therefore, Hindus and Muslims are who they will see that their religions tell them unerringly the path of their common welfare. Other wise, as Pandit Nehru pointed out in a public speech recently, moral, economic and political disaster faces both Pakistan and India. To quote Pandit Nehru:

"Deeds of looting and plundering will become difficult to close if once they have been left open. Tests of that was held in us. From areas in the West Punjab from where non-Muslims had been evicted, Muslims were now looting members of their own community. Similar things had taken place in Delhi when rioting started here."

Consequences of rioting were much more serious than the people would imagine. A large number of persons had lost their lives in the disturbances, but a large number would die of famine and disease which were the direct outcome of breaking the peace of the country."

Politically also, India had lost much in prestige in the councils of the world, and Pandit Nehru, because of the riots.

Now, it is true that the Muslim League had been preaching a gospel of hate, and ignorant and fanatical Muslims had been used as tools in the nefarious game of power-politics. They had sown the seed of communal hatred, but the whole of India including Pakistan has to reap the whirlwind. There is some evidence that the Muslim leaders are understanding the evil consequences of their recent hymns of hatred. There is hope that this present madness of private revenge and mass murder and anarchy will give place to ordered government in West Punjab which, according to the *Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore*, which is edited by a Britisher, 'is being ruled not by Khan (Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamot) and his colleagues but by police constables and gendarmes.... At the moment the West Punjab Ministers are doing little in public to bring disorder or to rehabilitate people which is at the lowest ebb in recent history. Our advice to them would be to govern or get out—except that the political horizon is at the moment almost bare of pretenders in their portfolios who offer hopes of better things.' Mr Subramanyam of the Muslim League understands the situation perhaps more clearly than other Muslim leaders in Pakistan, and Pakistani Muslims should follow his lead if Pakistan is to be saved.

Hindus, also, have a great duty if they are to be true to their religion, culture and civilisation. They must refuse to be misled or to succumb to any aim unworthy of their Dharma. It is their Dharma to protect all people, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and all others who live in India and are loyal citizens of the State. It is against the Sanatana Dharma to take vengeance India, primarily on the minorities for the atrocities committed on Hindus in Pakistan. It may be heart-rending that we are unable to secure the victims of the unfortunate mass fury that has been invoked in certain parts of the country. But the surest, safest, and quickest way of securing the oppressed Hindus is by our just treatment of all minorities in India, and by our refusing to make India a theocracy. No State whatever the provocation. Cool heads and strong hands in India will ensure order

here, and Pakistan will certainly follow suit, once the Muslim leaders there are able to gain administrative control.

If the worst happens and Pakistan refuses to do justice to the minorities there, the path of Dharma lies not in victimizing the innocent minorities in India. The true path is to carry the minorities in India with us in preventing any perpetration of injustice in Pakistan. This has to be done by the Union of India as a whole. Our political leaders are showing the proper path in this matter. As Swami Vivekananda said: 'It is a change of the soul itself for the better that will cure the evils of life. No amount of force or government or legislative cruelty will change the conditions of a race, but it is spiritual culture and ethical culture alone that can change wrong racial tendencies for the better.'

It is all good that we should make ourselves physically strong and united so that we are not subjected to political slavery any more. For without political freedom is very difficult for a nation to live up to its ideals of culture and civilisation in the fullest measure. India, like every other State, must make itself strong and help in the prevention of aggression and injustice. In this imperfect world of ours there is still much necessity for the employment of force.

But India's gift to the world must be of the truths of religion and philosophy, of wisdom and spirituality. In India alone has the truth that God is Love, though He is called variously, been taught in all ages, thus binding together all men in a common brotherhood. 'Neatithi satiam aye wey'—unless we establish, bloodlessly and brutally, no civilisation can begin to lift its head until we look charitably upon one another and the first step towards that much needed charity is to look charitably and kindly upon the religious convictions of others. For more, to understand that not only should we be charitable but positively helpful to each other, however different our religious ideas and convictions may be. It is here in India that Hindus have built and are still building churches for Christians, and mosques for Mohammedans. What is the thing to do in spite of their hatred, in spite of their hostility, in spite of their tyranny, in spite of the vile language they are given in uttering, we must and must go on building churches for the Christians and mosques for the Mohammedans until we conquer through love, until we have demonstrated to

the world that have shown in the filthiest thing in avarice and not hatred, that it is gentleness that has the strength to have an eye to itself, and not merely brutality and physical force' (Swami Vivekananda).

In the present grave crisis when spiritual values are likely to be supplanted by material ones, when false ideas of reconciliation heavily weighted with the highest ideals are gaining ground, let us remind ourselves of what Krishna Dwaipayana Vyasa says at the end of Mahabharata in the tone Shukra which he taught to his own son, Shuka.

Mataphrashtasaul paitradarsananti cha,

Satvatasatvabhutanti yauil yanyanti chapsare.

Shokamhanomaharati Bhaya-
atmanakantanti cha,

Divaso Divaso madhamavi-
shantina panditain

Utkeshantah vikramyasha ca
aha kashchit prinothi me.

Dharmadurthibhava kamasha
ca khamatham na caryate-

Na jeta kamanna bhayanna
lobhat dharmam tasyet jivasya
pi hetoh,

Nitya dharmah anbhutakke
trantye.

Jiva atya heteranya ivantiyah.

'Fathers and mothers and
wives and children, the soul has
had again and again in thousands
of births such relations it is
living now, and will have in
the future.

"Manifold objects of joy as
well as fear agitate the mind of
the deluded person, but not the
man of wisdom.

"With uplifted voice, I cry
aloud—From Dharma flows the
acquisition of wealth and the
fulfilment of desires (Kama).
Why don't men follow Dharma?
But mine is a cry in the wilder-
ness.

"Never, never should one give
up Dharma through desire for
enjoyment, or through greed, or
through fear, and even if one's
life is threatened thereby. For
Dharma is eternal, pleasure and
pain are fleeting; the Jiva (soul)
is eternal; the conditions of its
existence are transient."

This is called the Dharma
Kamini, and let no true son of
India fail to follow these ideas
to life.

The opening of the fifth and
probably the last session of the
ninth Union Parliament will
open on January 16. Among
the distinguished visitors will be
the Earl of Athlone, a former
Governor General of the Union
and the Countess of Athlone,
Lord and Lady Kennaley, and
Lord and Lady de Gowah.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

Indians In Rhodesia

TO THE EDITOR, INDIAN OPINION

SIR.—At last, the ill-wind has
blown from the Union to
Rhodesia! You will recollect
the recent propaganda directed
against the Indian community
in Bulawayo, by Mr. J. H.
Bailey, a member of the City
Council, who segregated our com-
munity.

Councillor Bailey's vituperations have left a deep wound.
His erroneous statements have
aggravated it. It did not end
there. It has gone further to
ignite racial hatred which had
been hitherto dormant. Letters
of outbursts in the local paper,
from some malicious elements
have added fuel to the fire.

It is rather perplexing to per-
plexing to perceive Mr. Bailey
and his colleagues at this
juncture, indulging in an orgy
of disruption of racial concord,
when wise men are trying to
reassemble this dilapidated
world.

Presumably, this is all to gain
fame and favour for themselves
from the anti-Indian elements,
during the forthcoming general
election. It is contended by
these trouble-mongers that In-
dians are slowly penetrating pre-
dominantly European areas and
buying off properties, thus more-
ly and economically menacing
the European section. This is
nothing short of hallucination
of hollow minds.

Whatever small properties
Indians have acquired, it has
been done solely by their
singular and arduous efforts.
Loans or any kind of assistance
are neither given by the Muni-
cipal Council nor the Govern-
ment, whereas Europeans are
supported in every way. Some
of the Indians are virtually
living under slum conditions
through lack of accommodation.
In the circumstances they had
to, reluctantly, give notice to
vacate their premises presently
occupied by Europeans. This
erroneous (?) attitude shown,
with obviously no fault of the
Indians, towards Europeans was
the main factor being instru-
mental in the latter contin-
uing a "Ghetto Act" against
us. The Indians only represent
5 per cent of the total European
population; and the properties
proportionately less. Now the
whole Indian community of
Rhodesia is facing a problem,
complex and controversial.

Yours etc

B VITHAL

Bulawayo.

GANDHIJI'S ADDRESS TO THE MEOS

ADDRESSING a gathering
mainly of the Meos in the
village of Jearah in the Garo
Tahsil on 8-12-47 Gandhiji re-
marked that his voice was not so
powerful as it once used to be.
There was a time when whatever
he said was acted upon. If it had
the original power, not a single
Muslim should have found it
necessary to migrate to Pakistan
from the Indian Union or a single

GANDHIJI'S ADVICE TO PAKISTAN

New Delhi, Monday.

MAHATMA GANDHI said
last night that he was
surprised that the Pakistan
Government disputed the truth
of India's complaint to the
United Nations, that Pakistan
had had a hand in the invasion
of Kashmir by raiders.

Gandhiji told his prayer
meeting that people were
everywhere talking about the
possibility of war between
India and Pakistan. Both
Hindus and Muslims had re-
sorted to armed arms and had
made grievous blunders, but
this did not mean, he said,
that they should go on to war.
We would bring both Hani-
tions under the sway of a
third Power, and nothing
could be worse.

Gandhiji pleaded for amity
and goodwill, which could
angale India's representations
to the United Nations to be
withdrawn with dignity. This
was a step which the United
Nations would welcome, he
said.

Gandhiji said he would
like to impress on the leaders
of Pakistan that, partition
having been conceded, there
was no justification for any
animosity.

Partition had been demand-
ed on religious and communal
grounds and it was therefore
the duty of Pakistan, on its
name implied, to remain clean
in all its dealings.—Sapa
Reporter.

Hindu or Sikh leave his hearth
and home in Pakistan and seek
refuge in the Indian Union.
What had taken place—the orgy
of murder, arson, loot, abduc-
tions, forcible conversions and
worse that they had witnessed—
was, in his opinion, unmitigated
barbarism. True, such things
were not unknown before but
there was not that wholesale com-
munal discrimination. Tales of
such happenings had filled him
with grief and shame. Even
more shameful was the demoni-
sh and dissemination of mosques,
temples and gurudwaras. Such

madness, if it was not arrested,
must spell ruin to both the com-
munities. They were far from
freedom while this madness
reigned.

What was the remedy, Gandhiji
continued. He had no faith in
the force of bayonets. He could
only present to them the weapon
of non-violence, which provided
an answer to every emergency
and which was invulnerable. It
was common to all great religions
—to Christianity no less than to
Hinduism etc., but it had today
been reduced to a mere copy-book
maxim by the violence of religions
and in practice they all followed
the law of the jungle. He might
be today a voice in the wilderness
said Gandhiji, but he had no
other message to give them except
this message of non-violence—of
meeting the challenge of brute
force with power of the spirit."

THINGS IN GENERAL

Refused "Dirty" Pay For Dirty Work

The New Year has not dawned
hopefully for a number of Indian
sirdars employed by the Durban
City Council writes the Durban
correspondent of the Sunday
Times. Towards the end of last
year they complained to the
council that the nature of their
work in the city's sewerage tanks
compelled them to go home
dirty, and they asked for a
special allowance called "dirty
money." The council has now
replied that, as their work is
normally dirty, they are not
entitled to any special "dirty"
pay.

Kemsley Coming To Union

Lord Kemsley, one of Britain's
leading newspaper owners, ac-
companied by Lady Kemsley,
arrived in Capetown from London
to the Union Castle liner Abingdon
Castle to fulfil a long-standing
personal invitation from General
Smuts to visit the Union. Lord
Kemsley hopes to make an ex-
tensive tour of the Union and
Rhodesia and to establish con-
tacts with the leaders of the
South African Press, returning
to England about the middle of
March.

Trade With Egypt

Exporters are advised not to
engage in any commercial trans-
actions with Egyptian firms at
present unless they are satisfied
that an import permit has been
obtained and that foreign ex-
change will be provided, since a
letter received by the Johannes-
burg Chamber of Commerce
from the commercial secretary to
the Union Legation in Cairo.
Under present conditions, the
secretary states, an import permit
is required for practically every

kind of commodity imported into Egypt. According to the published list of import priorities the importation of ready-made clothing other than woollen textiles is prohibited. Import licensing is very strict and any goods which arrive without a licence or are shipped before the date of the issue of an import licence are summarily confiscated.

Indian Miners

The Government of India will shortly bring into force a compulsory provident fund scheme to provide in their old age for about 250,000 coal miners. The scheme is intended for all workers in collieries below the age of 45, whose basic monthly salary does not exceed 300 rupees.

Death At Inanda

Last Sunday a bathing tragedy occurred about 1 p.m. at the pool below the Inanda Falls, where a Sastri College student, Pabulal Koonnappa, 22 Inanda was drowned. The youth with his father and other friends, was bathing. The youth decided to bathe, but disappeared almost immediately on entering the water. The body was recovered in the evening at about 7 p.m. The efforts of European lifeguards who had been specially summoned from Durban. The funeral took place on Monday at 2.30 p.m. which was attended by a large number of people from the district and outside. Deceased was a talented student and was well liked by all those who knew him. He leaves behind his father and mother, two brothers and six sisters to mourn their great and tragic loss.

Death Of Mr. R. K. Audan

The late Mr. R. K. Audan passed away on December 5, at 11 Cherry Road, Glenwood, of his late ramifanov. His remains were cremated at the (Hingori) Crematorium on Saturday. Prayers were offered by Mr. Satya Dev and others. Deceased, who was 42 years of age was a well-known figure.

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Durban Hindu Temple

SOMTSEU ROAD

A general meeting of the Durban Hindu Temple will be held on Sunday the 25th January, 1946, at 2 p.m. in the Temple Hall.

Agenda: (1) Secretary's Report, (2) Treasurer's Financial statement, (3) Election of one Trustee, (4) Election of eleven Committee members, (5) General.

A. J. KODALI,
Hon. Secretary.

INDIA RELIEF APPEAL

At least £2,000 mark must be reached in aid of suffering humanity in India. People in the Dominion of India are faced with distress, hardships, lack of warm clothing, blankets and medicine etc. To show our sympathy in the sad plight Indians are requested to give freely to the Dominion of India Relief Committee (Maritzburg and District).

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43, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ. જોહાનસબર્ગ.

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સસ્તા ભાવે આકર્ષક અને કલામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. ૫

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જરી ભરત ભરેલી સાડીઓ	૧૫ ૦ ૦
ફીલમ રસમ, એ રંગી સાડીઓ, રંગીન નવીન ડિઝાઇન	૧૧ ૦ ૦

કાપડું વાપસ, સાડી માટે ૫૦% પનેર, આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૧ વાર, ભરત ભરેલી રંગમ, સાડી અને જસ્ટાઉટ માટે ૫૦% પનેર રી. ૧૨-૬. મરઠ તથા કાકસાઓ માટે સીલ કાદ, પાવળમાં, સોકલ, રંગાલ વીગેરના ભાષમાં ખાસ ઘસાડા કપો છે.

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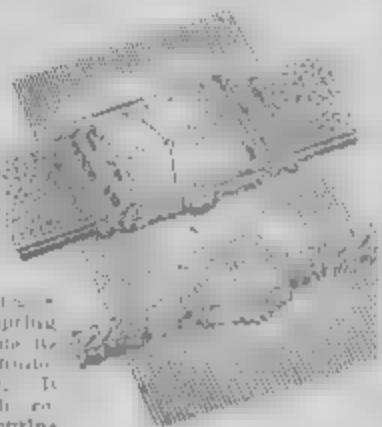
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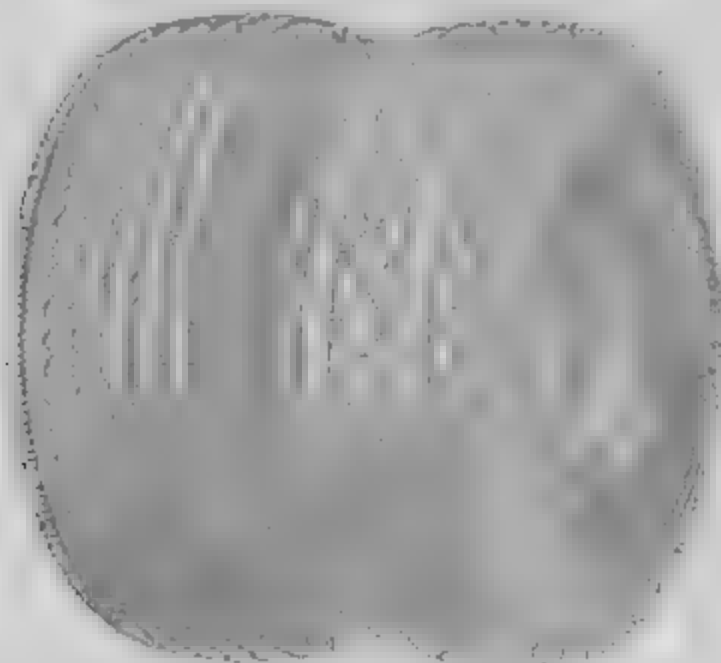
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FRIDAY, 16TH JANUARY, 1948

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 16TH JANUARY, 1948

Inciting Europeans Against Indians

WHILEST on the one hand there is talk of a round table conference between India and the Union to settle the vexed Indian problem and an appeal is made to create a favourable atmosphere for such a conference, the *Natal Mercury*, on the other is persistent in its efforts to set the country ablaze against Indians so that the remotest possibility of any reconciliation between the two countries would be dashed to the ground. In its issue of January 7, the paper has prominently featured instances of alleged contravention of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act by Indians, and has followed it up by a leading article on January 8. The instances given are of Indian landlords having had their premises, which happened to be occupied by European tenants, vacated, as the owners wished to occupy them. These houses happen to be in the areas defined under the Asiatic Act as "controlled areas." The paper has taken the authorities to task for not taking action against these "trespassers." "It is quite useless for the Government to pass Acts," the paper writes, "if they do not intend to implement them. Such procedure does nothing but bring the law into contempt and can only encourage the Indians to

defy the law deliberately." Pointing out the duty of Durban members of Parliament the paper goes on to say: "When Parliament meets Durban members owe a duty to their constituents to find out the reason for the apathy of the Department of the Interior. Nor should they be satisfied with vague assurances that something will be done. They have a right to know whether the Government intend to allow the Land Tenure Act to become a dead letter or whether the provisions of the Act are going to be enforced." And to the Indians the paper says: "The Indians may object to the Land Tenure Act, but while they live in South Africa they must obey the law of the country. The alternative is for them to return to India." This is indeed a tall order which anyone would think had come from Hitler!

We do not propose here to deal with the particular cases of alleged contravention of the law over which the *Natal Mercury* has tried to rouse the feelings of the unthinking Europeans by publishing pictures of the "plight" in which "poor" European families find themselves. One would have thought the very heavens had fallen down upon them. And yet it is not a billionth part of the sufferings people in other

lands are undergoing. But underlying the 'scarescaper' is hatred for the Indian who, instead of meekly submitting to the law the White ruler of this country has prescribed for him, is asserting his legitimate right.

The facts are that Indians are opposed to the Asiatic Act as an unjust and otherwise poor piece of legislation, or passing which they have had no voice and which has been passed in the teeth of their strongest opposition. Indians are seeking justice from a country where so-called democratic and not racist rule prevails. In desiring to occupy a property owned by him an Indian is violating no law based on justice. To deny that right would be considered a crime against humanity in the case of any other than a non-European. It would have been wrong from a humanitarian point of view if an Indian, having a place to live in, would have deliberately thrown out any person on the street. But there is no question of him doing that since he is forbidden to do so by the law of the land. But the strangest of all things in the Union of South Africa is that the laws apply to the individual and not to the authorities. The authorities can lawfully create slums, overcrowding and insanitation, but it would be a crime for the individual citizen to do so

The authorities can with out the slightest thought break up long-established homes and throw whole families out on the street and the law can do nothing to them but an individual particularly if he is not White may not exercise even his legitimate right.

This is the situation in which we are placed in this country and if we protest against it by respectfully refusing to obey laws which have created such a situation and quietly and cheerfully submit to the penalty prescribed for the breach of those laws—a perfectly legitimate thing to do—we are dubbed as extremists and what not. Will our 'moderate' friends who are enjoying the patronage of the *Natal Mercury* and those who think like it show us a better way in keeping with our national self-respect?

Gandhiji's Fast

A GLAUCON is cast over the Indian world at the anxious news of Mahatma Gandhi having entered into a fast for an indefinite period for communal harmony. It has stirred the whole of India into action and it will be the prayer of millions of people that Gandhi may be saved and that his sacrifice may bear fruit that will gladden his heart and bring peace to India.

PANDIT NEHRU ON KASHMIR ISSUE

"I AM completely convinced that every action that the Government of India have taken in regard to Kashmir has been straight and above board and I can defend it at any time before the world," said the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in a statement on Kashmir in the Dominion Legislature on November 25. Pandit Nehru was replying to a short-notice question put by Dywan Chaman Lal.

The following is the text of Pandit Nehru's statement:

"I am glad to have this opportunity of explaining to the House the course of events that have led to our intervention in Kashmir with the aid of armed forces, and the attitude of the Government of India to the grave problems that have arisen in that State.

Importance Of Kashmir

"The House is aware that on the lapse of Paramountcy on August 15 this year, Kashmir did not accede to either Dominion. We were, of course, vitally interested in the decision that the State would take. Kashmir, because of her geographical position with her frontiers meeting with three countries, namely, the Soviet Union, China and Afghanistan, is intimately connected with the security and international contacts of India. Economically also, Kashmir is intimately related to India. The caravan trade routes from Central Asia to India pass through Kashmir State.

"Nevertheless, we did not put the slightest pressure on the State to accede to the Indian Dominion, because we realised that Kashmir was in a very difficult position. We did not want a mere accession from the top in an association in accordance with the will of her people. Indeed we did not countenance any rapid decision. Even as regards a standstill agreement no speedy steps were taken by us although the matter was under consideration, even though Kashmir had entered into standstill agreement with Pakistan soon after August 15.

"We learnt later that serious external pressure was being applied on Kashmir by the Pakistan authorities by refusing to send to Kashmir supplies vital to the needs of the people, such as food grains, salt, sugar and petrol. Thus an attempt was made to strangle Kashmir economically and thereby force her to accede to Pakistan. This pressure was serious because it was not easy for Kashmir to obtain these essential supplies from India on account of the difficulty of communication.

"In September news reached us that tribesmen of the M. W. F. were being collected and sent to the Kashmir border. In the beginning of October events took a

grave turn. Armed bands moved into Jammu Province from the neighbouring districts of West Punjab, committed serious acts of depredation on the local inhabitants, burnt villages and towns and put a large number of people to death. Refugees from these areas poured into Jammu.

Border Conflicts

"On the Jammu side of the border the local inhabitants, the Dogras, Hindus and Rajputs in the area, took retaliatory measures and drove out the Muslims living in those border villages. In these border districts a very large number of villages was destroyed or burnt by both parties on either side of the frontier.

"The raiders from West Punjab into Jammu Province were increased in numbers and spread out over that province. The Kashmir State Army which had to meet these raids at numerous points soon found itself broken into small fragments and gradually ceased to be a fighting force. The raiders were highly organised and competent officers and modern arms. They succeeded in occupying a considerable part of Jammu Province, more specially in the Poonch area. Poonch town, Mirpur Kohli and some other places held on.

State's Request For Arms

"About this time the State authorities asked us to supply them with arms and ammunition. We agreed to do so in the normal course. But in fact no supply was made till events took a more serious turn. Even at this stage no mention was made of accession to India.

"The leader of the popular organisation in Kashmir Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah President of the Kashmir National Conference, came from prison during the period when we discussed the situation in Kashmir with him as well as with representatives of the Maharaja of Kashmir. We made it clear to both of them that while we would welcome the accession of Kashmir we did not want any hurried or forced accession and we would rather wait for the people to decide. Sheikh Abdullah was himself of this opinion.

"On October 11 we heard that large armed bands consisting both of tribesmen from the Frontier and ex-Servicemen had broken through Muzaffarabad and were marching to Srinagar. These raiders had entered the Pakistan territory and they were equipped with heavy guns, machine guns, mortars and flame throwers and had at their disposal a large number of transport vehicles. They moved rapidly down the Valley,

sacking and burning and looting all along the way. We gave earnest consideration to this situation in our Defence Committee on October 22 and 26.

"The position on October 26 morning was that the raiders were marching towards Srinagar and there was no military detachment capable of stopping them. They had been stopped for two days near Uri by the State forces under a gallant commander who resisted this advance to the point of death. These two days thus gained were very valuable.

Acceptance Of Accession

"We were asked at this stage both on behalf of the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah to accept the accession of the State to the Indian Union and to intervene with the armed forces of the Union. An immediate decision was necessary, and in fact it is now clear that if we had delayed the decision even by 24 hours, Srinagar would have fallen and would have suffered the tragic fate that befell Muzaffarabad, Baramulla and other places.

"It was clear to us that we could not possibly accept under such circumstances the ruin of Kashmir by brutal and irresponsible raiders. This would have been a surrender to frightfulness and fanatics of the worst type and it would have had the most serious consequences all over India.

"To intervene at this stage was no easy matter and was full of risk and danger. Yet we decided to face this danger and intervene because any other course would have meant ruin to Kashmir and disaster to India.

"In connection with the accession, however we made it perfectly clear to the Maharaja that his Government must be carried on in future according to the popular will and that Sheikh Abdullah should be charged with the formation of an Interim Government on the new model adopted in Mysore.

"Sheikh Abdullah, in our opinion, had undoubtedly the support of the large majority of the people of Kashmir, Muslim, Hindu and Sikhs. Further, we made it clear that as soon as law and order had been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders, the question of the State's accession should be settled by reference to the people.

"I shall not detain the House by dealing with the course of the military campaign that followed. The facts are well known and redound to the credit of our military organisation, our troops and our arms. It must be remembered also that our operations

have been very largely based on air transport in difficult circumstances. Our civil air line and their air crews functioned with remarkable success.

"One fact, however, which contributed to our success is at least as much as the military operations was the maintenance under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, of the civil administration and the morale of the civil population. The civil population, completely untrained, with an enemy within a few miles of the city, behaved in the manner which showed extraordinary courage and coolness. They did so because they had a great leader and because Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all joined together under him to throw back the enemy and to save Kashmir, their common heritage.

"This fact is one of the most remarkable events of recent times in India and one from which the rest of the country may take a profitable lesson. It was certainly a factor of the most vital importance in the saving of Srinagar.

"The present position of our troops have relieved Poonch and are within eight miles of Kotli. The terrain in which they are functioning is difficult and mountainous and the roads and approaches have been destroyed by the raiders. Progress is slow. The Poonch is occupied by the raiders. The massacres of the non-Muslim inhabitants have taken place on a very large number of persons.

"I should like to say that our own events happened in Kashmir early in November which I regret very deeply. The Muslim convoys of evacuees were being taken away from Jammu when they were attacked by non-Muslim refugees and others and a large number of casualties were inflicted. The troops escorting them did not play a creditable role. I might add that none of our troops were present or had anything to do with this. We have issued the most stringent orders to our troops to protect the people, to function with impartiality and, indeed, to mix freely with the local population. I am glad to say that they have carried out these instructions.

"The House is aware that the Pakistan Government has protected unconditionally against our action in Kashmir. In doing so they have used language which is not becoming of any Government and have alleged fraud and conspiracy on our part. I need only say that I am convinced that every action that the Government of India have taken in regard to Kashmir has been straight and above board and I can defend it at any time before the world (cheers). We have indeed been overscrupulous in this matter so that nothing may be done in the process of time

man which might be wrong. The behaviour of our army has all along been good and worthy of our traditions.

It is said that the Pakistan Government. The reason is that the genesis of the trouble was extensive killing of Muslims in Eastern Punjab and Kashmir and the raid on Kashmir was a spontaneous reaction to this on the part of tribesmen. I think this is completely untrue. I regret deeply that in parts of Jammu province Muslims were killed and driven out. This, of course, has had nothing to do with our Government or our forces. But the mutual killing has been a very tragic feature during these past months in the Punjab, and Jammu was powerfully affected by this.

Supply Of Arms

"We have sufficient evidence in our possession to demonstrate that the whole business of the Kashmir raids both in Jammu province and in Kashmir proper was deliberately organised by high officials of the Pakistan Government. They helped the tribesmen and ex-Servicemen to collect, they supplied them with implements of war, with lorries, with petrol and with officers. They are continuing to do so. Indeed their high officials openly declare. It is obvious that a large body of men could cross Pakistan territory in armed groups without the goodwill, connivance and active help of the authorities there.

"It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the raids on Kashmir were carefully planned and well organised by the Pakistani authorities with the deliberate object of seizing the State by force and then declaring accession to Pakistan. This was an act of hostility not only to Kashmir but to the Indian Union. It is only necessary to see the semi-official organs of the Muslim League and the Pakistan Government to find out the attitude of that Government. If we had allowed this scheme to succeed, we would have been guilty of betrayal of the people of Kashmir and a grave dereliction of duty to India. The results of these on the communal and political situation all over India would have been disastrous.

Murder And Arms

"The Pakistan Government have proposed a simultaneous withdrawal of our forces and the raiders from Kashmir. This was a strange proposal and could only mean that the raiders were there at the instance of the Pakistan Government. We cannot treat with these raiders who have murdered large numbers of poor and tried to ruin Kashmir. They are not a State although a State may be behind them.

"We have gone to Kashmir to protect the people and it soon as this duty is discharged, our forces need not remain there and we shall withdraw our forces. We cannot desert the people of Kashmir if danger is passed. If the Pakistan Government is sincere, they can stop the entry of these raiders and thus accelerate the return to peace and order. After that let the people of Kashmir decide and we shall accept their decision.

"But if this armed conflict continues and no opportunity is given to the people to decide by peaceful means then the decision will gradually take shape by the sacrifice and power of the people in this conflict.

"In order to establish our confidence we have suggested that when the people are given the chance to decide their future, this should be done under the supervision of an impartial tribunal such as U.N.O.

"The issue in Kashmir is whether violence and naked force should decide the future or the will of the people. The raiders, encouraged by Pakistan, have sought to enforce by the sword accession to Pakistan against the obvious wishes of large numbers of people in Kashmir. We cannot receive the success of this

method to achieve political ends. It is a tragedy that Pakistan should ally herself to such methods instead of devoting herself to the urgent tasks of economic and social reconstruction.

"Kashmir has gone through fire and I am sure the House would like to communicate their sympathy to the people of Kashmir for the tribulations they have been going through in recent weeks. This fair land, which Nature has made so lovely, has been desecrated by people who have indulged in murder, arson, loot and foul attacks on women and children. The people have suffered greatly from shortage of the most vital necessities of life and yet, under the inspiring lead of Sheikh Abdullah, they have stood together in the hour of calamity and showed to the rest of India an example of what communal unity can achieve. Whatever the future may hold, this chapter in the history of Kashmir will be worth reading and we shall never regret that in their hour of distress we have been able to be of assistance to this gallant people. Kashmir and India have been bound together in many ways from ages past. These last few weeks have forged a new link which none can sunder."

CURRENT EVENTS

THE Passive Resistance Council which held a five-hour meeting on Saturday last and followed it up with a mass meeting on the Red Square the next afternoon, has decided to expand the struggle "by exercising the right of all South African nationals to free movement within their homeland." Groups of volunteers, will, therefore, cross the borders from one Province to another. In the beginning only the Transvaal borders will be crossed. In a statement to the meeting on Saturday, the Council said:

"The Joint Council of the opinion that it is all possible to arrive at a friendly settlement of the dispute between the Union Government and the Governments of India and Pakistan. The meeting of the Joint Council, therefore, in the interests of peace and goodwill, was a voluntary states in the British Commonwealth in order to bring to an end the 'herren volk' race theory at South Africa and to promote the adoption of full citizenship rights, rights due to every national in a democratic state, calls upon the Union Government to extend immediately an invitation to the Governments of India and Pakistan to a Round Table Conference."

The Council urged the Indian people of South Africa to join every effort to bring about the

Satyagraha movement may be carried to a victorious conclusion. We call upon the non-white peoples and true democrats of South Africa to render us assistance as our fight is part of the common struggle for freedom. The mass meeting on Sunday endorsed the decision of the Council to cross the Provincial borders without permit.

The Indian people will have nothing to do with the communal franchise envisaged for them under the Glatto Act. During the week leading officials of both the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Organisation declared that they would only consider the franchise at all in the event of a difference, however small, between the two. The N.I.C. demands the adult suffrage as enjoyed by the Europeans while the N.I.O. is prepared to consider even a heavily loaded franchise on the basis of poll. Comparing on the provisions of the Glatto Act Mr. A. I. Meer, secretary of the Congress and returned from the United Nations declared: "We are not interested in the proposals laid down in the Act. The N.I.C. will never accept the Glatto Act. We will ensure a 100 per cent. boycott against the communal voters' roll."

Giving expression to the views of the N.I.O. Mr. P. R. Parther, its joint Secretary and probable successor to the late Mr. A. I. Kaizer, said: "We stand firmly by our request to be included in the common roll. We would be prepared to accept a weighted franchise on the common roll on the conditions laid down in the Act as far as educational and financial qualifications are concerned. We would not object to our representatives being Europeans."

According to newspaper reports several South African European ex-servicemen are eager to fight for the Arab Legion against the Jews in Palestine. The Arab Legion consists of 10,000 well equipped men controlled by King Abdullah of Transjordan whose kingdom lies next to Arab Palestine. This force is British-trained and is known to be a formidable force.

Speaking at the Rhodes University "summer school" at Grahamstown, Mr. V. Srikari Naidoo, B.A., B.B. Comm., who is an economics research worker at the Natal University College, Durban, declared that the solution of the race problem in South Africa lay in free and frank discussions of the prevailing prejudices and the possible remedies. Segregation, he said, subjected people to various harassments, humiliation and injustice. "The 'Colours' race classes, other prevalent cannot be reached by sudden changes or by racial legislation. The end of all human activity is the development of the human personality. Any thing that obstructs this development must lead to unhappiness and discord."

The Government of India have banned, by proclamation, goods sent from South Africa. These are being confiscated and returned to the Union at the sender's risk. The ban on all matters of goods made here, these concerned in postal parcels.

Some Nations Unwilling To Submit To Charter

Speaking at Glasgow on Sunday, January 11, Mr. George McNeil, Minister of State, said, according to the Sapa-Reuter's message: "The present British Government would continue as a mandated Government which had pledged itself to carry out the principles of the United Nations Charter. The outlook ahead was not so good as it was in Britain, and although it did not mean that there was an immediate fear of war, it meant that there was a serious possibility of something happening in the future which had to be met. The Government was in a position and voting in an international conference, he said. "The United Nations are not prepared to give effect to the United Nations Charter to which they gave their signature at San Francisco," he added.

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Katoda, December 19.

STATES' MERGER

WHAT Dalhousie failed to achieve and what the Political Department did not feel strong enough to do, Sardar Patel has achieved during his two-day visit to Cuttack and Nagpur," says the special correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*. "The Rulers of Orissa and Chhattisgarh States have voluntarily handed over to the Indian Dominion the administration of their 56,000 square miles of territory rich in minerals with a population of eight millions and a gross revenue of about Rs. 2 crores." This change doubles the size of the Orissa Province, and substantially increases that of U.P. and Bihar.

Patel's Statement

In a statement on this subject Sardar Patel referred to the democratisation of the administration in the States going on since August 15. "The progress has been in some States slow, in others it has been swift, but everywhere it has been sure." But these "can function efficiently only where the trust in which these are applied can subsist in a fairly autonomous existence." In small units both democratisation and integration are clearly indicated. "It lays inevitably lead to discontent, which in turn results in lawlessness; the use of force may for a time check the popular urge for reform, but it can never succeed in eradicating it altogether."

"I have always held," said Sardar Patel, "that the future of the Princes lies in the service of their people and their country and not in the continued assertion of their autocracy." He referred to the sacrifices of powers and fortune made by the Rulers. "They have accepted this sacrifice cheerfully and voluntarily in the interests of their people and the country at large. Throughout my discussions with them I was careful to emphasise that the solution which we suggested was for them to accept or reject at their free will. These Princes have by their act of abnegation purchased in perpetuity their right to claim the devotion of their people."

Kashmir

Mahomed Akram Khan, Salsar-i-Ain of the Muslim National Guards (Poouch), in tendering his resignation, said: "I know these organisations and their patrons from Pakistan have brought misfortune to the peace-

ful, freedom-loving people of my homeland. Having seen with my own eyes the devastation in Baramulla, I know these traders in Islam are only petty thieves, cut-throats and ruffians." He asked people to strengthen the hands of Sheikh Abdullah and Pandit Nehru. "We are not afraid of referendums, but there should be complete restoration of normal conditions in all areas of the State," said Sheikh Abdullah.

The Government of India was entirely opposed to the suggestion of a possible division of Kashmir, and did not think that it was either desirable or would solve any problem, said Pandit Nehru at Calcutta.

The raiders in Kashmir, says a report from New Delhi, have dropped all pretence of being civilian rebels and are now moving about in regular formations just like any other organised military force. The disturbances in Kashmir has thus now assumed the character of a regular warfare between two well-equipped armies.

What India We Aim At

In a series of speeches Pandit Nehru explained the policy of his Government in various spheres. At Allahabad he said: "We aim at a strong, free and democratic India where every citizen has an equal place and full opportunity of growth and service, where present-day inequalities in wealth and status have ceased to be, where our vital impulses are directed to creative and co-operative endeavour. In such an India communalism, separatism, isolationism, untouchability, bigotry and exploitation of man by man has no place and, while religion is free, it is not allowed to interfere with the political and economic aspects of a nation's life."

Economic Policy

At Calcutta Pandit Nehru said that the economic policy of Free India involved inevitably state control of some key industries. There would, however, be scope for private enterprise also. The Government were anxious to industrialise the country rapidly. The money required for this would be raised from the people and from foreign countries, if necessary. What he was saying did not represent the policy of the Government of India but it did represent the general trend of Government policy, he said.

that the Government were considering the question fully and would announce their policy soon.

Referring to foreign interests in India, Pandit Nehru said: "We cannot have any special privileges for any foreign interest in India. There is a large field specially for the next few years and we want co-operation with other countries during the process of India's development and I think British and other foreign interests that exist in India will and should have this large field open to them."

"At the present moment," the Prime Minister added, "we have come to a number of agreements with Pakistan in regard to a very large number of very controversial matters. That shows that there is desire on both sides to come to a settlement so that we might go ahead. There are still many hurdles to be overcome, but the spirit to overcome difficulties is there, and I hope that gradually or rapidly we will be able to overcome them."

Two countries situated not only geographically close to each other like India and Pakistan, but historically, culturally and economically depending on

each other, had to live either in close friendship or live apart. There was no middle way out. The only possible solution was that they lived as close friends having many things in common.

No Hindu Raj

At Kanpur Pandit Nehru said: "There are some who still raise the cry of a Hindu Raj in India. I wonder why they have raised this cry when Hindus are so much a large number and the form of Government is democratic. If we follow this path of sheer communalism then no body will respect us in this world. When we support religion in politics there is the end of politics. India is now in the international field. Whatever we do we should do with wisdom and care. Narrow-mindedness will deal a death blow to our recently hard-earned freedom."

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FREEDOM

BY KENNETH V. NARRO

Freedom, there is music in thy voice
Which thrills us to the very depths of our heart.
There is sweetness in thee that we rejoice
It spreads like fragrance that blossoms impart.

Thou art like the sweet kiss of the loved one,
And of thine own love we shall ever sing;
Thou art as potent as the summer sun
That awakens all the beauties in Spring.

Thou art like some magic potion of life
Rejuvenating body and soul of man;
Often caught in the meshes of despair
Man strives to win thee as best as he can.

Thou art the solace sought by the Oppressed,
The struggling humanity in bondage;
Thy powers bring succour to the Repressed
And mankind sees the dawn of a new age.

Thou art the truth, light and love of the God,
That would penetrate through all barriers;
Thy banner will be held high in golden rod
Acclaiming thee over vast areas.

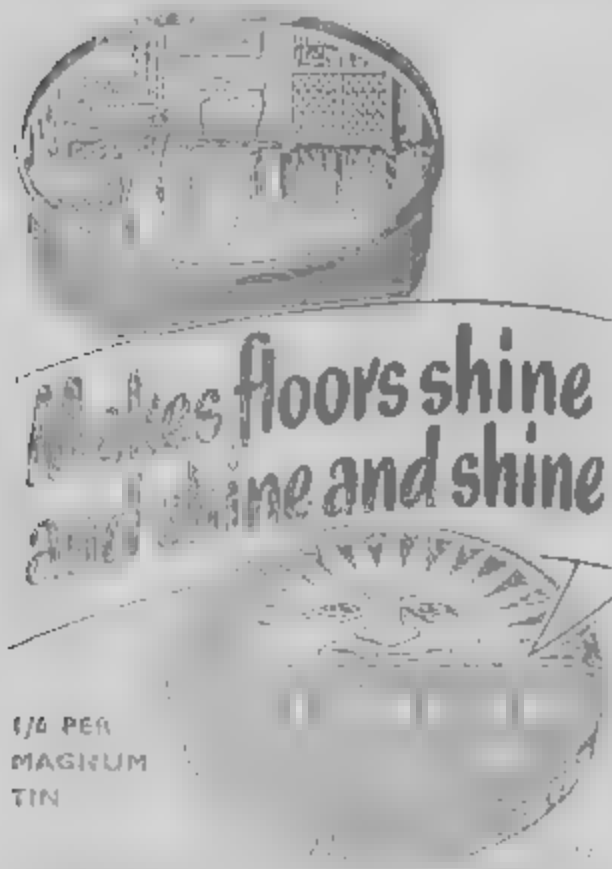
Thou art a balm for all heart's pain and
That had lapsed in fetters of oppression;
Thou art the radiant light that never dim
But reveals ways of emancipation.

Thou art the great virtue that makes man good,
And imparts of courage and
No man knows how great thy power is
Till he makes the new bonds of Liberty.

O thou loved Freedom, Mother of History
Lead us in India thy banner in the field
Where thou came with splendour and glory
For the mankind, now lies free in the World.

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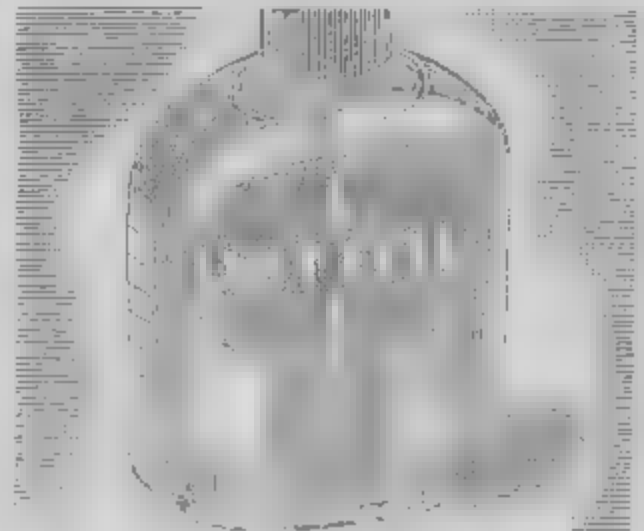
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Indian Opinion

Friday, 3rd January, 1948

Gandhiji's Fast

LAST week was a most anxious week for India and her destiny was equally shared by thousands outside. Mahatma Gandhi's grave announcement that he was to fast for the restoration of communal harmony in India for an indefinite period, caused that anxiety. People were on edge every moment that passed. The orgy of human slaughter that was raging in a manner no heard of in history of his very eyes had almost broken Gandhiji's heart. He preferred death to having to witness this state which seemed worse than barbarism. His soul cried out in vain day in and day out to stop this. People were mad with fury. They called Gandhiji mad for preaching the gospel of peace. His bleeding heart had no other alternative but to seek solace in the Almighty God, in whom he had unshaken faith. He had prostrated himself saying "Thy will be done." God who still had work to be done through him, was not prepared to call him away. The stony hearts of the people began to melt. Their eyes were turned to the one man who had taken unto himself to starve to death. A whisper of hush went throughout the length and breadth of India. The deadly weapons that a moment ago were destroying life indiscriminately, all of a sudden, fell down from their blood stained hands. On bended knees and with clasped palms their voice, which was joined in a chorus by millions, went upwards praying fervently: "Oh Merciful God! save him." The storm seemed to have begun to subside at every breath Gandhiji took. Elements that were working furiously to destroy life began to work to save life and for the restoration of peace. What

seemed impossible of achievement within five years was achieved within five days and five nights. It was indeed a miracle.

Gandhiji's fast, which began on Tuesday, terminated at noon on Friday when he took a sip of orange juice amidst the most touching scenes. There were tears in the eyes of all who were present to witness the heavenly sight and those millions who heard the tinny good tidings. It was a great occasion of prayer and thanksgiving. Papers in far off lands, such as America and Europe commented saying that this was a proof of the way that one man had over millions of people. The papers compared that energy with that of the atom bomb which seemed to far exceed the latter. The world which was today crying for peace and tranquillity badly needed such energy.

Gandhiji's fast has not been in vain for India. It will have served its purpose well if it has succeeded in bringing home to the world and to the Western people in particular that the atom energy of which people are so accustomed to think in terms of the atom bomb and dread it so much can equally be utilized to preserve life as to destroy it. May God bless Gandhiji with the full span of his life to guide the world to the path of peace.

New Phase Of The Struggle

IN terms of the resolution of the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Passive Resistance struggle against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act will enter into a new phase. The

phase will be the courtin; of arrest by crossing the Provincial barriers thus challenging the restrictions on inter-Provincial migration under the 1923 Immigration Act. The necessity to take this step has arisen owing to the changed tactics of the Government in refusing to arrest the Resistance for violating the trespass law at the Corporation land in Gate Street. Nearly two thousand men and women have been arrested during the twenty months of the struggle on that plot. Thus suddenly the Government seem to have realised their folly in thus arresting the Resistance and now they are allowing them free use of that plot. That is an achievement on the part of the Indians, certainly no less. But it does not settle our problem. We cannot rest until the Act is repealed, or a similar conference is held between the Governments concerned to bring honourable to the parties concerned to review the whole position. So long as that is not done our struggle has to go on. The Provincial barriers are a long standing grievance of the Indian community and their removal is long overdue. The Joint Passive Resistance Council have, therefore, done wise in challenging them.

The letter addressed to the Prime Minister by the Joint Passive Resistance Council, which appears elsewhere in this issue, makes the position quite clear. No exception can be taken to anything that appears in the letter. Far from hindering any move in the way of reconciliation the struggle is assisting it just as it has assisted in drawing world attention to the South African Indian question.

Dr. Dadoo, leader of the Communist Party, bring leader of this movement, has come in for a great deal of criticism and his name is being misused to discredit the movement. Dr. Dadoo, whether he be a Communist or whatever else, is no doubt a better man than anyone of those who have created a

Moderate Party and have thus caused an unfortunate division in our ranks. We have no hesitation in saying that the move of the Moderates is unpatriotic. Their past leadership may have benefited some in our community economically but their defeatism has lowered the status of the community generally. The leadership of Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naidoo has, without doubt, raised the status of the community. It has been lit out the manhood and the womanhood of the community which has gained for it the admiration of the world. To keep up that reputation is a responsible task which cannot, may not be neglected.

One day the community does not want Dr. Dadoo's leadership it is quite capable of dispensing with his services.

That are the so-called Moderates really sincere and are they following the rules of democracy in conducting their affairs? We believe they are not. They have not held one public meeting so far. They cannot, therefore, represent anyone else but themselves and their friends. Mr. A. S. Kjee, president of the Natal Indian Organisation, told the *Natal Mercury* that the newly formed Moderate Indian Organisation in South Africa is the only body which can truly claim to represent all sections of the Indian community and in consequence enjoy the confidence of the Government. Apart from any internal work, we want to dispel the friction existing between the three Governments." Mr. Kjee could be challenged to prove the first part of his statement. We have no doubt he would hopelessly fail. As to the statement that they enjoy the confidence of the Government, we can only say that we pity them for failing to realise that it suits the Government to make use of them to serve their purpose, not to benefit the community. If they believe there is any pride in the fact that they enjoy the confidence of the Government, they are labouring under a

delusion. Need we remind them that the Moderate Party in India too enjoyed the confidence of the British Government but they were not the ones to deliver the goods. Their long experience in public service would have taught them, we should have thought, that it is better to enjoy the confidence of the people than to enjoy the confidence of the Government. Then, again, rather than trying to dispel the friction between the three Governments, who are quite capable of looking after themselves, would the Moderates not be serving the community better by trying to remove the causes of friction among our own ranks so that we can stand as a united front to our common enemy? Let us not look to leadership. Let us look to the cause. If we look after it, the leadership will look after itself.

Appalling Condition Of Indian Education

WHEN the schools open at the end of this month in Natal hundreds of Indian parents will be in a sorry plight. They will be faced with the serious problem of the education of their children. 25,000 to 30,000 children of school-going age will have no educational facilities. In regard to secondary schools, Sastri College cannot admit a single student. 250 students were refused entrance last year. This year 951 Standard VI continuation passes have been granted. Thus over a 1,000 children will have no facilities for secondary education.

The Natal Indian Congress had many representations to the Provincial authorities but they have not received a cold shoulder. The Administrator of Natal refused to let the Congress deputations do anything but to relieve the situation.

To provide educational facilities for the growing population irrespective of class or colour is the charge of the State. But the reply received by the Administrator was that Indians had better facilities than they had in India. And yet the Minister of Justice Mr. Lawrence, would say that Indians were Union Nationals. The Government have no valid reason for this criminal neglect in providing facilities for

education for a section of the population. It cannot be said that Indians have not done any thing in the matter of self-help in regard to the education of their children. They have done everything possible in building new schools and managing them. They have received very little encouragement from the authorities. What is now to be the fate of all these children? It is quite obvious that European children would not thus be neglected. Notwithstanding all the agitation against importation of teachers from overseas, teachers for European schools have been imported. In regard to Indians there is both a dearth of schools as well as teachers. The Natal Indian Congress has made proposals to relieve the situation temporarily. What is wanting is a will on the part of the authorities. If there is a will we have no doubt a way could be found and the authorities would not find Indians lacking in co-operation.

It is to be hoped that the authorities will not allow other considerations to prejudice this all-important question of education.

Smuts On S.A.'s Enormous Task

"I am beating the end, but South Africa is at its beginning. Keep up this mood and pace and our children will bless you," said General Smuts at a centenary civic lunch in East London last week in his honour and in that of Vice-Admiral Sir Clement Moody, C.B., D.S.O., South Atlantic. At another ceremony in connection with the centenary celebration General Smuts said South Africa would have an enormous task in solving the many difficulties which lay ahead of her. "The non-European has to be looked after," said General Smuts. "We want to see them go with us as a contented, progressive and happy people." General Smuts appealed to South Africans to grow in unity and strength. The Europeans were the trustees for the Natives, and he expressed the wish that the Europeans would extend a hand to them so that South Africa could march forward as a united country that could withstand the storms of the future.

WHAT IS "JUST" IS RIGHT

By L. W. RITCH

A DEMAND for Rights is, or should be, a protest against wrongs. What "Just" is right Justice is the rendering to each according to his due.

The Law of Karma (that renders to each the fruits of his activities on every plane—mental, emotional and physical, as long as the "action" emanates from separate centres of agency (ahamkara). Only when actions are performed as "selfless," as explained in the Gita, does the man "no Karma" make.

Karma is then, "the outcome of him 'on the Universe,'" as said by The Buddha. An expression of "The Law that moves to Righteousness," of Justice.

The purpose of birth and rebirth is the unfolding and development of the divinity latent in every man, and the rightful use of the powers as developed, is Soul-growth. The "finding" of his "Self," "Becoming."

Through experience (and the fruits of his activities on the mental, emotional and physical planes) and assimilating the food so "catch," the man becomes "wise." He learns to discriminate between "good" and "evil." He associates "goodness" with what brings happiness, harmony, peace; "evil" with what brings pain, suffering, distress, discord. He comes to recognize the operation of a power that is superior to the two powers and learns that appearances are deceptive; that what promised to bring pleasure, results in pain; that what looked to be good is enjoyable, proves to be sorrowful; that desires are frequently deceivers that cheat. ("No deceit like sorrow; no pains like passion; no grief like hate.") The one he calls "good," the other "bad," the one "right," the other "wrong." The "right" is what conforms to the overriding Law and results in harmony; the "wrong" what conforms with that Law and results in discord. In time (the experience) learn to practise "forbearance," to reject desires that are but delusions and heats in repugnance a standard of "Right" that is superior to his personal desires, wants and inclinations. He comes to associate "Right" with "Duty," to harmonise his rights with his duties, even when the duties clash with his inclinations. In short, to personal in him becomes controlled and ruled by the supernatural. He lets thoughts, emotions and actions—come to be ordered by a higher law than that of the separate "I" of selfish ambitions, wants and appetites. He shakes off the limitations of the lower, the personality-self and identifies his life with the higher, the in-

personal, the ideal. He expands; grows. He aspires, looks and turns inwards and upwards, and seeks to become at one with the Ideal, the Guru, the True, the Real, the One, with That, that is Truth, Beauty and Use, and as an individual to express, through his life, Truth, Beauty and Use. Earnest aspiration yields inspiration. As the aspirant qualifies for use—becomes worthy—so he is used; employed as an instrument in the working out of the manvantara plan. Says Sri Krishna (Mahadev):

"For the protection of the good For the destruction of evil doers For the sake of firmly establishing righteousness."

I am born from age to age. He who understands the mystery of these rebirths of Mine is liberated from rebirth."

—The Gita.

Now "righteousness" is synonymous with "dharma," and unrighteousness with "adharma." When the forces of adharma threaten to overwhelm the harmonious progress that is "dharma" and seriously to disturb the equilibrium necessary for progress, then, says the Lord, "I, myself, come forth"—the phenomenon of "Avatara" occurs. The elements of late discord, disruption have to be eliminated and harmony be restored. (Hate is a disruptive force; destructive of the "Plan," the Karyase of which is unification of all the diversity.)

Now, the ages teach us there are many aspects of this doctrine of "Avatara," minor forms of co-operation, so to speak; that the earnest devotee (Satyagrahi) may become a channel for the down-pouring of power from above, by the exercise of which dharma is to be re-established and "evil" dethroned. The sincere yearning to serve plus the qualification for service are the passports to employment in God's service.

But, "right deeds must be thy motive, not the fruits that come from them." "Find full reward of right in right." There must be no taint of egoism, rather individual or class.

And, for direction, try meditation and prayer for guidance. Surrender is the 1st step to acceptance. "Give yourself to ME! Make ME thy Warrior," says the Supreme Master! Let Him be the Captain, moving through you as instrument.

May you be vouchsafed guidance or

Not only had the Government misused the position, but it had also broken faith with individuals who, at the last election, had given it support on quite another question.

There were members of the Dominion Party who differed radically from the Government on the Indian question, but had helped to put the Government into power. An important section of the Labour Party did not support the Government on the Colour question. There were a number of members of the Government party who did not agree with the Government's Indian and General Colour policy.

The trade unions generally had supported the war policy, but at the last conference of the South African Trades and Labour Council at Port Elizabeth the Council had been split from top to bottom on the Colour problem.

When his proposals to take these problems out of the political arena had been rejected, he had told the Prime Minister: "In this matter no other course is open to me than to call upon those who stand above Parliament and this House—the people—to decide their own future."

General Smuts's Reply

General Smuts said, the Leader of the Opposition had said that the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was useless and harmful. The portion of the Act he wanted repealed had not yet come into operation—so how could it be useless and harmful?

Parliament would make itself look ridiculous by withdrawing an Act before it had come into operation.

Dr. Malan had also asked for the repeal of even more important legislation—the Native legislation of 1936. That legislation had represented a conclusion reached by Parliament after years of investigation. Dr. Malan had had his objections to it but in the final instance had voted for it.

The 1936 legislation had been introduced to change the position in the Cape Province, which, at that time, had had the common roll on which Natives voted with Europeans. It had taken Natives off the common roll and put them on a separate roll. That step had been recognised as a big encroachment on the rights of Natives in the Cape Province and part of the solution had been that, as compensation, the Natives had been given three representatives in the Assembly and their own separate Representative Council.

Two things which Dr. Malan wanted abolished had therefore been the very essence of the

solution reached in 1936. Now Dr. Malan wanted to take away these two small things given in return for the scrapping of the common roll.

"I say that if this House and this country did that, it would be a breach of faith and a step with the most far-reaching effects on race relations in this country. Whether the 1936 legis-

We can only do so by maintaining the good faith between the two sections.

"Look to the future. Do not look to the election. Look to the best interests of South Africa. Hold the balance in the way it had been held for so many years and let us go forward to the future in that way."

Replying to Dr. Malan's state-

SENATOR BROOKES WAS SHOCKED

DR. F. H. BROOKES in his presidential address to the Institute of Race Relations which met in Capetown last week, said it had come to him as a shock that "we simply dare not ask Unesco to meet in South Africa." In order to hold a meeting in Capetown it would be necessary to have a campaign of education of the public for at least 12 months to ensure that no one wearing a Unesco badge should be debased from any place or facility because of his colour.

"Even if this campaign were successful, it would only need the Minister of Education of Mexico or the Director of Scientific Research of Brazil to leave his badge in his hotel for a first-class moment and row to take place," said Senator Brookes.

"The gentleman who presided with ability and distinction at our meeting in Mexico would be refused a cup of tea to drink every day in Capetown."

"I say to you that the common colour, that it is a common colour which finds ourselves in the same world as you and me. I say to you that if we are to give up our colour, we must not let it be imposed on us by other countries. We cannot deny them to distinguished non-Europeans in our own country."

Nothing more unwise than his suggestion, a president of the Institute, that the necessity of giving some measure of social equality to non-Europeans of standing should be faced, could be said. It would probably be fastened on and criticised, but he said it deliberately because he felt that the time had come when this issue had fearlessly to be faced.

"In just the same way, I am convinced that there is no solution to our franchise position more satisfactory than the admission of non-Europeans of high educational qualifications to the common voters' roll. In other words, we made a very big mistake in 1936 and we have to extract our heads. I quite realise the fact that we cannot expect this to happen by a sudden change of heart."

"Perhaps the first step in this direction should be the removal of the colour bar so far as membership of Parliament is concerned. The main issue is the creation of full South African citizenship for those non-Europeans who qualify for it. In other words, that the colour bar should not be a perpetual bar to full citizenship rights."

The only alternative to immediate and radical reform or the early creation of a common citizenship was a system of "characterized by the ominous words, 'too little and too late,' indicative of the political history of Ireland and India."

All were a read that South Africa could not go on as at present. The time for action was now.

ation was a mistake or not in the long run."

South Africa had a most difficult task. In other countries it had been a policy of extermination. But South Africa had been a policy of maintaining the civilisation of both sections, and the success it had achieved over hundreds of years had been almost a miracle, compared with what had happened in other countries.

"Let us continue on that path.

ment that his (the Prime Minister's) offer to the Native Representative Council was tantamount to creating a Native Parliament, the Prime Minister said it could not be said that the Native Representative Council had been completely successful and that it had completely fulfilled the purpose for which it had been intended. But that was no reason why the Council should be abolished.

The test would come when

they were given responsibility. That was why in his discussions with Native leaders he had proposed that they be given responsibilities so as to see what use they would make of their powers. That was a step forward.

The Europeans in South Africa were rapidly changing from an agricultural people to an industrial people. A parallel change was taking place among the Natives.

Dealing with Dr. Malan's reference to Communism, the Prime Minister said he could think of nothing more calculated to further it than the policy of the Nationalist Party. Communism was a creed that made the greatest appeal to the underdog and to the suppressed peoples, and it was suppression which was the main feature of the Nationalist policy.

South Africa was an advanced and progressive country, and her progress had been assisted by no small measure by the Natives, whom he regarded not as a threat but as an asset.

"Let us take my hand and go forward with him while retaining our leadership. I cannot support the motion of the Leader of the Opposition, nor do I believe that the people of South Africa will support it," concluded General Smuts.

S.A. NOT IN LINE

Dr. E. Halloway, until recently a lecturer on social anthropology at Witwatersrand University, said at the meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in Capetown last week that if the Natives were not given every opportunity of acquiring Western civilisation in this country it would mean that South Africa was no longer in line with the Western democracies. "If the rest of the world goes on developing in its way," she said, "and we go on developing in ours, we may find that South African civilisation, as such, may no longer be acceptable to Western civilization." Unless a policy is inaugurated which meets the rightful demands of Africans and gives them a legitimate outlet for their hopes, aspirations, and feelings, Halloway might be expected that tension and aggression will increase on both sides of the colour line and give rise with increasing frequency to racial incidents. "Domestic behaviour," she said, "evokes either a submission or counter-dominant response. It would appear to me that what we are now witnessing in South Africa is a sharp shift from submission to counter-dominance by the African. An available evidence suggests that what the African desires most keenly is to be given the training and the opportunity to integrate himself fully into Western forms of living."

THE following is the text of a letter addressed to the Prime Minister of the Union, General J. C. Swamy, by the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses. A copy of the letter is sent to every member of Parliament and to the leaders in India:

Sir.—We most respectfully submit this earnest plea for the serious consideration of your Cabinet and of Parliament.

1. The Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses notes with regret that the Union Government has not seen its way clear to bringing the Indian question in South Africa to an honourable and amicable settlement, to resolve the dispute with India and to discharge South Africa's responsibility as a member state of the United Nations Organisation.

2. It, furthermore, views with grave concern the publicly expressed intention of the Union Government to implement the iniquitous, unjust and racially discriminatory provisions of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 (the Ghens Act) in the face of the united opposition of the Indian people of South Africa and the strongest protests from the people and governments of India and Pakistan.

It is regretted in approval of the more than contention of the Union Government that the Indian people of South Africa are the nationals of the Union of South Africa. But it maintains on juridical, moral and human grounds that whereas the Indian people have borne lawfully the obligations of citizenship they have been denied the most elementary and basic rights which are inherent in such citizenship. It is a notable and noteworthy fact that in no other part of the world has the freedom of movement of a people been restricted as that of the Indian community in South Africa. It is unthinkable that a national of a country should be prevented from freely moving from one province into another within the territorial boundaries of that country.

3. The Joint Passive Resistance Council considers it its duty, in furtherance of its just struggle for freedom from race oppression to put this question to the test.

And, therefore, it has solemnly decided in undertake to organise a disciplined, non-violent passive resistance campaign to deliberately but conscientiously commit a breach of the unjust provision of the Immigrants Regulations Act of 1913 and bear the penalty thereof rather than submit any longer to an undemocratic and human a barbarous piece of legislation as a further protest against the 1946 Act.

JOINT P. R. C. LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER

5. In pursuance of this decision, the Joint Council solemnly mindful of its responsibilities and duties has resolved to declare the 24th day of January, 1948, as "P.R. Day" (Passive Resistance Day), and on this day it will undertake to lead the first batch of fifteen

implications of the step we propose to take and are prepared fully to bear the penalties of this unjust law—but we do so with implicit faith in the justice of our cause and in the goodwill and support of all men believing in genuine democracy and the welfare of

COUNTRY DOOMED TO STRIFE AND BLOODSHED UNLESS WHITE SUPREMACY ENDS A BISHOP'S OMINOUS WORDS

UNLESS Europeans were prepared to accept the end of white supremacy and the equality of all races in South Africa, the country was doomed to a future of strife and bloodshed, said the Catholic Bishop of Natal, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hurley, at a meeting of the City Parliament at Maritzburg last week.

Non-European equality with the Europeans was inevitable. By white supremacy he meant that position of privilege held by every European. By accepting the end of that supremacy he did not mean that Europeans should give up their achievements in South Africa. All that was required was that non-Europeans should be allowed to share in those achievements, and in the privileges of the white man.

"The non-European races should not be held down. They should be encouraged to develop so that they can take their rightful place in society. The Herrenvolk ideology of the Europeans should be abolished, and it should be our final aim to accept the non-Europeans as our equals."

On idealistic and practical grounds, equality should be extended voluntarily. According to Christian doctrine, man was born equal in the sight of God, and under democracy the fundamental equality of mankind was recognised.

History showed that no people ever remained supreme through lack of attention to the ideals by which they had attained supremacy, they eventually declined in power.

Population returns showed that Europeans could not keep up their position of domination for ever. They were outnumbered by non-Europeans, and even immigration would not affect the ratio, because improved health services were resulting in a lower non-European infant mortality rate.

A vast change had taken place in the pace of non-European education in the past 10 years. Indians, Coloureds and Natives were reaching a standard of Education in the past 10 years of the Europeans.

The full development of the Union's industrial resources was another reason why non-Europeans should receive equality. They were barred from most skilled trades, but if industry was to be developed, they would have to be emancipated. Developments outside the Union also born on the colour question. In South America, where there was no colour bar, the whole population was put to full use. There had been almost incredible development.

"If South Africa is to keep her place in the world, we must use our population and must prepare gracefully to accept the non-Europeans, not as Indians or Coloureds or Natives, but as South Africans,"—Sapa.

volunteers across the borders from Natal into the province of the Transvaal. Subsequently more batches will go into action. Entry into the other provinces in defiance of the provincial barriers will also be undertaken by the Joint Council as due course.

6. We are conscious of the

South Africa as a whole. We do so fortified by the moral support that progressive and democracy loving people everywhere are willing to render us during the course of the struggle.

7. We emphatically refuse to believe that a struggle for justice is in vain—we are marching in

step with History. We take this responsibility by the "passive resistance" in all its phases fighting for freedom from our inhuman and in no less measure by the great deeds of the Afrikaner people in the war against British Imperialism and subsequently against Fascism in which you Honourable Prime Minister played such a noble and historic part.

8. The Rights of man cannot be denied to a people for a time and a stage inevitably reached in their history when they, moved by this awakened sense of their rights against the abhorred acts of oppression of their rulers, assert their birth-right by following the path of suffering and sacrifice and such a time has now come in the history of the Indian and other non-white people of South Africa.

9. We make this final plea to you your Cabinet and Parliament as a whole in the name of democracy and justice to remove these unjust, undemocratic and inhuman restrictions the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act 1946 the Immigrants Regulations Act 1913 and the other

other legal enactments which impose special disabilities upon members of the South African Indian community—as for ourselves—we have done all that the struggle in the past has demanded of us.

May the Government of the Union be guided by the principles of justice and equity.

Union National lightning for the P. R. C. (Chairman)
Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses

Natal Members

Dr. G. M. NAICKER
(Chairman)

DEVI SINGH

(Secretary)

A. E. PATEL
(Treasurer)

A. I. MEEN

Dr. K. GOONAM

Transvaal Members

Dr. Y. M. DABOO

(Chairman)

N. THANDRY (Secretary)

NANA SITA

MOUVIET A. CACHALIA

NARANSAMY NAIDOO

INFRINGE TENURE OF

The illegal occupation of the houses in Durban by Indians is a breach of the law.

Mr. J. C. Swamy, Minister of the Interior, has announced that the Government will take steps to remove the Indians from the houses.

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AT the Industries Conference held at New Delhi, representatives of employers, employees and the Government unanimously decided to maintain industrial peace and to avoid lock-outs, strikes and slowing down of production for the next three years. It was described as "the most outstanding achievement" of the Conference. The credit for the solution went to a great extent to Pandit Nehru. Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee the President, remarked that if this accommodating attitude on the part of labour and capital became more widespread, there might be a permanent truce between hitherto conflicting parties.

"I do not ask you to abandon your particular ideologies," said Pandit Nehru, "but I appeal to you to let us have peace in the industrial field for a few years so that we may be able to create the necessary wealth about which we are going to fight. If fight we must." He stressed the need for increased production. He described it as thoughtless to indulge in any strike or lockout at this critical time in the history of the country. "We must also work for a better distribution of the existing wealth," said Pandit Nehru. "If the total production of the country is to be rapidly increased, then we must also give full encouragement to small scale industry on a most extensive scale possible."

Giving his personal opinion, Pandit Nehru said that it might not be wise for the State to nationalise existing industries but to start new industries into which private enterprise had not yet ventured. This would give the country the benefit of a dual programme for increasing production in the shortest time possible.

Kashmir

"The fighting in Kashmir is merely a war for Indian nationalism and democracy," said Ravinder Palwadhani who was in Kashmir for a fortnight as an observer. "I saw some devastated villages and heard awful tales of torture and suffering. I felt that atomic warfare was kinder and less humane than this war of attrition. I saw a lot of dead and wounded women and children. I feel certain that Pakistan has dug its own grave in Kashmir." "Sherif Atabulla," he said, "a wonderful man and has worked a miracle in Kashmir. With the whole of the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. ablaze with communal hatred and fury and men have gone mad, Sherif Atabulla is holding aloft the banner of Indian nationalism, communal unity and secular State in Kashmir."

Pakistan's Shore

"There is not the least doubt that the Pakistan Government are

openly supplying arms, ammunition, transport, petrol and food to the so-called raiders. Frankly speaking, persons who have all along been described as raiders are a part and parcel of the Pakistan army," said Shri Bhim Sain, District Magistrate of Poonch (Kashmir). "Three-inch mortars, arms, ammunition and wireless transmitters did not grow on trees. Prisoners have told us that they were fighting for the Pakistan Army, and that their arsenal depots were the same as Pakistan Army depots."

Gandhiji's Utterances

English was the international language, but it could never become the national language of India, said Gandhiji on the 18th. The all-India speech or national language displaced English which blocked the progress of all the Indian languages.

On the 22nd he urged the Muslim minority in India "to rise superior to the poisonous atmosphere and live down the thoughtless prejudice by proving their exemplary conduct, that the honourable way of living in the Union is that they should be full citizens without any mental reservations." "The Muslim League in India cannot remain a political organisation," he added, "even as the Hindu Mahasabha or the Sikh Sabha or the Bani Sabha cannot. They may function as religious organisations for internal religious reform, and for the purpose of exploring the best and living the best that is in their religions."

On the 22nd Gandhiji said that the Nawab of Bahawalpur (Pakistan) should protect the Hindus and the Sikhs and should arrange for their safe evacuation.

On the 24th he said that a large number of the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim "Hindus" who had come to all India and were in India and out of India hoped that they would practice the teaching of Jesus Christ. He warned Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs against entertaining any ill-will towards the Christians who were a minority in India. They should not also entertain any hopes of converting them to Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. He did not believe in such conversions. He wanted the Christians to be good Christians, the Muslims to be good Muslims, the Sikhs to be good Sikhs, and the Hindus to be good Hindus under all circumstances.

That was real courage.

Shri B. N. Rau, the Commis-

OUR INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Harold, December 31.

INDUSTRY AND LABOUR

Chief Adviser to the Indian Constitutional Assembly, after a tour to the West, reported at New Delhi that Mr. De Valera, Eire's Premier, told him during his talks with Shri Rau: "At one time I used to think that Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violence was a mistake, but now when I contrast the way in which your country has achieved its freedom with that of other countries, I think you had divine guidance."

States And Merger

The Rana of Jaisalmer (Maharashtra), addressing a conference of the State subjects, said that Sardar Patel, whom he met in Delhi recently, had agreed to the merger of Jaisalmer State into the Bombay Province if "myself and people are of one mind about it."

Speaking to the subjects the Rana said: "I am prepared to merge my State into Bombay Province to enable my people to assimilate the rights and privileges enjoyed by their compatriots across the border and to strengthen the Central Government of Free India. I am willing to abide by your decisions."

A little later the Raj Mahal (Council of Princes) of the recently formed Deccan States Union passed a resolution declaring that "if the people of the Union desire to merge into Bombay Province, they (the Rulers) will not stand in their way." Let the readers imagine what a widespread non-violent revolution is taking place in this manner.

Gandhiji, explaining the doctrine of merger, says in an article in *Hindustan*: "The Congress policy has always been to merge princely rule not to end it, and to induce the Princes to become trustees and servants in reality of their people. Therefore merger can take place only under two conditions. First, if the monarch of a particular Prince is self-evident and is irremediable, the people will have the right, as it will be their duty to seek absorption or merger in their province. The second condition arises when a Prince and the people of his State both desire merger."

Hyderabad

Things are getting worse in Hyderabad. The oppression of the people in the Hyderabad State is so barbarous that I appeal to the conscience of the Indian nation to take serious cognizance of it before it is too late," said Swami

Ramchand Tirtha, President of the Hyderabad State Congress. The new ministry, he said, amounted to handing over reins of administration to the Inter-Religious Muslim League. The Standstill Agreement has not paved the way for internal democratisation. "Evidently a fascist organisation is in the saddle of the Government. Students and volunteers are being trained in the use of arms on a vast scale. Thousands of such trained men are reported to be ready to meet any contingency. These accompany the military and reserve police force and participate in loot, arson and rape in the villages. In one village, out of 371 houses almost all were burnt. Repression is raging wild, and the Government is using all barbarous methods to crush the people's movement. Lawlessness is rampant, and great tension prevails throughout the State."

Defence Arrangements

By April 1, 1948, the Indian Army will have an Indian Chief, and all commands in the field will be held by Indians. British officers between 200 and 300, will be retained as advisers, staff officers, instructors and certain technical staff of the Army. General Sir Rob Lockhart is resigning from January 1, 1948, and will be succeeded by Lt. Gen. Bucher who will be in office until the end of March, 1948. Thereafter Gen. Bucher will become Chief Adviser to the Indian Army. The Indian Navy and Air Force will still have British heads for some time, but both services are being largely nationalised. These announcements were made by Sardar Baldev Singh, India's Defence Minister.

Temples In Andhra

The Maharaja of Cochin has issued a proclamation declaring all temples in the State open to Hindus with effect from April 15, 1948, which is the Hindu New Year Day. The official Bill conferring on Hindus the right to enter and offer worship in Government-owned temples was adopted by the Mysore Representative Assembly. The Bill also confers on Hindus the right to enter ancient tanks and wells appurtenant to temples. About fifteen thousand temples would thus be opened to Hindus after the Bill becomes law. Two famous temples in the Bombay Province—Vidya temple at Pandharpur and Keshavnagar temple at Nashik—very recently opened to Hindus amidst scenes of great jubilation.

Refugee Resettlement

Nearly two million refugees have been resettled in Punjab and Indian States. Of these, about 1,500,000 have been resettled in the Punjab and

acres of land in East Punjab which has a plan of resettling another 550,000 refugees. Nearly 223,000 refugees have been resettled in various parts of India. 124,949 in Punjab, 1,00,000 in Rajasthan, 15,000 have secured employment through Employment Exchanges and the Government of India's Transfer Bureau. This means a settlement of 75,000 refugees. Up to December 14, 791,910 quilts and 266,703 blankets were dispatched to East Punjab, Delhi and Kurukshetra. Other dispatches to these centres include 254,407 shirts, sheets, great coats and the like and 118,595 yards of cloth. There are more than 160 refugee camps all over the country providing accommodation to 1,250,000 refugees. In East Punjab alone 721,831 refugees are being looked after in 83 camps. In almost all these camps food, clothing and medical and sanitary facilities are provided, quite a number of them being run by philanthropic organisations. The daily expenditure on camps runs into several hundred thousand of rupees.

During 1947-48 the Government of India have made a budget provision of Rs. 100,000,000 for relief. The total number of non-Muslim refugees evacuated up to December 14 from West Punjab, N.W.F.P. Sind and Baluchistan came to 1,262,000.

Gandhiji On Kashmir

Gandhiji speaking on the 25th, asked whether the Union and Pakistan were always to depend on a third party to settle their disputes. How long would they go on quarrelling? He characterised as fantastic the talk about the division of Kashmir. It was more than enough that India had been divided into two. It was said at first, added Gandhiji, that Kashmir was attacked by raiders. But as the time went on, it became clear that Pakistan was at the back of the attack. An Urdu daily, edited by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, openly invited Muslims for recruitment and join the jihad. Gandhiji said he considered Sheikh Abdullah to be the real head of Kashmir. Every one who had been to Kashmir had told him what an unrivalled hold the Sheikh Sahib had on the Muslim masses and the few non-Muslims in Kashmir. Gandhiji said he would advise the Maharaja to step aside along with his Minister and give the fullest opportunity to Sheikh Abdullah and the people of Kashmir to deal with the situation. Such a graceful act would become him as the head of a very great and important State in India.

Kashmir Situation

Emphasis in Kashmir has in the past been on the Muslim League which has been able to

a magnitude which had not perhaps been fully recognised at an earlier stage and which admits of no complacency or indecision anywhere," says a message from Jammu. "The Indian Air Force has been using its striking power to the fullest in support of the Indian armed forces engaging the raiders in the Noahera-Jhangar area." Kashmir had finally resolved to remain with India, ruled by the Kashmiri Jewels. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declared Sheikh Abdullah "Pakistan can conquer Kashmir only after each and every Kashmiri had dedicated his life fighting with Pakistan. Our association with India will develop only if we Kashmiris and our brother Muslims in India are treated like brothers by the Hindus and the Sikhs. The military is doing and will do its work in Kashmir, but peace on the Hindu-Muslim front is more essential. We are going to preserve our unity in order to defend ourselves from Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah who deceived the Indian Muslims, wants now to deceive foreign countries by saying that Kashmir is being attacked by the raiders, but his hand in the Kashmiri trouble has been exposed beyond doubt. At the present time, the relations between India and Pakistan continued," said Sheikh Abdullah at New Delhi on the 25th. "An open war between the two Dominions might be inevitable. You cannot have both war and referendum. We cannot bother about referendum now. We have first to beat back the 'invasion'." Describing the military situation he said that there were some 200,000 of the so-called raiders amassed all along the 450 miles of the common border between Kashmir and Pakistan. Large concentrations of these raiders were known to exist in Sialkot, Gujrat, Sialkote and Rawalpindi. There was enough proof that it was the army of Pakistan which was fighting in Kashmir. Soldiers of Pakistan Army had been captured and to hide its guilt, Pakistan put out the excuse that two battalions of its army had deserted. The Pakistan forces were fighting with all modern equipment of war, including aeroplanes. Pakistan, said Sheikh Sahib, was never hopeful of winning over Kashmir by peaceful methods. It therefore resorted to war. It was Pakistan and not India which had indulged in war-like activities. "Such sections of the Press as indulge in spreading communal poison by distorting happenings in Kashmir were doing a disservice to the cause of Indo-Kashmir unity. My task is being made more difficult by those who give a communal turn to events in Kashmir. I have to fight the two-nation theory of the Muslim League which has been able to

rouse communalism amongst the Hindus in India. In a free India there can be no room for communal organisations. I on my part will give no quarter to any communal organisation in Kashmir. I shall deal with all communalists in Kashmir with a heavy stick."

Shrimati Shama Kumari, President of the National Women's Conference, said: "Our eyes begin to shed tears when we imagine the atrocities perpetrated on the women of Jammu and Kashmir by raiders from across Pakistan. To save their honour hundreds of young girls of tribal Bhambars poisoned themselves to death, and many had had themselves killed by their relatives. Many who were abducted were exhibited in the bazars of Peshawar and Bannu, thereby causing Pathans towards Kashmir. Many have been subjected to unmentionable indignities. All were victims of terrible brutalities. If Sheikh Abdullah had not risen equal to the occasion, and if the arrival of Indian troops had been delayed, the people of Jammu and Kashmir would have been wiped out of existence."

"On behalf of the Government of India I can give you this assurance that we will do everything possible to save Kashmir," said Sardar Patel at Jammu on the 28th. "We will count neither cost nor material and whatever happens we shall not give up Kashmir. We will see this business through." He called upon the people to obey Sheikh Abdullah implicitly and act with a united will and determination to drive away the invaders." At a village near Delhi Sardar Patel revealed on the 30th that the Government were spending nearly Rs. 1 lakhs daily on the Kashmir campaign.

Muslims to Conference

Addressing nearly 70,000 Muslims at Lucknow on the 27th, as president of the Indian Union Muslims' Conference, Maulana Azad made the following three points:-

First, all communal organisations must be liquidated. This included organisations like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, which were mainly employed in guiding the Muslims in the cultural and religious spheres but were forced to enter the political field in the name of Indian nationalism. They also would have to stop their political activities. No political organisation formed on a communal basis could be tolerated in the changed circumstances in the country. Communal organisations continuing their activities to religion and culture alone could, however, continue.

Second, Muslims should join non-communal political organisations. It would do well for them

to join the Congress whose doors were open to Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians alike. Of course, they were free to join any non-communal organisation they chose.

Third, machinery should be created by the conference to implement the decisions of the conference. This machinery should be in the form of a committee of a non-communal character.

The conference unanimously passed resolutions asking Muslims in India to dissolve all "communal political organisations" and advising them to join the Congress. The conference also decided to appoint a 100-man committee of a non-communal character to launch direct mass contact among Muslims to give effect to the other two resolutions. A fourth resolution expressed appreciation of the efforts and splendid services of Mahatma Gandhi and such other Congress leaders as have worked for securing equal rights to all citizens of the Indian Union.

Gandhiji To Muslims

Just a couple of days earlier, Gandhiji referred to in Urdu magazine in India wherein was a verse to the effect that everyone was talking of Somnath temple today, but in order to avenge the happenings at Junagadh a new Ghaznavi would have to come from Ghazni.

It had deeply hurt Gandhiji. How could any Muslim worth the name in the Union entertain such thoughts? Why should he not be proud to associate himself with the act of reclamation of Somnath? He hoped that no true Muslim would be proud of the acts which are imputed to Mahmud Ghaznavi.

Gandhiji had pledged his life to secure safety for the Muslims in the Union. He would not swerve from his pledge, because he believed in returning good for evil. He asked the Hindus and Sikhs not to be carried away by passions. But he asked his Muslim friends not to make the task of reconciliation more difficult. He would not have referred to the notorious couplet but for the fact that it was to be found in an important publication.

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Things In General

Natives Look To The East

The possibility of the removal of South Africa from the Commonwealth, their loyalty to Asia in the near future, was referred to by Professor Jahn, of Fort Hare, at the Institute of Race Relations African Trust in Cape Town last week. Professor Jahn is one of the two vice-presidents of the institute. The question was "Is there any

UNION'S NEW CABINET

On the eve of the opening of Parliament last week the Prime Minister General Smuts with the approval of Governor-General reconstituted his cabinet. Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, at his own request relinquished the Portfolio of Finance and has taken over the Portfolio of Mines. He retains the Portfolio of Education and his position of Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the House of Assembly is recognised.

The new Minister of Finance is Mr. H. C. Smuts, formerly Minister of Transport.

Mr. S. F. Watson, formerly Minister of Economic Development, is now Minister of Transport.

Mr. J. W. Mather, formerly Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and Public Works, is the new Minister of Economic Development.

Senator C. F. Clarkson, formerly Minister of the Interior, is now Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and Public Works.

Mr. H. G. Lawrence takes over the Portfolio of Interior, in addition to the Portfolio of Education already held.

The Portfolio of Welfare which was taken over by Dr. Colin Clive, who retains the portfolio of Labour.

The other Portfolios remain unchanged. The Prime Minister retains the Portfolios of Defence and External Affairs. Senator A. M. Conroy remains Minister of Lands. Mr. J. G. N. is Minister of Agriculture. Dr. Henry Gubbins, Minister of Health, is Major Portman, the D.V. Minister of Native Affairs.

...native to South Africa, declared, "has of white supremacy but will preserve Western civilisation in this ... Western ... to stand on the non-white ... of ... China," said ... If there is no place for the ... the civilisation as it is ... in South Africa, then we may possibly be compelled to look for alliances in the East."

Kashmir Dispute Before Security Council

Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar, India's Minister with Portfolio, speaking before the United Nations Security Council emphasised that the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan is a matter of immediate urgency.

"The situation is grave today. It is growing graver with every day, thanks to the difficult nature of the country where the military fight is progressing in wintry conditions."

Kashmir could be of concern to India if she handled the problem in a purely military way, but such handling might involve the risk of an armed conflict with Pakistan.

"There is an ample proof available to establish that the invaders of Kashmir are not only being allowed transit across Pakistan territory, but also draw much of their equipment, arms, transport, supplies and petrol from Pakistan."

Pakistan officers were training guerrillas or otherwise actively helping the raiders.

Sir Gopalaswami asked the Council to use its influence to prevent Pakistan Government personnel from helping or taking part in the invasion, and to ask Pakistan to deny the invaders access to, and the use of its territory, military supplies and all other kinds of aid.

"The withdrawal and expulsion of the raiders and the immediate stopping of the fight are the first and the only tasks to which we have to address ourselves."

A man who is good enough to shed his blood for the country is good enough to be given a square deal afterwards, more than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man shall have.

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The Registrar of the Natal University Council will attend at the office, which is situated at the Natal College, Durban, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, to receive applications.

For details of the courses, and for the application form, see the Natal University Council, Natal, or the Natal University Council, Natal, or the Natal University Council, Natal.

Monday, 22nd January 1948, Natal University Council, Natal.

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—ધી જાપાન બઝાર—

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સરસ્વતી જાવે આકર્ષક અને હળામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. ૫

સીલકની બરત બરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડિઝાઇન	૫ ૧૦ ૦
બાવેલી બેરબેલી સાડીઓ	૭ ૧૦ ૦
સીલક મજલીનની બરતબરેલી સાડીઓ	૮ ૮ ૦
જરી બરત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ	૧૩ ૧૦ ૦
જરી બરત બેરબેલી સાડીઓ	૧૫ ૦ ૦
કીલમ રસાઈ, જે રંગી સાડીઓ, રંગીન નવીન ડિઝાઇન	૧૧ ૦ ૦

બાવેલી વોપલ, સાડી માટે ૫૦" પનો. આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૬ વાર. બરત બરેલી રંગમ, સાડી અને બ્રાડેલ માટે ૪૫" પનો રી. ૧૨-૬. મરઠા તથા જોડાઓ માટે મીલક રાઈ, પાવળા, સોલક, રૂબાલ વીગેરના જાવમાં ખાત કરાશે કંઈક છે.

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FRIDAY, 30TH JANUARY, 1946

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 30TH JANUARY, 1946

Second Phase Of The Struggle

THE second phase of the Passive Resistance struggle commenced on Sunday, January 25, when a number of Resisters crossed the border of the Transvaal Province without the necessary permits. This was done with a view to violating the Immigration law which places a ban on Indians moving from one Province to another and thus courting arrest. This was a second step in the struggle against the Natives Land Tempers Act. The Union Government have once again chosen to ignore the Resisters who have now gone to Johannesburg and are camping on a plain there. It remains now to be seen who is right next. In the meantime Gandhi has requested the Union Government to treat Indians well and to maintain friendly relations with the Government of India which enjoys equal independent status in the British Commonwealth together with South Africa. There is, however, very little likelihood of Gandhi's request coming any more with South Africa in its present obstinate mood. Through Dr. Mahab's motion and Mr. Sankar's amendment, which was perhaps worse especially in view of the fact that it came from one who called himself a Dominionite were defeated in Parliament the debate clearly showed which way the country was inclined

It also proved to the hilt that if Indians desired to live in this country with any pretence of self-respecting people they were in for a hard struggle involving the sacrifice of comfort and ease. The easier way of course is the way the so-called moderates are going. But it would be regrettable if the Indians felt that way. It would amount to committing suicide as a community. The path directed by Congress is a difficult one, no doubt, but we are convinced that it is the only path that will make life worth living in this or any country. It no doubt requires courage and fortitude and a spirit of self-sacrifice. The birth of Freedom is not easy one. It requires all these qualities. May the community be blessed with those qualities and most fervent prayers. Whilst following the course of our struggle it is too soon to say that we should take note of what our enemies have to say. If there is anything good in what they say we should indignantly and carefully accept it. If there is not we should not make our position as clear as possible. One of the charges against the Resisters is that they are not anxious to see better relations between this country and India as well as between the two communities in South Africa, that they desire to see the trade boycott continue so that

some of them can take advantage of trade difficulties. While the War was on there were quite a number of heartless people who took mean advantage of it to fill their coffers and who deeply regretted to see the War end. But that did not deter those who were supposedly fighting for a righteous cause continuing the War. In every community there are always malefactors who work to cause in the pursuit of their own gain and bring disrepute on the community. No one can deny this. The question is who is playing this role in our community the Resisters and their supporters or those who have

filled with our common enemy the Government. Then there are people who still persist in saying that the South African Indian problem is one of South Africa's domestic concern. The wise statesmen of South Africa have, however, begun to realise that it is not so. Injustice existing in any part of the world cannot be the domestic concern of that particular part. The present time calls for the enlightened world must interest itself in it and take remedial measures. Otherwise there is no earthly meaning in the much talked of United Nations Charter of Freedom.

INDIANS STARVING FOR EDUCATION

MORE SCHOOLS DEMANDED

ABOUT 200 Indians organised by the Natal Indian Congress staged a demonstration march through Durban on Wednesday afternoon as a protest against the shortage of educational facilities for Indians.

The demonstrators, who consisted chiefly of students and children assembled at Souter College. They marched via Warwick Avenue, Victoria Street, Albert Street, Leopold Street and Soldiers Way to Cartwright Plaza, carrying banners bearing the slogans: "75 per cent of the Indian people are illiterate," and "Accommodate our 50,000 school-less children." Demonstrators shouted "We want more schools."

The procession, which was preceded by the Chief Constable, Mr. R. Johnston, and escorted by members of the City Police, was perfectly orderly. The Mayor of Durban, Mr. L. L. Boyd, had previously approved the route.

The meeting held at Cartwright Plaza deplored the lack of educational facilities for about 50,000 Indian school children and the "apparent indifference" of the Natal Provincial Administration to the crisis. It authorised the

Natal Indian Congress, with a deputation to be appointed by a bourgeois meeting to see the Administrator and ask both for long range planning and immediate temporary measures to meet the situation.

The N.I.C. was also authorised to interview the Prime Minister if necessary to secure emergency and early action.

Mr. J. N. Singh, chairman of the sub-committee in charge of education, told the demonstrators before the procession started, that on Tuesday 280 students wrote the entrance examination to Souter College.

Last year 180 had been turned down. This year there was room for only 60 and these would be taken from last year's surplus. This year's candidates had little chance of getting in.

Four months ago there were 38,868 Indian students accommodated in 165 Government, Government-aided and private schools in Natal. For the 50,000 European students, however, there were 101 schools in Natal.

not acceptable to the South African Indian population. The Governments of India and Pakistan.

"We want a Round Table Conference. That remains one of our premier demands. But we want a Round Conference on an honourable basis. We want a Conference on the basis of the 1946 resolution of the United Nations as has already been made known in General Smuts by the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru. General Smuts must realise that he is dealing with four hundred million people who have achieved a new status."

"My appeal is the misguided individuals who are meeting General Smuts is that they must desert from taking a step out in keeping with the self-respect of India, Pakistan and our community. To these so-called 'Moderates' I say, 'If you have not the courage to carry into effect the South African Indian Congress Conference decision to resist the Ghetto Act, a decision subsequently fortified by a resolution of the Executive of the S.A.I.C. supporting Passive Resistance in unambiguous terms. In the making of both these decisions you took part and gave your approval, then do not desert the struggle. Let the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses carry on the struggle and you wind up the puppet organisation you have set up."

"While the Indian community has been preparing for this new phase of resistance, the Union Parliament has been considering the motion of Dr. Malan on the colour question. The discussion on the motion has exposed the character of the white ruling class and their political parties. The Nationalist Party, far from expressing that Afrikaner urge for freedom, an urge for which many Afrikaners gave their lives in their struggle against British imperialism, to-day stands exposed on the one extreme with its Fascist policy of total oppression of the non-European Party seems agreed on the general policy of segregation, a policy which has led to world condemnation of our country."

In conclusion Dr. Dadabhai congratulated the brave Resisters who were doing a noble task for their country, South Africa.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed:

The first meeting of the Indian community held in Johannesburg on Sunday, January 25th, 1948, protesting against total oppression by the white-minority South African Government and Indian Representation Act of 1946, as well as against the South African Indian community for the last 30 months, adopted the

following resolutions:

The second meeting of the Indian community held in Johannesburg on Sunday, January 25th, 1948, protesting against the Ghetto Act, pledged the whole-hearted and active support of the Indian community to the Resisters who are fighting the Ghetto Act.

The meeting also adopted a resolution to urge the Government of India and Parliament to take immediate steps to repeal the 1946 Act in order to restore the fundamental right of association and ownership of land to property in the Indian community, which is being denied by them under the Act, and to end the deadlock existing between the Indian community and the Government of India and Pakistan.

It is the considered opinion of this meeting that in order to bring about harmonious relations in South Africa and to put an end to further deterioration of European and Indian co-operation, General Smuts should, with the initiative, hold a Round-Table Conference with the Government of India and Pakistan.

The meeting therefore calls upon General Smuts to take such steps as may be in the interest of the South African people and in the interest of world peace.

The meeting of the Indian community held under the auspices of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council at the Red Square, Johannesburg, on Sunday, January 25th, 1948, expressed its profound joy at the successful first of January demonstration and its intention to continue a new period of organized co-operation in India.

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NON-EUROPEANS TO REMAIN ECONOMIC VASSAL OF WHITE MAN

The inter-relationship of races in the trade union movement was discussed by Dr. M. I. Benischowitz at the meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations held recently in Johannesburg. He said that the European, who dominated in South Africa, wished to exclude from his society the non-European, except to make him an economic vassal. Although trade union leaders lamented the racial intolerance of their members, the attitude persisted. Even in the Western Province, where non-European craftsmen had trade union equality, they were being removed from skilled work because they lacked the educational qualifications and training to be apprenticed. Unless the trade unions could do away with racial and colour discrimination, they would betray the principles for which they stood. When the Government encouraged the establishment of separate facilities for Europeans and non-Europeans in factories, the unions acquiesced because they feared to alienate their Afrikaans-speaking members. Where attempts at segregation failed, a drive was made to organize the European workers into separate trade unions which

received the benediction of the Industrial Registrar who registered unions for Europeans only. Non-Europeans were compelled to organize their own unions and there was no co-ordination. Many trade unions were testing the validity of the Registrar's actions when they thought a corruption of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Fundamentally said Dr. Benischowitz, the European feared for his own economic security; but he would strengthen his own position by giving others what he expected himself.

Burmese Republic

San Shwe Thaik, the first President of the Burmese Republic, in a message to the world immediately after he had assumed office said:—"We start on Burma's new era of freedom with a profound gratitude to the nation's freedom fighters and to British statesmanship, which enabled us to attain our goal smoothly and speedily. We take our place among the nations of the world, determined to maintain the friendliest relations with all and to do our part to ensure world peace."

First Batch Of Resisters In The Second Phase Of The Struggle



who entered the Transvaal Border on Sunday, January 25, but were not arrested

WHY GANDHIJI FASTED

ANNOUNCING his decision to undertake the fast at his prayer meeting on January 1, Mahatma Gandhi said: "One fast for the sake of health under laws governing health or fasts as a penance for a wrong done and felt as such."

"I have fasts," he added, "but fasts are not to be believed in. There is, however, a fast which a votary of non-violence sometimes feels impelled to undertake by way of protest against some wrong done by society, and this he does when he, as a votary of ahimsa, has no other remedy left. Such an occasion has come in my way."

Proceeding, he observed: "When on September 4, I returned to Delhi from Calcutta it was to proceed to West Punjab. But that was not to be. Gay Delhi looked a city of the dead. As I alighted from the train I observed gloom on every face I saw."

"Even the Sardar, whom humour and the joy that humour gives never desert, was no exception this time. The cause of it I did not know."

"He was on the platform to receive me. He lost no time in giving me the sad news of the disturbances that had taken place in the metropolis of the Union. At once I saw that I had to be in Delhi and do or die. There is apparent calm brought by prompt military and police action. But there is storm within the breast. I may burst forth any day."

"This I count as no fulfilment of the vow to 'do', which alone can keep me from death, the inescapable friend. I yearn for the heart friendship between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. It is not between them the other day. To-day, it is non-existent. It is a state that no Indian patriot worthy of the name can contemplate with equanimity."

"Though the voice within has been beckoning for a long time, I have been shutting my ears to it. At least it may be the voice of Satan, otherwise called, my weakness. I never like to feel resourceless. A Satyagrahi never should. Fast is his last resort in the place of the sword, his or others."

Three Days Of Brooding

"I have no answer to return to the Muslim friends who see me from day to day as to what they should do. My impotence has been gnawing at me of late. It will go immediately the fast is undertaken. I have been brooding over it for the last three days. The final conclusion has flashed upon me and it makes me happy."

"No man, if he is pure, has anything more precious to give than his life. I hope and pray that I have that purity in me to justify the step. I ask you all to

do the effort and to pray for me and with me."

"The fast begins from the first meal tomorrow. The period is indefinite and I may drink water with or without salt and some times. It will end when, and if, I am satisfied that there is a reunion of hearts of all communities brought about without any undue pressure but from an awakened sense of duty."

"The reward will be the regaining of India's dwindling prestige and her fast fading sovereignty over the heart of Asia and then through the world. I foster myself with the belief that the loss of her soul by India will mean the loss of the hope of aching, storm-tossed and hungry world."

Condition For Ending Fast

"Let no friend or foe. If there be one, be angry with me. There are friends who do not believe in the method of the fast for the reclamation of the human mind. They will bear with me and extend to me the same liberty of action that they claim for themselves. With God as my supreme and sole counsellor, I felt that I must take the decision without any other adviser. If I have made a mistake and discover it, I shall have no hesitation in proclaiming it from the house-tops and retracting my faulty step."

"There is little chance of my making such a discovery. If there is clear indication, as I claim there is, the inner voice, it will not be gainsaid. I plead for all absence of argument and inevitable endorsement of the step. If the whole of India responds or at least Delhi does the fast might be soon ended."

"But whether it ends soon or late or never, let there be no softness in dealing with what may be termed as a crisis. Critics have regarded some of my previous fasts as coercive and belittling. If, in the verdict, the verdict would have gone against my stand but for the pressure exercised by the facts. What value can an adverse verdict have when the purpose is demonstrably sound? Fast fast, like duty is its own reward. I do not count back upon it for the sake of the result it may bring. I do not care to be caught in a trap."

"Hence I urge everybody dispassionately to examine the purpose and let me die. I must have peace which I hope is ensured. Death for me would be glorious deliverance rather than that I should be a helpless witness of the destruction of India, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam. That destruction is certain if Pakistan endures on equality of status and security of life and property for all professing the various faiths of

the world and if India copies her. Only then Islam dies in the two Indias, not in the world. But Hinduism and Sikhism have no world outside India. Those who differ from me will be honoured by me for their resistance, however implacable. Let my fast quicken conscience, not deaden it."

'Rot Has Set In'

"Just contemplate the rot that has set in, in beloved India and you will rejoice to think that there is a humble son of hers who is strong enough and possibly pure enough to take the happy step. If he is neither, he is a burden on earth. The spoor he disappears and clears the Indian atmosphere of the burden, the bane for him and all concerned."

"I would beg of all friends not to rush to Birla House nor try to dissuade me nor be anxious for me. I am in God's hands. Rather they should turn the search-lights inwards, for this is essential by a testing time for all of us. Those who remain at their post of duty and perform it diligently and well, now more so than hitherto, will help me and the cause in every way. The fast is a process of self justification."

"I told you of two letters from Andhra. One was from the aged friend, no other than Deshabhakti Konda Venkappayya Garu. I give their extracts from it."

"The one great problem, apart from many other political and economic issues of very complicated nature, is the moral degradation into which the men in Congress circles have fallen. I cannot say much about other provinces. In my province, the condition is very deplorable. The rule of political power has turned them heads. Several of the M.L.A.s and M.L.C.s are following the policy of 'make hay while the sun shines', making money by the use of influence, even to the extent of obstructing the administration of justice in the criminal courts provided over by magistrates."

Even the district collectors and other revenue officials do not feel free in the discharge of their duties on account of the frequent interference by the M.L.A.s and M.L.C.s on behalf of their portmanteau. A strict and honest officer cannot hold his position, for, false reports are carried against him by the Ministers who easily lead the ears to these unprincipled self-seekers."

"Swaraaj was the only all-absorbing passion which guided men and women to follow our leadership. But now that the goal had been reached, all moral restrictions have less their power on most of the fighters in the great struggle who are joining hands even with

those who were sworn opponents of the national movement and who now, for their personal ends, call themselves as Congress members. The situation is growing intolerable everyday with the result that the Congress as well as the Congress Government have come into disrepute."

"The recent municipal elections in Andhra had proved how far and how fast the Congress is losing its hold upon the people. The municipal elections in the town of Guntur were suddenly ordered to be stopped by an urgent message from the Madras Minister for Local Bodies after every preparation was made for carrying on elections. Only a nominated council was in power for, I believe, the last ten years or more and for nearly a year now the municipal administration has been in the hands of a commissioner. Now the talk prevails that the Government would soon nominate councillors to take charge of the municipal affairs of this town."

"I, old, decrepit, and with a broken leg, slowly limping on crutches within the walls of my house have no axe to grind. I, no doubt, entertain certain strong views against some of the leading Congressmen in the two parties into which the members of the provincial and district Congress committees now stand divided, and I have made no secret of my views."

Factions In Congress

"The factions in the Congress circles, the money making activities of several of the M.L.A.s and M.L.C.s and the wealthiness of the Ministers has been creating rebellions against the people at large. The people have begun to say that the British Government was much better and they are cursing the Congress."

"Let the people of Andhra and the other provinces measure the words of this self-sacrificing servant of India," remarked the Mahatma, commenting on the letter. As he rightly says, the corruption described by him is no monopoly of Andhra. He could only give first-hand evidence about Andhra. Let us beware."

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'STOPS CHAFING!'

CURRENT EVENTS

By Samachar

Anti Indianism Rife

WITH the Parliamentary elections in the offing the Colour question continues to hold the attention of the Europeans and in Natal anti-Indian stories are being trailed across the track by the leading daily and Sunday papers. About a fortnight ago the *Natal Mercury*, which is notorious for its anti-Indian drives played up the "illegal" occupation of homes by Indians while its Sunday edition, the *Natal Sunday Post* continues to play on the primary passions of the European with "Indian men and European women" stories. Ever since it first made its appearance in July last this Sunday paper has splashed "Indian men—where women" stories across its front page until it forced the United Party to take a resolution of protest at a recent Congress. The objective is to bring the morality laws which operate between European men and Native women to apply between Indian men and European women. On Sunday last week the paper announced that a mass meeting of European women in Durban was being planned to press for morality laws to prevent European girls mixing with Indian men. No specific allegations have as yet been made and the whole case is built up on surmise and conjecture. According to it the main meeting places are "clubs" where the girls are entertained to dances, dinners and cabaret shows. While this paper indulges in its Sunday sensationalism to work up the emotions of the European men it makes no reference to the liberties which the same European men take with the African women of the country. In any case, if it had not been for their liberties there would not have been any coloured problem in South Africa. Not so long ago the *Sunday Times* of Johannesburg, revealed that on the Rand this intermingling of European men and African women is rife to an alarming degree.

Free-Stater Shocked

A Free Stater's sense of morality has received a rude shock all because on the evening of Sunday December 28, 1947, the Durban City Orchestra indulged in a spot of liberalism and a non-European male voice choir and a non-European woman singer figured in a mixed performance in the City Hall. On Saturday January 17, 1948, a Free State Provincial Councillor, one Dr. Jan van der Merwe, declaring that he was "shocked" at this exhibition, said, "This is not a matter of art but a threat to Western civilisation. We are not dealing with a political

point of view but with a national question. If we want to keep South Africa white for posterity we must uphold and carry out our forbears' golden rule of 'apartheid' and segregation in every field. To fail to do so is playing with fire." He added that this "doctrine of equality" was nothing more than a Communist threat and appealed to the people of Durban to appreciate the danger all this meant as Western civilisation. When this "assault" occurred on the bastion of Western Civilisation, Dr. van der Merwe and a few friends were holidaying in Durban—and presumably bathing in the Indian Ocean.

WILL RHODESIA BE IN OR OUT OF STEP OF ENLIGHTENED WORLD OPINION

'BULAWAYO CHRONICLE' SPEAKS OUT

WE heartily congratulate the *Bulawayo Chronicle* for its following courageous article in its issue of January 16.

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr is everywhere acknowledged as a man of outstanding and courageous in defence of the principles he holds to be right. Both his outspokenness and his courage were shown by his speech at the annual meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations. Already the political opponents of the Government of which Mr. Hofmeyr is a member are indicating that in the election which must be held in the Union this year they will make the colour and racial issue one of the dominant ones. Whether they do or not Mr. Hofmeyr will stand by his declaration.

We must accept the position that the attitude of the average European in South Africa does not measure up to the standards of value which are coming to be accepted internationally. South Africa will be in danger of losing international esteem and good will.

Mr. Hofmeyr's words were reinforced by those of the Catholic Bishop of Natal, who at another meeting reported at the same time said:

Unless Europeans were prepared gracefully to accept the end of white supremacy and the equality of all races in South Africa the country was doomed to a future of strife and bloodshed.

His words, too, were reinforced by other items of news which were published in the same column—the decision of the Kenya Government to give African unrestricted freedom of assembly,

'We Are Liar'

If we claim God as our father and speak anything in the name of hatred of our fellow men, we matter his colour, race or creed then we are liars declared Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr when he spoke at the 50th anniversary celebration of the Sea Point Methodist Church in Capetown recently. He said that the trouble in South Africa was that the Europeans were afraid that if they accepted all men as brothers they would have also to accept them as brothers-in-law. He had believed that the war would bring about a change in man's standards and values and that it would bring in its wake a new spiritual revolution, but this had not happened and instead, self-seeking was rampant in the world. The outlook for humanity was grim.

Rhodesia keeping in step with enlightened world opinion as facing the consequences of failing to do so.

Seven Conditions

ON WHICH GANDHIJI BROKE HIS FAST

The seven conditions laid down by Gandhi on breaking his fast on Sunday were as follows:

1. That the annual fair at the Government Bazar in Madras should be cancelled and the fair should take place at the Bazar of that area should remain the Madras fair and should not be taken over by Delhi.

2. That the U.D. Delhi was converted into a temple for food after the September disturbances when the movements of the population due to partition were going on) be restored as it was by non-Muslims without Governmental pressure.

3. That Madras should be the only place where the Government should hold the fair and should not be taken over by Delhi.

4. That the Government should not allow the fair to be taken over by Delhi.

5. That Madras should be able to travel by train without danger to its lives and property.

6. That there should be no economic boycott of Madras.

7. That the Government should not allow the fair to be taken over by Delhi.

At his last prayer meeting after breaking his fast, Mr. Gandhi told his congregation that he could not disbelieve the pledge that, come what may, there would be complete friendship between Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees and Jews.

"To break that friendship would be to break the nation," he said. "If there is darkness in the Indian Union, it would be folly to expect light in Pakistan. But if the night in the Union is dispelled beyond a shadow of doubt, it cannot be otherwise in Pakistan for the signs are waiting in that direction."

"If the solemn pledge is fulfilled, I assure you it will revive with redoubled force my intense wish and prayer before God that I be enabled to live my full span of life, doing the service of humanity till the last moment. That span, according to learned opinion, is at least 125 years—come say 133."

MATHURADAS PRAGJI

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him, as he did not, for the remark. Most Hindus held this view. What he wanted his League friends to do was to live down the Sarkar's remark and by their conduct, not declarations, disprove it.

Thorough Cleansing Needed

Gandhiji, expected, thorough cleansing of hearts, he added. That being secured, there would be mutual respect and trust. They were all of the Union, and by right it belonged to them. He could not be the last for loss. They must dislodge Satan from their hearts and enthroned God.

GANDHJI ASKS S.A. TO TREAT INDIANS WELL

"I REQUEST the South African Government to treat Indians well and to maintain friendly relations with the Government of India," said Mahatma Gandhi at his prayer meeting at New Delhi on Wednesday.

"India and South Africa now enjoy equal independent status in the British Commonwealth. The fact that one party is White and the other Brown should not be the cause of any dispute."

Gandhiji said he was sure the Union Government were behaving in a gentlemanly manner towards Indians who had entered a prohibited area in South Africa. The South African Government would ultimately have to arrest the agitators, although he could not understand why there should not be an agreement between the two parties.

—Sapa Reuter.

To Hindus And Sikhs

Gandhiji would repeat with his last breath that Hindus and Sikhs should be brave enough to say that whatever happened in Pakistan, they would not raise their little finger against a single Muslim in the Union. They would never again indulge in cowardly acts, however great the provocation. If Delhi became peaceful on the real basis of the fact, he would then break the fast. Delhi was the capital of India. The ruin or downfall of Delhi he would regard as the ruin of India and Pakistan. He wanted Delhi to be safe for all Nations. He would not mind how long he took for real peace to be established. Whether it took one day or one month, it was immaterial. No one should say or do anything to lure him into giving up his last immaturity. The object should not

be to save his life. It should be to save India and her honour. He would feel happy and proud when he saw that India's place was not lowered as it had become by the recent happenings which he had no wish to recall.

"Stop Riots In Pakistan"

On the 14th Gandhiji poured out his soul once again, saying that he had come in spite of the doctors' objections. But from tomorrow he would probably not be able to walk to the prayer ground. He had the strength today and he used it though the doctors had advised him to conserve it. He was in God's hands. If He wanted him to live, he would not die. He did not want his birth in God to weaken. He went on to say: "You have heard of the cowardly attack on the Sikhs in Karachi. Innocent men, women, and children were butchered, looted and others have had to flee. Now comes the news of an attack on a refugee train at Gujarat. The train was carrying non-Muslim refugees from the Frontier Province. Large numbers are reported to have been killed and women abducted. It distresses me. How long can the Union put up with such things? How long can I bank up the patience of the Hindus and Sikhs in spite of my fast? Pakistan has to put a stop to this state of affairs. They must purify their hearts and pledge themselves that they will not rest till the Hindus and Sikhs can return and live in safety in Pakistan."

Self-Purification Needed

"Supposing there is a wave of self-purification throughout India, Pakistan will become peaceful. It will be a state in which past wrongs will have been forgotten, past distinctions will have been buried, the last and the smallest in Pakistan will command the same respect and the same protection of life and property that the Qaid-i-Azam enjoys. Such Pakistan can never die. Then, and not till then, shall I repeat that I overcalled it a sin, as I am afraid I must hold today, it is."

"I want to live to see that Pakistan not on paper, not in the orations of Pakistan orators, but in the daily life of every Pakistani Muslim. Then the inhabitants of the Union will forget that there ever was any comity between them and, if I am not mistaken, the Union will proudly copy Pakistan and, if I am alive, I shall ask her to excel Pakistan in well-doing. The fast is a bid for nothing less. Be it said to the shame of those of us, who are in the Union, that we have already copied Pakistan's bad manners."

Dream Of Communal Unity

"Before I ever knew anything of politics in my early youth, I

dreamt the dream of communal unity of the heart. I shall jump in the evening of my life, like a child, to feel that the dream has been realized in this life. The wish of living the full span of life portrayed by the scene of old and which they permit us to set in in 125 years, will then revive. Who would not risk sacrificing his life for the realisation of such a dream? Then we shall have real Swaraj. Then, though, legally and geographically, we may still be two States, in daily life no one will think that we were separate States. The vista before us seems to me to be as it must be to you, too glorious to be true and yet like a child in a famous picture, drawn by a famous master, I shall not be happy till I have seen it. I live and want to live for no lower goal. Let the seekers from Pakistan help me to realise in me the goal as it is humanly possible.

"Paradise on Earth."

A paradise can be one when it is reached. The nearest approach is always possible. What I have said holds good irrespective of whether others do it or not. It is open to every individual to purify himself or herself so as to render him or her fit for that land of promise. I remember to have read, I forget whether in the Delhi Fort or the Agra Fort, when I visited them in 1896, a verse on one of the gates which, when translated, reads: "If there is paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here." That fort, with all its magnificence in its best, was no paradise in my estimation. But I should love to see that verse with justice inscribed on the gates of Pakistan at all the entrances. In such a paradise, whether it is in the Union or in Pakistan, there will be neither paupers nor beggars, nor high no low, neither millionaire employers nor half-starved employees nor intoxicating drinks or drugs. There will be the same respect for women as is vouchsafed to men and the chastity and purity of men and women will be exhaustively guarded. Where every woman except one's wife, will be treated by men of all religions as either sister or daughter, according to her age. While there will be no untouchables and there there will be equal respect for all faiths. They will be all proudly, joyously and voluntarily bread labourers.

God-Inspired Fast.

"I hope everyone who lives, as me or reads these lines will forgive me if, stretched on my bed and basking in the sun, inhaling life-giving sunshine, I allow myself to indulge in this dream. For I assure the dreamer, I accept that I have not the slightest desire that the fast should be ended as quickly as possible. It matters little if the earthly wishes of a fool die and are never realised and the fast is never broken. I am content to wait as long as it may be necessary, but it will hurt me to think that people have acted merely in order to save me. I

claim that God has inspired this fast and it will be broken only when and if He wishes it. No human agency has ever been known to thwart nor will it ever thwart, divine will."

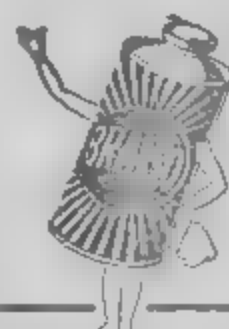
SAFE
and sure!



Reckitt's Blue is the only dye that keeps clothes spotlessly white. It is the only dye that is safe and sure. It is the only dye that is easy to use. It is the only dye that is the best.

Reckitt's
BLUE
Keeps clothes
spotlessly
white

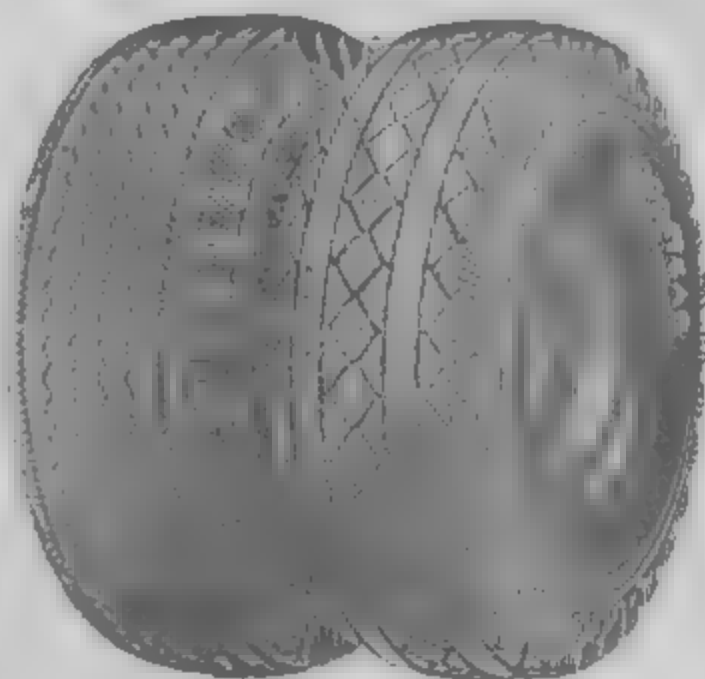
It makes
all the
difference



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ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના દરને
સને ૧૯૦૨માં રચાયેલું.

પુસ્તક ૪૬ મે—આંક ૫

શુક્રવાર તા. ૩૦ જાન્યુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮.

જુલું નંબર ૮ પૃષ્ઠી

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૩૦ જાન્યુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮

લડતનો બીજો તબક્કો

સત્યાગ્રહની લડતનો બીજો તબક્કો રવીવારે શરૂ થયો. આવી તા. ૨૫ મીથી શરૂ થયો, ત્યારે પંજર સત્યાગ્રહીઓની કુકડી એ જોક પ્રાંતમાંથી બીજા પ્રાંતમાં ફાળા સ્થાની હિંદીઓને મનાઈ કરનારા ઇંગ્લેન્ડના કાયદાનો બાજ કરવાના અને એ રીતે પકડાવા ના ઇરાદાથી વગર પરવાને હાંસ વાલની સરહદમાં પ્રવેશ કરી હતો. એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્સર કોર્પોરેશની સામેની લડતમાં આ બીજું પગલું લેવાયું છે. યુનીયન સરકારે ફરી એક વાર સત્યાગ્રહીઓને અવગણવાનું પગલું લીધું છે અને તેથી સત્યાગ્રહીઓએ જોડાની સખાઈ જઈ ત્યાં એક જમીનના કુકડાપર તાજુ તાણી પકાવ લાવ્યો છે. હવે જોવાનું છે કે પહેલું કોણ ચાકે છે.

દરમીયાનમાં સદાચ આંખીછ એ હિંદીઓ પ્રત્યે મારો મનોવ બતાવવાની અને હિંદી સરકાર, જે પ્રીટીશ ઇમ્પ્રોવિસમાં આઉથ આફીકાની સાથે સમાન દરજ્જો મેળવે છે, તેની સાથે મીનતા બધો સંબંધ રકાવી રાખવા યુનીયન સરકારને વીનંતિ કરી છે. સરકાર આફીકાનું કાલનુ જકડી માનસ જેતાં ગાંધીજીની વીનંતિ ની તેનાપર કરી અગર યાચ એવા ઘણાજ એવો સંબંધ જણાય છે.

જે કે દો, મહાનનો કરાવ તેમજ કરાવ સરહદનાં પ્રધારો, જે ખાસ કરી તે જોતાને દોમી નીયન પાટના નેતા કહેવડાય છે એ જોતાં, કરાવ કરતાંયે વધારે ખરાબ કહી શકાય, તે પાટાએ-ટમાં કીડી મયા છે. છતાં તેનાપરની સત્યાગ્રહી દેશનુ વલણ કઈ દિશાએ છે એ સ્પષ્ટ

બતાવી ન્યાયુ છે. વળી તેમને એ પણ પુષ્ટિ પહેલું મિત્ર થઈ છે કે હિંદીઓ એ આ દેશમાં સમાન મિત્ર મનુષ્યો તરીકેના જરા પણ કાળથી રહેવા નામના હોય તો તેઓને સમાન લડત લડવી પડે અને વીકટ સંકરો રહેવાને અને વોશો આપવાને તકવાર થયું પડશે.

સહેલો માર્ગ તો એક કહેવાતા મોકરો કઈ રહ્યા છે તે છે. પરંતુ જે હિંદીઓ એ માર્ગે ગાડી પડી તો ખરેખર શ્રેયનીયજ ગણાશે કેમકે એક કોમ તરીકે તેઓએ આત્મધાન કરેલો ગણાશે. કેમકે નીંદે જોલો માર્ગ એક કઠિન છે પરંતુ આ દેશમાં કે કોઈ પણ અન્ય દેશ માં જીવન જીવ્યુ સાથે કરવું હોય તો એજ એક માર્ગ તરીકે કુટકો છે એ વિષે અમને જરાયે સંદેહ નથી. એ માર્ગ લેવાને બેશક હિંમત અને મહાનગીની અને ત્યાગવૃત્તીની જરૂર છે. પરંતુ આખાલીની લડત લડવી કઈ સહેલી નથી. એ સમયના યુવો તેને મારે કેળવવા પડે છે. કમ્પર કોમને એ યુવો અર્થે એજ આમરી નય પ્રાર્થના છે.

આપણી લડતના માર્ગે જતાં આપણા હીંદીકારો મુ કહે છે તેની આપણે ભાંધ લેવી જોઈએ. જે તેમાં કઈ સાર હોય તો તે વીના સંદોષ આભાર મંદુકુ કરી લેવું જોઈએ, જે ન હોય તો આપણી રિયનિ વધારે સ્પષ્ટ કરવાનો પ્રયાન કરવો જોઈએ. સત્યાગ્રહીઓની માટેના આદેશમાં એક એ છે કે તેઓ આ દેશ અને હિંદી વચ્ચે તેમજ સાઉથ આફ્રિકામાં અંગ્રેજ અને હિંદી કોમો વચ્ચે આદેશ સંબંધ

સ્થાપય એ જોવા સ્થાના નથી. તેઓ વેપારનો વર્ધકાર આણ રહે એમ મુખ્ય છે કે જેથી વેપાર ની નકલીદોનો તેઓમાંના દેશ સાથે જાન ઉઠાવી શકે. સુદ ચાલી રહ્યું હતું ત્યારે એવા ઘણાંયે ઉદ્યોગીન કોડો હતા કે જેઓએ પોતાની ત્રીજોદીઓ ખસવાને તેના જાળ ઉઠાવ્યો હતો અને સુદનો અંત આવેલો તો હિંદીઓએ જોડ પાડ્યા હતા. પરંતુ જેઓ ધર્મને નામે કડતા હોવાનો કાર્ય કરી સુદ ચલાવી રહ્યા હતા તેઓ કઈ એથી લડતા અટકી ગયા નહોતા.

“કરેક કોમમાં એવા અહિંત કારીઓ હોય છે કે જેઓ પોતાના લાભને ખાતર એક સવાલનો તાથ કરી તે છે અને તેમ કરી કોમને ફલકિત કરે છે.” આ વસ્તુનો ઇન્કાર યઈ શકે તેમ નથી. પરંતુ સવાલ એ વિષયિય યાય છે કે આપણી કોમમાં એવા ભાગ કોણ

વળવી રહ્યું છે, સત્યાગ્રહીઓ અને તેના સહાયકો કે જેઓ આપણા સમાન શત્રુ-સરકારની સાથે મળી મયા છે તેઓ.

એ મિત્રાવ વળી કેટલાક કોડો હજુ પણ આમરુપરક દેશાવવા માટે છે કે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાનાં હિંદી સવાલ આ દેશનો ખાનગી સવાલ છે. પરંતુ સાઉથ આફ્રિકા ના પ્રધા મુલ્કદિઓ ગમજતા થયા છે કે એ વસ્તુ ખરેખર નથી. અનુપાય ફનીયાના કોઈ પણ ભાગમાં વસ્તો હોય તો તે એ દેશનો ખાનગી સવાલ નથી રહ્યો. એવો તે પ્રકાશમાં આવે તેવીજ સુધરેલી ફનીયાની તેમાં વસ કોના થવાની અને તે હુર કરવાને ઘટનાં સમયો પગલાં લેવાની ફરજ યઈ પડે છે. એમ જો ન હોય તો ખલુ મવાતા રાખી ધના સ્વાતંત્ર્ય ખરીતાનો કોઈ અર્થ નથી.

કેળવણી માટે જુલે સરના હિંદીઓ વધુ સાળાઓ માટે માગણી

નાતામ મનિ-વન મનિસ તરકથી મળા જુલેને મપેરે હિંદીઓ માટે શિશુમની મગપડાની અગ્ન સામે પોકાર કરવા ૧૯૦૦ હિંદીઓમાં એક સરવસ કારવામાં આવ્યું હતું. સરવસમાં ખાગ ખેતારા મુખ્યત્વે કરી વિદ્યાર્થીઓ અને છોકરીઓ હતા. શાન્તી કોલેજથી ત્રીજી સરવસ ગોરવીક એવન્યુ સહ. ત્રીજોદીયા સ્ટાર, આસપટ સ્ટાર, રીવિયોફ રહીદ અને મોસનસંવે વન કાર્ટરમંદ ફેલેસપર એકત થયું હતું. ૧૯૫૬ના નીંદાઓ નિરુદ્ધ છે. “અમાર ૨૦૦૦ છોકરીઓને નિશાળો ની સગવડ કરી આપો.” “અમારે ૫૦ સાળાઓ રોડમાં છે.” એવા જુલો વાળા પાનાકાઓ સામે સરવસ થઈ હતું. સરવસની આગળ મીકે કન્વેન્સન મા. આર. મોનરટન હતા અને તોફેરની પોલીસ એજેન્સી હતી. સરવસે પૂર્ણ શાંતી વળાવી હતી. ઉદ્દેશના મેવર અગાધીય મનુર કરેલા માર્ગે સરવસ થઈ હતું.

કાર્ટરમંદ ફેલેસપર મળેલી સમાચે ૧૦મન ૨૦૦૦૦ હિંદી છોકરીઓ માટે શિશુમની મગપડા. નાંદી હોવા માટે અને નાટામ પ્રાંતિક સરકારે એ ખાનગ

માં જેનાતી મેપરવસ ખનાવેલી હોવા માટે નંદ કરીવ્યો હતો. સફરીઓની સખાએ નીંગોમાં કેપુરેશન સાથે મેમિસ ને સખા માગાની તેમજ કોડો માગા ની માગનાની માગણી કરવા એડમી-નિસ્ટ્રેટરની મુલાકાત તેમની સખાએ સખા આપી હતી.

વતર પડે તો વડ પ્રધાનની પણ મુલાકાત લેવાની સખા આપી હતી. કેળવણીને ખમતી સખ-કમાનીયા પ્રમુખ મા. જે. એન. સોમે સરવસ સહ થકુ તે પહેલાં તેને જણાવ્યું હતું કે મંગળવારે ૨૮૦ વિદ્યાર્થીઓએ શાન્તી કોલેજમાં રાખસ થવાના પરિક્ષા થવા સખા હતા. એમ વધ ૧૮૦ વિદ્યાર્થીઓને પાછા મોસની દેખામાં આવવા હતા. આ જાન માય સ્કાની ૧૯૪૦ છે અને તે માં સામવા વધારામાંયે સુદમાં આવશે. આ સવાલના ઉમેર પોરોને મળ્યા મળ્યા સકવોના બાન્ધેજ સંબંધ રહે છે.

માર માસપર ૩૮૮૬૪ હિંદી વિદ્યાર્થીઓને ૧૬૫ સરકારી, સરકારી મદર મળતી અને ખાનગી સાળાઓમાં સમ ૫૦ આપવામાં આવી હતી. નવને ૧૦,૦૦૦ નવમેર વિદ્યાર્થીઓને માટે નાટામાં ૬૦૨ સાળાઓ હતી.

આ

જે કાશ્મીરના સ્વાયત્ત આગળ ગળા બીજા પાસા સ્વાયત્ત બોલુ પાતી સ્વાયત્ત છે. બીજે સરકારે પાકિસ્તાનને વત્સાવી દીધું છે કે તાજે તરખાં મે રાજ્યો વચ્ચે યુદ્ધમાં નાણાં ને ભગતી સગવડોની બે રાજ્યો વચ્ચેના સારા સંબંધો આપુ રહે જોના પર નિર્બર રહેલી સેવાથી, બીજે પાકિસ્તાન ને રોકક ૨૩૪ કે સરકારી સામાન્યો પુરવઠો લેવે આપી નો અંશ નથી. કમરે કોને કોપ્યોમ તેની પોતાનીજ સામે કાશ્મીરમાં સ્વાયત્ત સંબંધ છે. પાકિસ્તાન કાશ્મીરમાં પોતાનું સાદાત્ત છેડી દે સાર પછીજ આ પુરવઠો મોકલવાનું કરી આપુ કરી શકશે. કાશ્મીરની સરકારી પરિસ્થિતિ વર્ણવતાં નવી દિલ્હીનો 'રાષ્ટ્રીય એક્ષ પ્રિન્સિપલ' નો આશ્વ પ્રતિનિધિ રહે છે; બીજો એકિપાતેને દુશ્મણોરેલા આપાઉ કરતાં મોટા જગ્યા સમા મળે છે. એટલે તેઓ સુસ્થાપિત પ્રમાણમાં વધારે પ્રાધિકાર લાવત રહે છે. બીજી સરકાર સ્વચ્છરજનમ, તાલીમ અને શિક્ષણ એ સર્વે ગાળતમાં સ્વચ્છરજ મોકલે છે; તેથી બીજે સામસામા બુલ્લી સહાઈ માય છે ત્યારે બીજી સરકાર, દુશ્મણ એકિપાતે સ્થાપત સમા રહે છે. કાશ્મીર ના મુશ્કેલી અંદર કુર સુધી પહોં આપવા દુશ્મણોરેલા એટલે બીજે પ્રાશ્ન આપવી મટે છે કે તેઓ બી પાકિસ્તાનની સરકાર પાસેથી ચાંદી રહેવા સાથા છે. અને દિલ્હીમાં કહેવાય છે કે ૪૦૦ માણસ લાંબી સરકાર પર દુશ્મણોરેલા કાશ્મીરની કલની અંદર સરકાર ૧૫ મહાસર્વો વધારે કુર સુધા નથી. બીજા સરકાર પ્રધાન સરકાર બાવરે સંદે કહ્યું: 'હરિ પોતાની સરકારે પરના લોકોનું રક્ષણ કરવાનું વચન આપેલું છે; અને બીજે પાસે રહે દુશ્મણોરેલા સામે તેના પોતાના બચાવ સંબંધી કોઈ પણ વ્યવસ્થા પ્રસંગ છેના સવા પાસે તે તેને પહેલાં પગલ મારે પૂરતી સાધન સાધનો તેની પાસે છે.'

કાશ્મીર વિષે નેહરુ

દિલ્હીમાં ના. ૩૬એ એક અખ બારી પરિષદમાં પંડિત નેહરુએ કહ્યું: 'કાશ્મીરે ૫૦ વર્ષે દુશ્મણોરેલા અભારે કાશ્મીર અને જાણુના રાજ્યમાં છે, અને પોતા ન સાખને સરકાર પર બેઠા કરી તેમને કાશ્મીર પર સહાઈ કરવા માટે નાકીમ આપવામાં આવે છે. આ મોકુ સરકાર પાકિસ્તાનને પોતાના મુખ્ય સાખા તરીકે વાપરી રહ્યું છે. અને તેને પાકિસ્તાનમાંથી આંતરિક સરકારી સરકારમાં, તાલીમ અને હરથથી મળે છે. બુનો આગળ કરિવાદ આ એકજ ગાળવણી અને કરી છે. પોતાના ગચાવ મારે પગમાં બંધવણી, અને પાકિસ્તાનમાંના પગલ મોકલના સાખા પર દુશ્મણ કરવાનો પાસે તર લેવા, પણ બીજે સામે

હિંદનો પત્ર

(અમારા બાસ ખબરપત્રી નરકથી)

વિદેશ, નવન્યુબારી તા. ૧૦, ૧૯૪૮.

કાશ્મીરનો અવાજ સકેથી મોટો

જયપુરમાં નેહરુ

પંડિત નેહરુએ ના. ૩૬એ જયપુર માં કહ્યું. 'અમે કાશ્મીરનો પ્રથમ બુનો ની સમામતી કાશ્મીર સમસ રજુ કર્યો છે, કેમકે અમારો હરકોટ અમે ને હરકોટમાં તે સુધરેલી રીતિજ કરવાનો છે. કાશ્મીરના લોકોને ૨૦ વર્ષથી વધારે બાગ મુત્તીઓનો છે, અને અમે ત્યાં મરત કરવાને ગયા છીએ. તેઓ અમારી સાથે છે. અને પાકિસ્તાનની રજાતી સામે મુકે છે. એક દિલ્હી મુકાબાદ સિવાય અમારે બીજા રાજ્યો દીક્ષા સમા એકાઈ મળે છે. પાકિસ્તાન સાથે એક પાસેની મુલના પચાવ કરવે કરવામાં અમારો હરિસ બીજાજવી અગા મળ દાખલમાં લતા, અને પાકિસ્તાન કરના નથી. પણ અને ત્યાં સુધી તેને દાખલ મારીએ છીએ. અમારી જોવી કલ્કા છે કે પાકિસ્તાન પછી બીજી મેર માં લોકો, અને ત્યાં એક પાકિસ્તાન સમસાને સ્થાપવામાં આવે.' આગાધીનું આગમન ને ને પછીના ને નિર્ણય તેમજે કહ્યું: 'કુતીપાતી નજરમાં આપલો હરકા નીસા કીવરી ગયા છીએ તેના પ્રત્યક્ષ સાખને દિલ્હી આદિકામાં વસતા બીજાઓના પ્રથમ અમે બુનોમાં ચોસી આપણી લાર છે. આપણા દુશ્મણોએ આપણી પ્રજાઓને મેરકાળ લીધા, પણ બીજે આપલો આપણા માર્ગમાંથી મોરી મુકીયનો સળવાયા પર કરી ત્યારે કુતીયા આપણી નરક પ્રસાતી નજરે લેવા જાગી.

કાશ્મીર વિષે ગાંધીજી

ના. ૩૬એ ગાંધીજીએ કહ્યું 'કાશ્મીરે દુશ્મણોરેલા કાલવા માટે બીજે સરકાર ની મરત આગી રવારે તેની મરત લવાનો બીજો મુતીપત્તને પર્મ હતો અને બીજો મુતીપત્તને મરત કરવાની પાકિસ્તાનની કરજ હરિ. પણ પાકા ના નગ આપવાની રાત ના બીજી રહે છે, પણ એ રિતમર ૩૦. રેખાતો પગલા બરતુ નથી. તેના આગળ બીજે રજા હરિવાતી લક્ષ્યા રિતે પાકિસ્તાન સાકા કીવને છે એ નીકરે સરે કુખ માલ છે. કાશ્મીરની સરકારમાં પાકિસ્તાનનો લાગ છે એવી બીજી હરિવાત છે. માત્ર મોકેથી ના કહ્યું કરજ ને નિર્ધ. પાકા થકે તે ગળે અસ્થામી બીજે ને મતાના માય મળે રજા થકે, તેના કરતાં શુદ્ધ બીજી કરજ નથી. તેથી પાકિસ્તાન એવી સરકારીને કોયો મરત બાસ બતાવતાં તેમજે ને રજા બીજે મોકલવાનું પોતાની બુનો આગળની હરિવાત પાકા પર્મી થકે. પણ એ નનનુતી સામે કીવી બીજી, મનમાં

પ્રથમ રીતને એ ને મરત કરવાને પાસે

અરેહારનાં આપણાં

આપણમાં ને ત્યાંથી આપણાં સરકાર પોસે અનેક આપણો કર્યો. આપણમાં સિલેંગમાં નેમલું મેનિશીને કહ્યું: 'સીનિકની સોચી પહેલી કરજ એ છે કે પોતાના રજા માટે કીવરું ને મરતુ. નમારે નાનનવના બેર સામે નેવાનું લેવા નિર્ધ. તમે મોકેમાં ને રજાં બીજીજ છે.' સિલેંગની નબેર અપ્પામાં કહ્યું: 'કાશ્મીરના મરતા પછી મારે છે તેના કરતાં વધેરો લોકો મળે. પણ તેને ને કીવો રહેર. નો દિલ્હી કેટલુંક મુકાના થકે બી, પણ પાકિસ્તાન ને અમાસ થકે લરી. અને બાવરી છે કે પાકિસ્તાન સામુપણો રજો. લીસ. પણ ને નિર્ધ છે, તે તેનાં પરિણામો આપા મુકકપર થકે. બીજી મુતીપત મા સમામતાર મુત્તીઓ છે. એટલે પાકિસ્તાન અને બીજી લવા લોકો તે તેની અમર આ મુત્તીઓપર થવા રિતો મરિ રહે.' ના. ૩૬એ કમરકારમાં કહ્યું 'કાશ્મીરની એક નજુ પણ જાગીત જાગી કરવામાં નિર્ધ આલે. બીજે પાકિસ્તાન મોકે પમાવત કરવામાં હરકા થવા માટે છે, અને રજવા ને રજવા રવા મરકે છે. પણ પાકિસ્તાન ને બીજે પાસેથી રજા મળે તેના વધે. બીજે સરકારોમાં પરસાદ કરતાં મામતુ કીવ, તે ને નિર્ધ થવા રવામ. બીજામાં જોઈ બીજીની રિતિ છે ને રજુપીને કહ્યું 'બીજા કીવોગે વધારવા માટે કીવવાને વધારવાનો પોસ પ્રધાન કરવાની બરક છે. તે મારે મનગ વગરિ રેકી લેવકે એ ના નિર્ધવાદ છે. પણ મુત્તીરેલા કુરસા મોકે છે. નેમનું મેતુએ એકજ વાત લોકે છે ને એકજ રીત સમર છે. તે એ કે કાશ્મીરના પાકીના પાતાના લેવાબીરી રજા રજાતી તેઓ સગવળા નથી ને તેઓ લો કીવોગેનાં મારી નાનકે તે મુત્તીરેલી પોતાની કલની માણુ થકે રજો વજુરેલે ને ને મેળવવાનો અપાકા છે તેથી પમાવત ના નથી ને નાનિથી મરિ લોકોએ.' થવા ને પાકિસ્તાન આપણા નથી નિર્ધ. અજ વતા પોતાનાં પાસ અને મુત્તીઓના બારથીજ નાસ પાસે ને ને અપાણી પાસે પણ એ કાસ કરવા નેમકે મેટલી રાજ્યસમામાં પહેલી છે પાકાર ને મેટલા આપણા માણુક સંબંધો મોના નાનકે આપણાં અમીન લવા ને કરવાનાં સરકારેનું મોકલ મળલુના પમાવતાં પડશે. ને નેમકાસનાં મોકેરવા રોકાઈ ને નેમકે

રોડેસીયા દુનીયાના ભગ્નત પ્રજામનની હારમાં

ઉભરી કે નહિ?

‘જુલવાથે કોનીકલ’ની સાથે વાત

જી. પુ. આરી તા. ૧૦ મીના મેંડ માં પ્રસિદ્ધ થયેલા ગીચિના કમિન વાથો એવને મારે ‘જુલવાથે કોનીકલ’ને અમે દારીક અમિન’દગ આપાએ છીએ.

મી. ડે. એવ દોરમેથરને સિદ્ધાંતને મારે અસર મારે છે તેના

શ્રી. માયાવંત એસોસીએશન

મકાન માધવા રાધાવના મારે મલેરને અપીલ

શ્રી. માયાવંત એસોસીએશનની હારની સાથેમાં સ્થાપના મુદ્દે મીના નામની ગીચિના પદ-પદ ગીચ રોડીયા સ્ટીલપર આદિઓ ને ને ૧૯૨૦-૨૧. આપના કાલમામાં આવી છી. આ પાપ આ મળ્યા દરેકોમાં નો આપનાર રહેતર મુદ્દે છી. ૧૯૨૪ મા પ્રવેશવરથી તા. ૨૨ થામ આપના પાની માટે એસોસીએશનના તારીખે મળી નાના ગીચિના કાલમા માથે ૧૯૨૪માં સ્થાપના કરીને મળી. એવે દોરમેથરને મારે અસર મારે છે તેના

તેઓ મળી અને થર્જના સવાસો કુચ્ચ મળાવશે. તેઓ તેમ કરે મા નહિ પદે મા. દોરમેથર તે મોતા ની નામની વાતને મળાવશે રહેશે.

આપણે એ રિવાજવું પાડી કે સાવધ આદીઓમાં એકંદરે અંગે ની વચ્ચે ને મોરણે આંતરરાષ્ટ્રિય રીતે રિવાજો રવાં છે તેને બધ-મેસલી નથી. સાથે આદીઓ આંતરરાષ્ટ્રિય પ્રિનિપા અને મુદ્દેઓ પ્રમાવવામાં આવતાં છે.

મી. દોરમેથરના આ મુદ્દેને નારાજ ના કેમકીકે પીચપ, એવે મીચ એક સવામાં નામે પ્રમાણે મળાવું હત તેમના મુદ્દેઓ સમર્થન મળ્યું છે.

ગોરી સર્વોપરિવાના અંગને અત સ.થે આદીઓમાં સમગી મળીઓ ની સમાનતા અંગેને એ રીવાજો રિવાજો મેરા તથાપર નહિ માપ તે દેશનું વાપિ સહાર અને પુન રેજ મુદ્દે પડશે.

તેમના મુદ્દેને પણ એજ દોરમાં પ્રસિદ્ધ થયેલા બાબત મળાવું સમર્થન મળ્યું છે. -કોનીયાની સરકારે આદીઓને ને માર: સમામાં અપ્રતિષ્ઠિત રહેવં ના આપવાનો દરવ ક્યો છે: અમેરીકા ના વડી અદાલતના મુકાદમી થયાના એક હજારને એસોસીએશન મુનીવર્સીટી માં દાખલ થવાનો હક મળેા છે. આ બનાવો કુનિયા કરમાં લોકોનું માનસ કેવી વચ્ચે મહ રહે છે એ હમને છે.

આ વાપણે અને આ અનાવેાનું અફિ રમરજી હરી અને તેપર માર મુદ્દે રવા: છીએ તેવું કરજી એ છે કે ગોરી-સીયામા પણ દેખાતી રીતે એસ વાથો છે કે એઓ આ દેશના વર્ગના સવાસને ને રીતે કાલમા મેવાઈ રવા છે તેમાં પદારના કામને કરી પણ મરા દેવા છે એ રિવાજોવા તથાપર નથી અને પદાર કંઈ પણ પ્રવાજાત પથા વીના આ દેશ રીપ્રિવિત નીતી અખતાર કરી સર એજ તેઓ મારે છે. કુનોએ આ આપું વર્ષ જતી અને થર્જિયા ના મોરણુપર મળવજા માલવામાં ચીક દેખાવ છે. અને એઓ તેને મારે અવાપદાર છે તેઓ આપવા દેશની પદાર તેની કુ અસર મળાવી છે તેને કરા સરેમાં પણ વીમાર કરતા નથી. હજાત એ છે કે દુનીયામાં આજે ને બજા ગજ કરી રવા છે તેના કપારા માંથી રોડેસીયા અથા જી રવાઈ નથી મળી અને મર્જના સવાસ પ્રતેની આપણી વચ્ચેના પ્રવેશમાં આપણા દેશના પદાર પળે કુર કપી મર. મી. દોરમેથર ને વરજી મુનીવન

ને વિને કમી છે તેજ મારેસીયાને પણ સાચ પડે છે અને એઓ એવે: મત દેવાવવાનો પ્રવલન કરી રવા છે કે અહીં આપણે રીપ્રિવિત નીતી અખતાર કરીએ એવી કશું થવાનું નથી તેઓ અનુમાની નહિ સડે તેટલી દેશની કુમેવા કરી રવા છે. આ સવાસ અપને રોડેસીયાના આંતરીક અવકારમાં પદાર ની અખતારીનો સવાસ એક દુઅજર પણ નથી. સવાસ તે એ છે કે અપને રોડેસીયા દુનીયાના ભગ્નત થએલા રોડામતની હારમાં ઉભવાનું છે. કે તેમ નહિ કરવાના પ્રરિજાનો વહેરવનું છે.

ખબર પડેા

શ્રી પ્રોટેસ્ટાંટા હિંદુ સંઘ સમાજ

પ્રોટેસ્ટાંટા હિંદુ સંઘ સમાજની પાર્ટીના મુદ્દે સમા તા. ૧૮-૧-૪૮ ને રોજા રીવાજવળાઇ છ. કાલાના પ્રમુખ પદે મેરા અગાવ નામના મળા હતી. મ. વળના હવાના તથા વિસ્થાને રજી થવા પછી તથા પર્ષ મારે નામે મુદ્દે પ્રાપ્તેતીઓ મુદ્દેવામાં આપવા મળા: મેરના નાપાસામ મોરણતદાસ, પ્રમુખ: રમગાદાસ આર. મોર્સીદ, ઉપ-પ્રમુખ: લીલાધરભાઇ છ. કાલા, મોપરવળાઇ સામજી, છપ્પાજીભાઈ મી. પટેલ, નાના ભાઇ સીનાભાઈ, રસમજાઇ મુસાબ-ભાઈ, રામજાઇ મુસુ, કલ્યાણભાઈ બાબુભાઈ: જિ. અંબીઓ: દવાળાભાઈ ટી. પટેલ અને નરસિંહભાઈ એમ, વરમ: અવનમળા: પીરજીભાઈ મોદનભાઈ જોશી: ઓડીટર નારમુખાઈ મી. રમજી, સમિતી સમયે: બાબા ભાઈ દાવાભાઈ, બાબુભાઈ કરજી, કલ્યાણભાઈ નારમુખાઈ, રામજાઈ મેરામ ભાઈ, વાસજીભાઈ માધવજી, મુકુન્દભાઈ મી. જોશી, મગનજાઇ એન. છ. કાલા, હેડુવાઈ મકનજી મેરામ, મર્સીદભાઈ મોર્સીદ: આરમારામભાઈ નારમુ, મગન ભાઈ એમ, મેરી, મોરારભાઈ મુખા-ભાઈ મોજા, મુનીયાસ મી. અવજ, રમુનાથભાઈ નરસિંદ, વસમજાઇ નાના ભાઈ, નારમુકાસ જિ. કાલા, આર્થિક ભાઈ નીમાભાઈ, રમજાઈ બાબુભાઈ, નરસિંહભાઈ પ્રસાદભાઈ, મણીવળાઈ રમજાઈ, પદમજાઈ મંગાભાઈ. સાળા સમીતી: મીત્રાપરભાઈ છ. કાલા, મુકુન્દભાઈ મી. જોશી, છપ્પાજી ભાઈ મી. પટેલ, જગજાઇ એસ. મોહી, નારમુકાસ મી. રમજા: રામજાઈ મેરામભાઈ, હેડુભાઈ મકન મેરામ. દ્રોરાર્ધ સમીતી: મોપરવળાઈ સામજી ભાઈ: છપ્પાજીભાઈ મી. પટેલ, મોરાર ભાઈ મી. રમુનાથભાઈ નરસિંદ, મુનીયામ મી. અવજ, બાબુભાઈ નીમાભાઈ, રમજાઈ પ્રમોશન દરમીતી: છપ્પાજીભાઈ મી. પટેલ, મોરાર ભાઈ મી. રમુનાથભાઈ નરસિંદ, મુનીયામ મી. અવજ, બાબુભાઈ નીમાભાઈ.

દ્રોસવાલ પુનાર: પાટીદાર સોસાયટી

દ્રોસવાલ પુનાર: પાટીદાર સોસાયટી ની મુદ્દે સમા છેડુભાઈ મગનભાઈ દેસાઈના પ્રમુખપણા રોજા પાટીદાર વોલમાં તા. ૧૬-૧-૪૮ ના મળા હતી. મોસાપરી, સોસાયટી સંચાલિત મારેમ સારદા મંદિર, મુનહાસવના કિશોરો, અનુક્રમે મુખીયાલ મસાભાઈ, રામજાઈ નાથાભાઈ તથા મુસાભાઈ દવાળાઈ વરે યી રજી મયા મળા અને શર્વાનુમે પદાર કરવામાં આપવા મળા. આર પાટ ઉપરોક્ત સરચામાંના દેવાલ, સંરચના મંત્રીઓ: લાલભાઈ મગનભાઈ, મુસાભાઈ લાલભાઈ અને મુસાભાઈ ભાગજી વરેકરી અનુક્રમે રજી કરવામાં આપવા મળા. બાદ નીમે પ્રવાન નવા વેદિવો મુદ્દેવામાં આપવા મળા. પ્રમુખ: હેડુભાઈ અનામભાઈ દેસાઈ: ઉપ પ્રમુખ: મેર્સીદભાઈ મોસાભાઈ પટેલ, મોવજીભાઈ કાનજીભાઈ પટેલ, મોરાર ભાઈ પ્રમજી પટેલ, ઉકાભાઈ મોરારજી પટેલ: મેરીયા મંત્રીઓ: ભિખાભાઈ કસનજી પટેલ અને મુખીયાલ મયામ માઈ પટેલ: મદદનીશ મંત્રી: બાબાભાઈ ઓધવભાઈ પટેલ: દેવરો: જુસાભાઈ દવાળાઈ પટેલ, મુસાભાઈ મંદાભાઈ પટેલ: આડીટર: હેડુભાઈ મોર્સીદજી પટેલ અને મગજાઇ મુસાભાઈ પટેલ: પાસીક આડીસર: મુખીયાલ મસાભાઈ પટેલ. દ્રોસી સમયે: નારમુકાઈ છપ્પાજીભાઈ, ઓધવભાઈ મંગાભાઈ, જિતુ ભાઈ રામભાઈ, વસમજાઈ રમુજીદ, હિતાભાઈ બાવાભાઈ, પદમજાઈ ઓધવ ભાઈ, મોર્સીદભાઈ રામજી, જિતુભાઈ નાથાભાઈ, અખતવાસ ઓધવભાઈ, છપ્પાજીભાઈ નારમુકાઈ, મેરામજાઈ અવજજી દેસાઈ, મોદાભાઈ નારમુકાઈ, રામભાઈ નાથાભાઈ, મુસાભાઈ લાલભાઈ, રામ ભાઈ મુસાભાઈ દિરા, પદમજાઈ મીરા ભાપ, મોરારભાઈ કસનજી, મગજાઈસ ઓધવભાઈ, કાનજીભાઈ દવાળાઈ, હેડુભાઈ મોર્સીદજી, મુસાભાઈ રામજાઈ, દિરાભાઈ અવજજી મગમ, મુસાભાઈ દિરાભાઈ, દવાળાઈ મોરારભાઈ. સાળા સમીતી: પ્રમુખાઈ મીરજાઈ, મોર્સીદભાઈ મોસાભાઈ, મુસાભાઈ ભાગજી, રામજાઈ નાથાભાઈ, કાલા ભાઈ કસનજી, જુસાભાઈ રામજી, મોર્સીદ ભાઈ રામજી, ઉકાભાઈ મોરારજી, હેડુભાઈ મુસાભાઈ ભાગજી, મુસાભાઈ મેરામ ભાઈ, મુસાભાઈ દિરાભાઈ, હિતાભાઈ રામજાઈ. અંતમાં મત વળના અધિ કરીઓના તેમની મેરા પદસ આભાર માનવામાં આવ્યો હતો, તાજી નાસના રામજાઈ વરમ દ્રામજાઈ પ્રમુખ મોહુ ભાઈ દેસાઈના પણ આભાર માનવામાં આવ્યો હતો. પ્રમુખ હેડુભાઈ નારેમ સારદા મંદિર મારે પદમાં ને મેરા મના મળાના મકાન માટે દ્રોસવાલ

રજામમાં હિંમલવી સાથે સાથે વાત કરવારે વરીકે ઓળખવામાં આવે છે. સાથે આકાશન પ્રવેદીહુદ એજ દેસ રીલેવાસની વાપીકે કવવામાં તેમજે હરેમાં જાયજા: તેમની કમિન અને ૧૯૫૨ પાવત વેલ સહારા હતી. ને સરકારના મી દોરમેથર એક સમય છે તેના વીરોપીઓ હમજાપી અ જખોરી રવા છે કે આપણી મુરણી ને સાચુ જાઈમાં દુનીયામાં પળુર છે તેને બહાવ

ઉત્તમ વાંચન ચારિત્રને ઘડે છે વાચવા અને સંગ્રહ કરવા હાયક કેટલાક સુંદર પુસ્તકો

ગાંધીજીનું સાહિત્ય

ગાંધીજીના પુરોણ નામના	૧	૦
ગાંધીજીને સ્વરૂપ સાથે સમજાવવાના ૧૯૪૨ ની મહત્ત્વ વળતે મળેલા સંપૂર્ણ ૫૪ ચલચિત્રો	૭	૬
ગાંધીજીના સ્વાસ્થ્યસમસ્યા	૭	૬
ગાંધીવાદી આર્થિક યોજના	૩	૧
ગાંધીજી સાથે અઠવાડિયું	૪	૧
ભાવમુર્તિ અને બીજા લેખો આમાં ગાંધીજીના જીવન વિવિધ સંગ્રહો વિશેષ ૩૫૨ સ્થાપના યોજના સંગ્રહ ૩૩	૬	૧
અર્થશાસ્ત્ર ગાંધીજીના આર્થિક યોજના સંગ્રહ	૫	૦

કીશોરસાહ અસ્થાવાળાની કૃતિઓ

મકલુ ખોસ્ત	૭	૦
મીત્રા મંથન મીત્રા વિશેના તેમના વિચારો	૭	૧
ગાંધી વિચાર સંગ્રહ ગાંધીજીના વિચારોને સ્પષ્ટ કરતું પુસ્તક	૨	૧
જુલો અને અસ્થાવાળા	૬	૦
સમ અને કુષ્મ	૩	૦
ગાંધીજી અધીર આત્મ મત સી, પુસ્તકો દેવાતી પુસ્તક ૩૫૨ પુસ્તક પ્રકાશન અસ્થાવાળા ને લેખો અસ્થાવાળા ને તેના સંગ્રહ	૨	૧

સર રાધાકૃષ્ણનની કૃતિઓ

કે.કે. કીશોરીજીના મહત્ત્વ મેળે ૩૩ સંગ્રહ પુસ્તકો સિંદુ મર્મ, સંસ્કૃતી ૩૫૨ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.		
કે.કે. અસ્થાવાળા સંસ્કૃતી સંગ્રહ	૨	૦
ગાંધીજીને જાન્યારના ગાંધીજીના અસ્થાવાળા મહત્ત્વ મર્મ ૩૫૨ સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
વેદની વિચાર મર્મ ૩૫૨ સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦

વિદેશી સાહિત્ય

અર્થશાસ્ત્ર શાસ્ત્રના વિષયના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાની મેળે	૭	૬
અસ્થાવાળા સંગ્રહ મેળે	૭	૬
અસ્થાવાળા સંગ્રહ મેળે ૩૫૨ સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
સાહિત્યના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાની સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦

સંગ્રહ નેતાઓના અરીજા

અર્થશાસ્ત્ર શાસ્ત્રના વિષયના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાની મેળે	૭	૬
અસ્થાવાળા સંગ્રહ મેળે	૭	૬
અસ્થાવાળા સંગ્રહ મેળે ૩૫૨ સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
સાહિત્યના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાની સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦

અર્થશાસ્ત્ર સાહિત્ય

સિંદુ મર્મની આસ્થાવાળાના આર્થશાસ્ત્રના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
કે.કે. અસ્થાવાળા આ. ૩-૨ મર્મની આસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
કે.કે. અસ્થાવાળા આ. ૩-૨ મર્મની આસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦

અર્થશાસ્ત્રના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
અર્થશાસ્ત્રના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
અર્થશાસ્ત્રના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
અર્થશાસ્ત્રના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦

કે.કે.કે. કીશોરીજીના અસ્થાવાળાના કૃતિઓ

કે.કે.કે. કીશોરીજીના અસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.	૨	૦
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વી. પી. ના આસ્થાવાળાના આસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.

આસ્થાવાળાના આસ્થાવાળાના સંગ્રહ અસ્થાવાળા માટે ૩.

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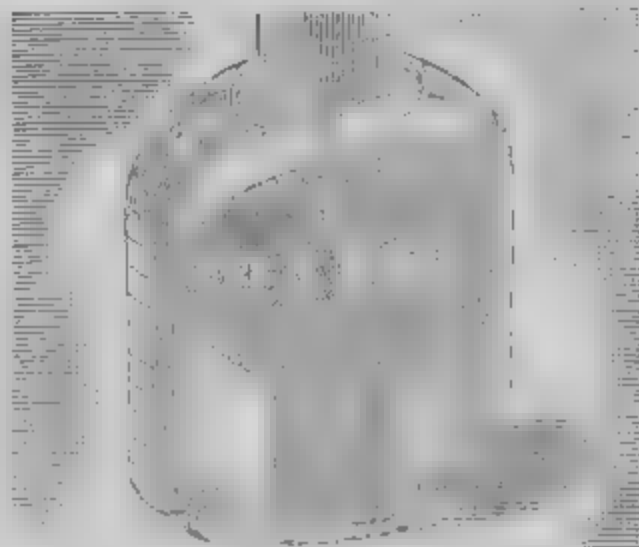
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		ક્ર.	સ.	કે.
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Char Akhon	4 "	1	12	1
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એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

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—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

નેહાનીસભર્મનું 'અણીવું' સાદી મઠ



સસ્તા જાવે આકર્ષક અને ઠળામથ સાદીઓ પા. રી. પ

સીધની જરત જરેલી સાદીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન	૫ ૧૦ ૦
જાણેલી જરેલીની સાદીઓ	૭ ૧૦ ૦
સીધ મજલીનની જરતજરેલી સાદીઓ	૮ ૮ ૦
જરી જરત સીધ મજલીન સાદીઓ	૧૦ ૧૦ ૦
જરી જરત જરેલી સાદીઓ	૧૫ ૦ ૦
ફીક્ષ રજાર. જે રંગી સાદીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન	૧૨ ૦ ૦

જાણેલું વોયલ, સાદી માટે ૫૦% પનેલ, આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૬ વાર. જરત જરેલી રંગમ, સાદી અને બજારીક માટે ૪૫% પનેલ રી. ૧૨-૬. મરઠ તથા કોફરાઓ માટે સીધ રજાર, પાપજામા, સોફસ, રંગાળ વીરેદના બાવમાં આલ જારાર કર્યો છે.

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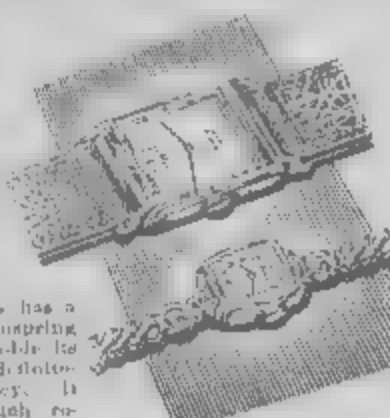
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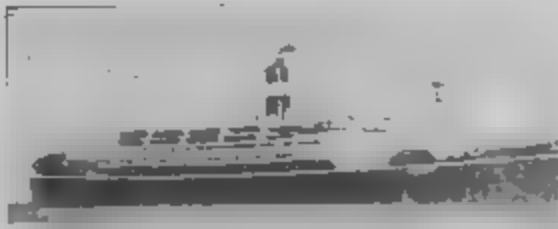
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૩૬ ૩૧ ૩૩ પા. ૧૪-૨-૦.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY, 1918.

GANDHIJI

By L. W. RITCH

GANDHIJI (Bapu) has gone from among us, violently cast out from our midst. The sun of it! The pity of it! To me, it is as if some giant Asian hand had suddenly extinguished a brilliant luminary that had cheered and lighted our passage through night's deepest darkness. The living light of a world is beggared; the expectant hope of a world is needing hope and guidance! And, of course, we shall complain and wonder why when the Karma retribution follows.

Not for the first time is this wicked wanton murder of Truth, of Truth and Love and Selfless service personified and embodied. Gandhiji's is but one more name emblazoned on the Shield that records the renunciation, complete self-surrender and final martyrdom of the Illustrious Ones who preceded him. Our Bapu joins a very select and very small company, of those who died that we might live, who laboured and wrought and endured to help bring the world deliverance and its bliss in pursuance of his mission. Bapu came and saw; whether or not he conquered, and if he did how completely or partially, it remains for us to answer. Praise of his saintly character, lamentations for the loss we have sustained, are but poor sustenance with which to nourish and strengthen the good seed he sough in sowing. If that seed should have fallen on stony ground, or, to change the metaphor, if the flesh-pots of Egypt still appeal to us more than the Manna of Heaven he offered to share with us (even though he went hungry) our future is black indeed.

The cry that goes up today is for freedom, liberation from the bonds of the oppressor. But there is a bondage, the most serious of

all, deliverance from which each of us must seek within himself. Teachers, Exemplars and Sacrificers as Bapu have shown us the way and have helped and encouraged each such as have sought it and tried to follow it. Deceived and in our ignorance we forged the chains that bind us; only by the white fire of Truth can they be melted and leave us free. Freedom from ignorance and misunderstanding regarding our own being, our purpose and destiny can alone give life and effective power to the much advertised Four Freedoms. With knowledge replacing that ignorance, Gandhiji's living faith in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Mankind may become ours, also, so that following his footsteps and by thought and deed we shall render to our Bapu the homage, reverence and devotion we owe him.

MAHATMA GANDHI

By A CHRISTOPHER

BAPU, our father is dead; killed by an erring young man. The light has gone out of our homes and out of our lives. We are as children groping in the dark.

So sudden was his death, so cruel was the taking of his precious life that the whole world was shocked; the world stood still for a moment. Then flowed spontaneously from the King, the President to the Peasant, from the high and the low, the rich and the poor, from the four corners of the earth expressions of grief and regret. For no man in the space of a life cut short wrought through the power of prayer and work so much for peace.

His return to a lonely South Africa was the re-awakening of

our Motherland to follow the soul in the quest for independence. He never wavered in his abounding faith in God in which he saw India proclaimed as dependent, a free nation among the nations of the world. But he was not satisfied. He was striving in love for the unity of our countrymen regardless of what religion they belonged to when he was killed by a fanatic.

He was for human values and with love he approached the question of the depressed classes and the almost impenetrable caste prejudice. Step by step by his life among them and his example he brought about a gradual breaking up of the caste prejudice which was further lessened under his guidance by the National Central and Provincial Governments.

India is fast becoming the land of the free—in which our sisters are occupying with men the highest positions in the Governments of India, Central, Provincial and Local, leading in India's causes in India and abroad.

This was the way of Bapu for in his sight men and women were equal as they are in the sight of God and his co-workers were men and women and millions of men and women, young and old, followed him.

He was the spiritual magnet. He was above Governments. He was nearer God. Therefore he was nearer and among the people whom he loved.

His life was simple. His wants were few. His home was the abode of love and tolerance and all were welcome. Kasturba, his wife, the co-sharer of his life, was as simple and loving as he, and as a Passive Resister she died in jail.

He believed in the law of love, in the power of prayer and of soul force and in the suffering of the individual and the nation as the means to overcome the law of violence, destruction and infliction of suffering on others. By precept and example he lived ever doing what he preached. He was a son of humanity and his gospel of soul force is for all ages and all times.

Though he left the shores of South Africa many years ago, his work, his life, and his leadership and the development of Passive Resistance here has been an abiding influence and inspiration among us. His interest and concern for us never waned. He never forgot us. He remembered everyone of his name in this country who came in contact with him. His passing away is an incalculable loss to us. Though for the time we grope in the darkness we have faith the darkness will pass away and we shall see that Bapu, though dead, yet liveth: a bright light to lead us to live in his spirit, to put service before self, to walk in the path of truth, hurting none by word or deed, forgiving the wrongdoer, suffering in our own person when necessary to win human rights, loving all, ever endeavouring to bring peace, goodwill and happiness to all.

We cannot forget in universal mourning for Bapu, our beloved Pandit Nehru and his fellow workers who, bereft of the love, help and guidance of Bapu, have the great responsibility under very difficult and dangerous conditions to lead India on the path of peace. The sympathy and love of all of us with them. And let us all in our daily prayers offer a prayer that God may be with them to overcome the forces of evil so that peace and happiness shall prevail in our Motherland.

Pandit Nehru's Sunlight Talk

"The choice before us is either to come to our senses or perish," said Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister, addressing a public meeting at New Delhi on Monday. "A decision has to be taken immediately, and there can be no confusion of the issues. If you are in favour of communalism then say so, and do not deceive me or your own selves or, above all, that great soul, Mahatma Gandhi."

Pandit Nehru said that the Communalism of the Moslem League and of the Hindu Mahasabha extremists had done much mischief and had created much distrust in India.

Country-wide investigations into Gandhiji's assassination were reported to have enabled the police to piece together an outline of the plot involving conspirators in all parts of the Dominion, but mainly in New Delhi and Bombay.

OUR FATHER

By MANILAL GANDHI

COMPLETE blankness seems to have seized me. I have not yet recovered from the stunning blow I received at about 2 p.m. on Friday, January 30 when some friends came to me whilst I was marketing in Durban and asked me whether the rumour about Mahatmaji was true. What rumour? I asked. Hesitantly and almost fearfully they said, that he was shot. I laughed at the very idea and said, what nonsense! As I went out of the market with parcels of fruit in my hand I was surrounded by another crowd of friends looking at me sympathetically and put to me the same question. With the parcels almost dropping from my hands and with a coldness creeping into my whole being I said I have not heard anything. But, they said, news has just come from Congress Office. I got into my car with my heart throbbing and as I was proceeding towards Grey Street I was halted by some of my relatives who informed me that they had just heard from Tongaat that it was heard over the All-India radio that Bapa had been shot four times last evening as he was proceeding to the prayers and that he had expired. The scene came to me like a flash. It was 9 p.m. in India when this announcement was made. Just about prayer time. A bomb was thrown only the other day and only then had happened. I rushed immediately to Phoenix where my wife was all alone and in a state of collapse, the shocking news being conveyed to her through the distance over the 'phone. She took me up over my shoulders. There was telephone for you from the 'Daily News' office and from the South African Press Association, she said. There were rings after rings. I picked up the receiver. A very kind and polite voice from the 'Daily News' office conveyed to me in the most sympathetic tone the sad and most shocking news they had received and asked if I had any more news. Another phone message from the South African Press Association office repeated the same thing. And then there were continuous rings from all parts of the Union. I was stunned. As I am now recovering and coming to my consciousness I am beginning to feel a gnawing sense of emptiness in my life which has come so suddenly and unexpectedly. The last fact undertaken by father had caused us deep anxiety. There were almost no prospects of the law terminating as the conditions laid down by father seemed so severe and almost impossible.

the prevailing circumstances, to be fulfilled. But that Sunday, when father broke his fast, was a day of rejoicing. The whole of India was in ecstasy. Our own joy had no bounds. We offered thanks to God for the happy ending of the fast. The hope that had almost vanished returned as we renewed. That we would not lose father for yet a long while seemed as he a certainty. But little did we realise that that light was only the flicker of a dying lamp.

And so there is darkness. Dark in our home, in our hearts, in the hearts of four hundred million people of India. And the loss of the beacon light is felt by the whole world. Are we to wipe the tears of our four hundred million people or are they to wipe ours? That is why I said in my first message that my grief was drowned in the ocean of grief of the whole world. The messages pouring in India from throughout the world prove that to be literally true.

We have lost our father. But have we really lost him? We mortals who think only in materialistic terms believe so. But in reality it is not so. According to my father's teachings, according to the training we have received from him, it is not so. Father lived the life of the Bhagavad Gita both literally and in spirit. The Gita was his guiding star in all that he did, during the whole of his life, and he desired it to be so with us as well. Life and death, pleasure and pain, to be treated alike. That was how he lived. I remember once in the early days of my life in Phoenix, when a cable message from India, conveying the news of the passing of my uncle—father's elder brother—had come. I happened to open the cable but having read the contents I quietly put it back in the envelope and pretended not to know anything until father himself conveyed the distressing news. I was watching the movements of my father. I saw him reading the cable as also the other letters. Not a word did he utter. It was in the morning at about 11 o'clock. I saw him pause a moment and then he went to attend to his work at his office. He broke the news with tears in his eyes after the evening prayers. Explaining why did so he said people should not neglect their duty. Life and death are things that take place all the while. One must not be joyed over pleasures or brood over sorrows and neglect one's duty.

Those were days when we were in the thick of the Passive Resistance struggle. My mother was dying and father was in prison.

He could have paid his fine and he would have been set free to be at our mother's bedside. But his sense of duty forbid him to do so. There have been many such instances in his life where he refused to neglect duty for pleasure's sake. That was how my mother lost her life in internment in the Agashan Palace. She need not have died then had father been a little less severe on himself.

But let me not go astray and start writing all my reminiscences of father for that is not the purpose of this article. The question is has he really left us and are we to mourn his loss? I shudder to think that he is no more. It breaks my heart. Can't I believe that he is still with us? What does it matter if we cannot see him or hear him or hear his voice? Do we really love him? Then he is with us and we are with him. If we do not love him then we are not with him. We do not deserve him nor his love nor guidance. Has he not given sufficient guidance to us all these years? If we but follow the path of Truth, which he loved so much, and for which he lived and died, we will feel him with us in spirit wherever we may be, in whatever circumstances we may be. If we later unconsciously he will give us his loving hand. If we fail out of our neglect, our callousness, then we will have renounced the right to deserve him or his blessings. It is difficult to take life in this light and yet whether we like it or not it is destined for us to do so. It is not, therefore, better to do so willingly and voluntarily than to let himself be over the inevitable. Let us never faint our hope. Let us feel that he is not gone from us but that he is still with us and let us continue his work and let the lamp within us be burnt out. I address these words to myself and to all those who are working for the cause for which he has given his life. God grant us the wisdom and courage to abide by them.

I wish in conclusion to enter in all humility to the love and sympathy that is being showered on us from our own friends and well-wishers as well as the friends and well-wishers of my father—Indians, Europeans and Bantu—from throughout South Africa and outside in the hour of our grief. It is expressed in the floods of telegrams, numerous letters and telephonic messages and by personal calls. Being too numerous to be acknowledged individually, I take the liberty of acknowledging them on behalf of my wife and myself and the members of my family with our profoundest

thanks. I need hardly mention what a great solace they have been to us.

HOW THE NEWS CAME

NEWS of the death of Gandhiji was first heard over the All India radio a little after 2 p.m. when Tamil programme was going on. All of a sudden there was a stop, which was followed in a few seconds by an announcement in all languages that three shots by a pistol were fired at Gandhiji while he was going to his prayer meeting and that he had died. The news spread like wild fire within half an hour and Indians, of their own accord, began closing their shops.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi was at the home shopping in the Market and as soon as he heard the rumour he rushed back to Phoenix. The Natal Daily News and the South African Press Association were the first two to confirm the shocking news.

It was later learned that the alleged assassin of Gandhiji was a 36-year-old Nathuram Vinayak Godse, an extremist member of the Hindu Mahasabha.

After Gandhiji's assassin had fired three shots at Gandhiji, he tried to use the fourth shot to kill himself, says the London 'Times' Delhi correspondent.

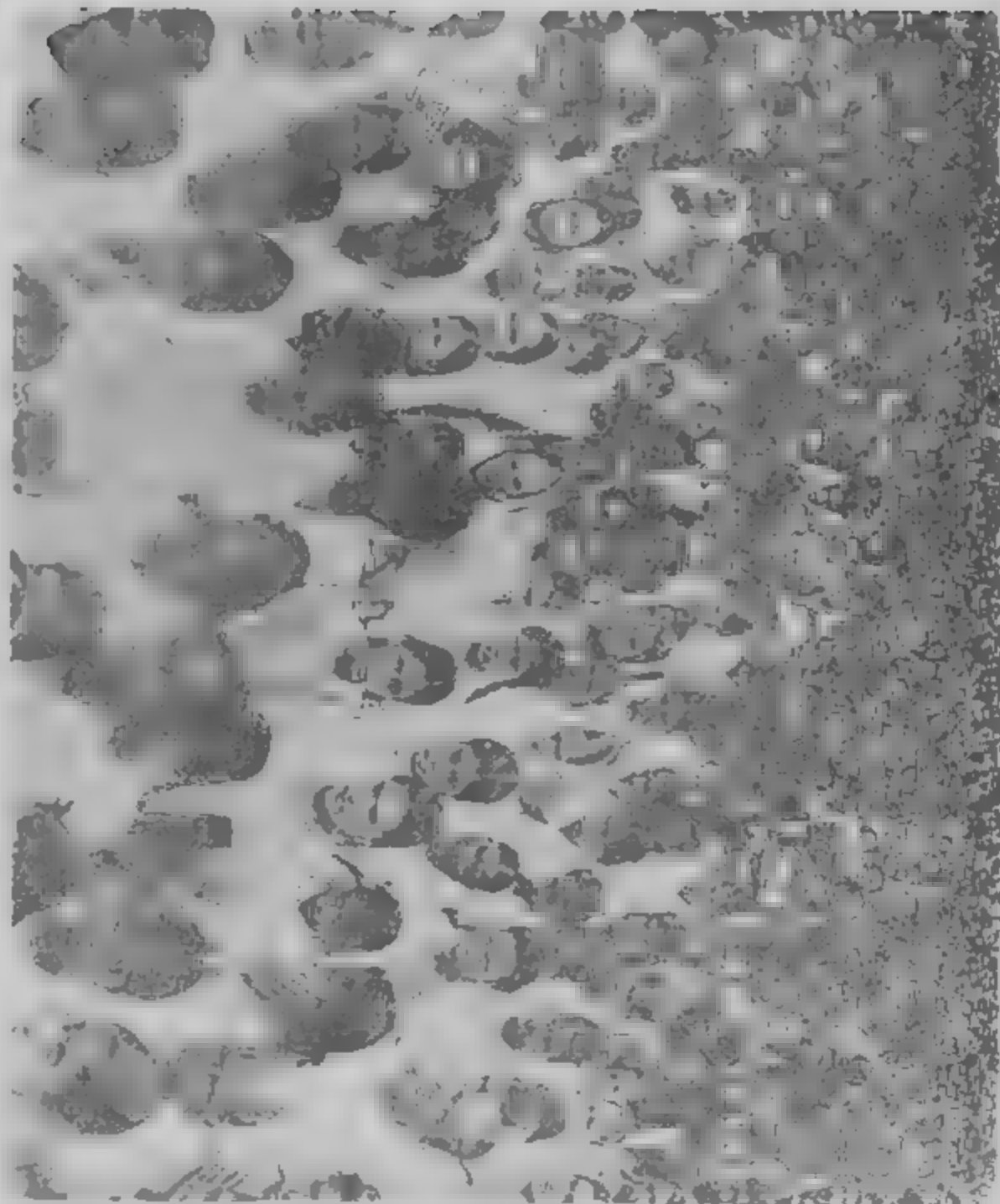
A Royal Indian Air Force sergeant, standing alongside, jolted his arm, however, and wrenched the pistol away. The sergeant was prevented from shooting the assassin by the police who also rescued him when the infuriated crowd fell on him with sticks.

The pistol the assassin used was a .38 calibre of Italian manufacture.

Three bullets from the assassin's pistol hit Gandhiji one on the right side of his chest and two in the stomach. The last word uttered was Ram—God.

Special Prayers At Phoenix Settlement

We the inmates of Phoenix Settlement are holding special prayers as a mark of respect to the memory of Gandhiji for thirteen days from the day of the cremation of his body. The last day of prayers is on Wednesday February 11. We wish to invite all those who desire to participate in the prayers on that day. The prayers will be held between 5.30 and 6 p.m. on the lawn in front of the old house occupied by Gandhiji when he was in Phoenix.



—Courtesy 'The Tribune'

A view of a portion of the large crowd assembled at the Nicol Square on Saturday
to pay tribute to Gandhiji

ગાંધીજીને ગાંધીજીના જન્મદિવસે નિકોલ ચોત્તરે એક મોટી ભેડાઈ એકત્રિત થઈ

'The Natal Daily News'

The 'Natal Daily News' writes: THE four shots that killed Mahatma Gandhi will echo not only throughout India but across the world. How ever he was regarded or criticised there can be no question of the moral force which this remarkable man exerted over millions of his compatriots. His visit to Calcutta and his recent fast had effects that were spectacular and dramatic and, to many Westerners, humbling. Is there anyone among us who can make the same spiritual and moral appeal as Gandhi succeeded in making to his people? And by the bitter irony of fate he died by the very means against which he had inveighed all his working life.

The guns have spoken but we do not think India will allow the last word to rest with them. Gandhi has been upheld as a saint; he has been reviled as a wily politician; he has been hailed as the great conqueror of schism, he has been bitterly criticised as subtly trying to make Hindu dominant. certain. In the last few months it was evident even to distant observers that he was so inwardly wounded and bewildered by the bloodshed and hatred that independence plus partition had released that his thoughts turned more and more to the need for supreme sacrifice. Did he come to think that he had been wrong or that the appeal to the spirit was futile? We do not think so. Again and again in the troubled story of mankind it is through death that devoted souls have triumphed. One's first thought is that this dreadful act will provide an even more horrible holocaust in India. But it may also be that the shock will force the extremists to cry halt for there can be no doubting that by killing Gandhi they have betrayed humanity.

'The Natal Witness'

The 'Natal Witness' writes: The reactions of the world to his death have reflected in full measure the stature of Mahatma Gandhi, a man accepted as remarkable by his own generation, whose influence extended far beyond the borders of his own country, who will be regarded by history as one of the great figures of his time. Not only were his own countrymen stupefied; despite the divisions of language, background and blood, despite those differences that have often made him inscrutable to the West, there have come from every quarter of the world expressions of shock and dismay, demonstrating the regard in which he was held.

Among his own people his influence has been enormous. It has been remarkable for the personal devotion that he was able to inspire, and for his ability to survive the uncertainties of public

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ON GANDHI

life, an achievement which owed much to the immense appeal exercised both by his own characteristics and by the principles which he expounded. Although, following his stay in London, his earlier years were spent in South Africa, it was not long after his return to his own country that he was able to claim the adherence of several millions of followers, and it was he more than anyone else who gave to the national movement in India its particular character.

Until the day of his death he remained a figure of supreme significance in both India and Pakistan. Although it was more than a decade ago that he withdrew from the Congress Party, his influence on it remained profound, and, even after his announcement that he had decided to retire from politics altogether, casual words that he uttered had their effect throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent. At the beginning of this year his fast to achieve unity between Hindus and Muslims had important political results, persuading the Indian Government to accept the conditions that he had laid down.

To the West he was often a source of bewilderment. He defied analysis in accordance with foreign standards, and it was sometimes difficult to understand his reactions to a given situation. Indeed, it must be admitted that, on occasion, his counsels have not been altogether happy but this is dwarfed by his great contribution to the cause of India and by his efforts to encourage reconciliation between Moslem and Hindu, while ardent critics have been forced to admit that, whatever his role, he remained one of the great figures of the world.

It is as a peacemaker that his loss will be most sorely felt. At a time when relations between India and Pakistan were sorely strained, when clashes contained the danger of more widespread conflict, his was a sobering influence. It was he who brought comparative security to millions in Bengal and later in India, and it was he who urged India to avoid the necessary provocation to Muslims in the hope that reconciliation between the two Dominions might prosper. Though there have been signs that discussions over Kashmir promised the possibility of agreement, it was his influence that encouraged restraint, and it is at this time in particular that his creed of non-violence is essential if existing hostility is not to develop into cruelty even more dangerous.

As it is, his death may well mean disaster, unless both sides, realising the common peril which

confronts them, do their utmost to establish a better understanding. Through the disappearance of the restraint he imposed, extremists could find the opportunity that they for some time have been seeking, and involve the two Dominions in a crisis from which there would be no escape. It is not impossible, however, that Gandhi's assassination may produce a revolution as effective as any influence may be exercised before that death, he may prove more powerful than when he was when living. If this should happen, then, indeed, his death will not have been in vain.

'The Star'

'The Star' (Johannesburg) writes:—In India across Gandhi's dead body, resolves to vindicate his teaching by abashing from a national fanaticism, this great man will not have lived and died in vain. But if his assassination indicates a belief among any considerable section of his people that he had become a spiritual dictator, prohibiting by an oversight not of this world the plots and plans of earthly power and ambition, then we may see in his death but another manifestation of mankind's recurring tragedy. The Mahatma indeed had attained a measure of unique peril. He had become a political ruler whose right to rule could not be questioned in morality and thus a ruler whose dictate had become binding on the conscience. Had he remained simply a religious guide, a source of spiritual enlightenment, his service to India would not have crumbled into physical conflict with evil forces in her destiny. But actually he had come to the point of forbidding and prohibiting: of declaring, in effect, "either you shall do as I say, or I shall take unto death, and then you will have extinguished a light of the spirit." To compel with the sword or with the spirit, still to compel. Thus Gandhi did go to war with the carnal mind of India, and in that conflict he perished. Nowhere in the literature of mankind has the life and death of a mortal pilgrim through human destiny written in more sublime a drama. Again, in the immediate perspective, the victory seems to have come to evil. But the true nature of the struggle lighted by his sacrifice yet has not revealed itself. It may shine across the sun, the breaking up of laws and a clash of all hopes but the responsibility for such happenings will be India's and Gandhi's. Yet whatever the outcome in our times, his name has gone to echo down the ages.

The world has been asked to pay tributes which can have few precedents in history. The sym-

pathy with India is wholly sincere. This universal salute to the spirit will may enlighten all who understand their duty in combating the insidious and remediless of violence, the spectres of intolerance and hate, whose clamours are loud in every land. The upshot of these evils has been seen in a deed of unspeakable foulness, which will serve at least to remind us again of the stupidity, futility and barrenness of such blithered minds. What the world requires to take from the life of Gandhi is its dramatisation of the cause of peace, as over against the dramatisation of war. Gandhi's life and example can be summed up in a very homely saying: "Nothing is settled until it is settled right." In the affairs of nations the search always must be for justice and when justice is attained, in the rough and appropriate fashion in which poor humanity can attain it, then there we have to stand firm in upholding, maintaining and defending it. There is no other task until this task be done there is no other path in the uplands of security and peace. In Gandhi in his death brings this home to all of us, we may count him our servant as well as India's. We shall not find it easy to think of India without him. He has left a great question mark of his hanging in her sky. In its answering India may be severely tested, but the world will hope for peace.

The King's Message

THE following message was sent by the King from England to Lord Mountbatten: "The Queen and I are deeply shocked by the news of the death of Mr. Gandhi. Will you please convey to the people of India our sincere sympathy in the irreparable loss which they, and indeed mankind have suffered."

General Smuts's Message

The Prime Minister, General Smuts, sent the following cablegram to Pandit Nehru: "We have just heard with deep grief of the irreparable loss all India has suffered in the passing of Mr. Gandhi. On behalf of the people of South Africa I convey to you our deep sympathy and our sense of a great human loss in which we all share."

"May this tragedy at last purge the soul of India of all communal passion and bring to her suffering people the peace for which he was prepared to give his life as he has finally given it. His long connection with South Africa makes us feel this loss in India as our own and prompts me to send this message of sincere condolence."

DURBAN INDIANS TAKE SOLEMN PLEDGE

A mass Prayer meeting was held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress on Saturday at the Nicoll Square. There were over 5,000 people of all races present. Dr Naicker presided.

No greater tribute could Dr Naicker, could the people of the memory of Gandhiji than by trying to give effect to the very thing for which he laid down his life.

Speaker after speaker paid magnificent tribute to one who had given his dearest possession, life itself, in the cause of Indian unity and Indian freedom. The world was the poorer for his death, at the passing of Mahatma Gandhi. It was an unforgettable scene as thousands of men and women stood with heads held low, hands clasped together in silent prayer. Many were not ashamed of the tears which flowed on their faces. Their sorrow came from the heart. It was a personal loss felt keenly by all of them.

Also on the platform was Miss Mary Barr, who one time had been Gandhiji's co-worker in India. She said movingly, "The

passing of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the modern age, should unite Moslems and Hindus as never before."

The crowd of 5,000 including all sections of the community repeated the following pledge word for word, after Dr Naicker, who read it out in a voice choked with emotion. "On this day, the day of the cremation of the great Mahatma Gandhi, we solemnly declare that the sincerest mark of tribute we can pay to his memory is to pledge ourselves to uphold in our faith in the value of human dignity and to continue his philosophy and work in this country of South Africa until truth and justice have been vindicated and freedom won."

All Indian Businesses Closed

Many Indian shops in Durban closed immediately on hearing of the passing of Mahatma Gandhi and almost all Indian business places were closed throughout Natal on Saturday as a mark of respect for Gandhiji. The Indian Market closed down for a few

minutes at 3.30 p.m. in honour of his remembrance.

Mr. J. W. Godfrey, who presided at the N.I.C. meeting at the Avalon Theatre, attended by more than 1,000 Indians, said: "Generations will remember Mahatma Gandhi for his soul force and philosophy of non-violence which has already borne fruit in bringing Moslem and Hindu together. It was he who guided India to freedom."

Thousands of Indians in South Africa fasted for 24 hours when news of Gandhiji's death was received and many are carrying on for thirteen days.

A Prayer meeting was also held by the South African Hindu Maha Sabha at the Cartwright's Flats by the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj at the Samaj Hall and by the Surat Hindu Association at Association Hall.

Prayers are arranged under the joint auspices of the Surat Hindu Association and the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj at the Surat Hindu Association Hall daily in the evening for thirteen days ending on Wednesday next.

Meeting In Maritzburg

The H.V.M.A. Hall was filled to over capacity and there were hundreds of people standing round the building and in the street, listening to the tribute being paid to the late Mahatma Gandhi through loud-speakers installed outside the hall.

The meeting was presided over by Mr. R. K. Naidoo, president of the Pietermaritzburg branch of Congress. Prayers were offered by Hindu, Muslim and Christian priests.

The speakers were: Mr. R. A. Banks, Director of Education, Mr. Todd, the Chief Magistrate, the Mayor, Councillor Hirst, Bishop Ferguson-Davie, Adv. A. V. Von Gerard, Dr. M. R. Peters, Mr. R. B. Maharaj, Mr. M. G. Naidoo, Mr. B. Satyapal, Mr. B. A. Maharaj, Pandit Jug Mohan Rev. Choonoo and S. B. Mangal.

The following resolution was passed unanimously. "This Mass Condolence Meeting of the people of Pietermaritzburg, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress at the H.V.M.A. Hall, records its most profound and heartfelt feelings of sympathy and condolence in the tragic and irreparable loss in the death of Mahatma Gandhi."

Although we may miss his material being, the Indian people gather courage from the fact that the principles announced by Mahatma Gandhi will continue to be a guiding factor in the life of our people and the generations to come.

The loss of Mahatma Gandhi is not only a loss to the Indian

nation, but to the whole moral, ethical and spiritual world, and will be deeply felt by all peoples who stand for brotherhood of man, and peace and goodwill among nations."

Johannesburg Indians Tribute To Gandhiji

Thousands of Indians together with hundreds of Moslems, African and Coloured citizens were present at the great and moving memorial meeting held at the Johannesburg City Hall on Sunday afternoon under the auspices of the Transvaal Indian Congress in memory of Mahatma Gandhi. The meeting was one of the biggest ever held in the Johannesburg City Hall. Many were unable to get admission into the body of the Hall long before the meeting commenced.

The meeting commenced in a solemn atmosphere with the organ playing a funeral march, followed by renderings of the famous hymns "Lead Kindly Light" and "A Guide With Me"—hymns which India's millions have heard sung regularly at the great prayer meetings held by Gandhiji. Indian women dressed in simple white saris also sang Gandhiji's favourite Bhajans as the entire audience stood in reverence to Gandhiji's memory. Dr. V. M. Dadoo presided.

"Gandhiji is dead. But his spirit lives in the hearts and minds of all freedom-loving people," said Dr. Dadoo. Recalling that it was in South Africa that the struggles which were later to become Gandhiji's own life were commenced, and that Passive Resistance was born, Dr. Dadoo told his audience of Gandhiji's words to Dr. Naicker and himself when they visited him last year in India. "Your struggle will be a long and arduous one. Few or many, the struggle must go on."

Prayers were led successively by Mr. V. B. Patel, Mohi J. M. Saloojee and Rev. Michael Scott.

"I stand here as representing the Jewish community to join in a deep act of mourning," declared Professor The Very Rev. Dr. L. Robinson. "Not only is this irreparable loss felt by his own people, but one of the hopes of humanity has been extinguished."

Dr. A. B. Xuma, President General of the African National Congress, declared that the whole African community joined in mourning the death of Gandhiji, "a man whom the whole world has accepted as an inspiration to those who fight for freedom."

A similar point was made by the Rev. J. B. Webb who spoke of Gandhiji's "life-long and unflinching opposition to discrimination based on the accident of birth."

"A soldier of freedom who died on the battlefield; who died



Priests of different religions chanted prayers for Gandhiji at Durban on Saturday afternoon at the Congress meeting at Nicoll Square. (From the left: Muslim priest, a Hindu priest, and a Christian priest who officiated.)

સત્યજીત રાજગુપ્તા નીચે રજૂ કરેલાં ચોટીસેનાં ચિત્રો 'તે'નાં પાયાં, મહાત્મા સત્યજીત રાજગુપ્તાનાં જુદાં જુદાં પારંપરિકાં ચોટીસેનાં ચિત્રોનાં કદી રચાઈ શકે. આ ચિત્રમાં જોડેલી પદ્ધતિ સત્યજીત રાજગુપ્તાનાં ઉત્કૃષ્ટ, નિર્મળ અને અમર પદ્ધતિ બી. એન. સત્યજીત રાજગુપ્તાનાં

not only for India but the whole world thus should we see and the death of Gandhi. Mr. I. W. W. Wilson, well known trade union leader.

Mr. L. W. Rich, who was closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi during his stay in South Africa a quarter of a century ago said, "Gandhi was a world master, but he was the servant of every man. He lived for us and he died for us." He urged his hearers to profit by the life of Gandhi by learning the lessons he had taught.

Other speakers were Senator H. M. Basser, Advocate S. Kuper, Mr. P. S. Joshi, Mr. I. M. Saloojee, Mr. B. K. Patel, Mr. George Carr, Mr. E. Burski, Mr. T. N. Naidoo and Mr. D. U. Mistry. The meeting terminated with the audience standing in respectful silence in Gandhi's memory.

The following resolution was passed at a mass meeting of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council held at the Resistance Plot in Johannesburg:

This prayer meeting held in the Resistance Plot, Johannesburg, grieves with the Indian nation and with humanity at the demise of this century's greatest torch

bearer of peace and the moulder of India's freedom Mahatma Gandhi.

It was on the soil of South Africa that Mahatma Gandhi commenced his political career leading to a life-long devotion to the cause of peace. His great weapon of Passive Resistance, first utilized in the Union against racial discrimination and later with triumphant results against British Imperialism is a weapon which we have been privileged to witness and utilize to achieve our democratic birth rights.

Gandhi has left us at a time when the South African Indian community is engaged in a struggle, which is a continuance of the struggle launched by him during his stay in South Africa and which received his wholehearted blessing and support.

Standing on the Resistance Plot this afternoon, with our hearts heavy, we solemnly pledge to be true to the ideals to which Mahatma Gandhi lived and died. We undertake to continue with as doubled efforts our resistance to injustice, for we believe that the greatest respect we can show to his memory is to resolve and carry into effect our resolution. Not To Bend Before Oppression.

Hindu Sev. Samaj

Thousands of Indians, Africans and Europeans gathered at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, on Friday January 30, to pay tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. P. S. Joshi who presided said Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest man since Buddha and could easily take his place in the galaxy of world's renowned prophets who led mankind.

Among other speakers were Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Advocate D. U. Mistry, Mr. Ranchhodil Paridar and Mr. V. G. Patel.

Messrs. Jasmalbhai Nanabhai Patel and Vinayachandra Patel led the prayers in Sanskrit and Mr. V. A. Cachalia in Arabic.

The second memorial service under the auspices of Samaj coincided with the cremation on the River Juma of Mahatma Gandhi's remains on Saturday.

Mr. P. S. Joshi, quoting Roman Rolland, said "Mahatma Gandhi has inscribed his name among the sage and saints of humanity."

A resolution of sympathy was passed to be transmitted to Pandit Nehru.

Meeting At Newcastle

A prayer meeting of the Newcastle Indian community was held

on Sunday under the auspices of the Newcastle branch of the Natal Indian Congress. Mr. T. M. Padayachee the President referred to the part Gandhi played in the betterment of his fellow men in South Africa. "We have lost a great son of India," a cable of condolence was sent to the Prime Minister of India. Among other speakers were: Messrs. A. R. Singh, B. Munsam, H. I. Singh, G. M. Singh and Mrs. P. V. Frank Naidoo. Prayer was conducted by Mr. H. J. Maharaj.

Rhodesia Indians' Tribute

Tributes to the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi were paid by the leaders of both the Indian and European communities of Bulawayo when a service to his memory was held at the K. R. Varhee Hindoo Hall on Sunday night. Among the speakers were the Mayor, Mr. H. A. Holmes, Mr. D. Macintyre, M.P., the Ven. Archdeacon Aldington Hunt and Mr. V. B. Nagrani. On the stage of the Hall was a portrait of Gandhi.

THE COVER

At the back of the cover of this issue is given in Hindustani and English the twelfth chapter of the Bhagavad Gita in which Shri Krishna tells Arjuna who is God's true devotee. Gandhi liked this chapter the most and it was chanted on all auspicious occasions.

Mr. Nagrani said January 30 would long be remembered as a black day in the history of India, and indeed in the history of the world. On that day the father of India was gone from them.

"He hoped so much to see India free and united, and instead of that he lived only to see India free but divided and destroyed, spoiled with violence, ignoring all his best principles of peace inside and outside the nation. But we must continue in his footsteps, and move together towards a world of which Mahatma Gandhi dreamed so much and so ardently—a world of fellow ship and never-ending peace in which no colour, creed or earthly boundary would ever again divide nations."

Mr. Holmes said "On behalf of the City I offer you, the Indian community of Bulawayo our deepest sympathy with you in your great loss, but if his work is created it should be treated it will live on and attain the goal which he had in his mind."

Mr. Macintyre said Gandhi had been taken at a time when the Indian nation needed him more than at any other time in its history. Archdeacon Hunt and Gandhiji had as his weapons only fasting and prayer. He had been abused, calumniated and misunderstood, very often due to the actions of his followers, but "he has shown us all that whatever race we are we can live together."

No person in the halcyon days of the British Empire had so great her might as he did; it is equally true that no rebel within the Empire had won the respect of the British people and their Government to the extent that he had done," said Mr. A. C. Yusuf,



In this picture is seen Gandhi during the Passive Resistance Movement in 1913 with Shri S. S. Sehgal his secretary at the time and Mr. H. Kallenbach his constant follower.

માહાત્મા ગાંધી ૧૯૩૦ માં સ્વયંસહાયની હાલતમાં હતા, તેમણે તે સમયના સચિવ શ્રી સી. સી. સેહગલ અને તેમના સ્થાયી સહચારી શ્રી હેનરી કેલેન્બર્ગ સાથે.

who described Gandhi's death as an international calamity.

Mr. S. B. Mehdia who had recently gone on a short visit to Rhodesia, said, it was the duty of every man and woman in India to strive to establish the peace and communal harmony for Gandhi had always fought. "His life was taken by one of his fellowmen as the Lord Jesus's life was taken by his fellowmen. To-day people might not realise the value of his teachings, but posterity will remember him as a great descendant of Mahomed and Christ. Gandhi tried to win hatred by love, just as the Lord Jesus tried."

The meeting sent a message of sympathy to the people of India. A special meeting of members of the Bulawayo Hindoo Society was held on Saturday morning at the Vashee Hall. After the ceremonial prayers were over the large gathering was addressed by the chairman, Mr. Dayalji B. Naik, who was followed by other speakers. At 12.30 p.m. hymns were sung, to coincide with the cremation ceremony, and a resolution of condolence was passed. Transmission to Pandit Nehru.

Indian Association Of Que Que

A special meeting of the Indian Association of Que Que was held on Saturday to pay tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. E. A. Bahadur presided. Among the speakers were Messrs. I. A. Fernandez, A. M. Desai, A. Miya, T. Harry, B. Gyan and J. W. Smith Headmaster, Russell School. All Indian shops were closed on Saturday as a mark of respect to Gandhiji. It was decided to send cables of sympathy to Pandit Nehru and to the relatives of Gandhiji.

In Salisbury

Tributes and homage were paid to Mahatma Gandhi in Salisbury on Saturday morning at a well-attended meeting called by the Hindu Society and the Islamic Society. Speakers made reference to his teachings and his life, which had been devoted to peace and called on those present to follow the example which he set.

After the addresses a prayer was led by the Rev. Frank Muswell. Saturday was observed as a day of prayer, and in Salisbury many Indians spent the day in fast.

Communist Party

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa cabled on Saturday the following message of condolence to the Indian National Congress: "Profoundly shocked at the end of Mahatma Gandhi by an assassin's bullet. We join with the people of India and of the whole world in mourning the loss of a great champion of Liberty justice and peace."

Bernard Shaw

Mr. Bernard Shaw's only comment was: "It shows how dangerous it is to be good."

At Vatican City the Pope expressed his deep grief for a man

who was spiritual leader of millions of Indians and who had always struggled for peace.

In New York plans were made to set up a memorial at Washington to Mr. Gandhi.

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Harare, January 24.

TRIBUTE TO PANDIT NEHRU

PAYING a tribute to Pandit Nehru, Gandhiji a little before he died said Pandit Nehru was doing all that was possible in order to bring speedy relief to the refugees. His heart bled for them. His house was full. Being the Prime Minister of India, he had to accommodate guests, both Indians and foreigners. Still he had expressed a wish to offer one or two rooms in his home to lodge refugees. He expected other Ministers officials and men of means to do likewise. He (Gandhiji) was convinced that this act of self-sacrifice on the part of India's foremost leader would be appreciated all the world over and put a speedy end to the sufferings of the homeless refugees. It should gladden their hearts to note that this beautiful land of theirs had produced such great men, endowed with such a wonderful spirit of service and self-sacrifice. Jawahar was a real gem, and there were others only not so lustrous perhaps. If their leaders were doing all this for the people, it behooved them not to hurt Muslim brethren. To hurt them was to hurt their leaders.

Treat Him With Pity

On the 21st, referring to the bomb throwing incident, Gandhiji said he would appeal to those who were at the back of the youth, to desist from such activity. Hinduism could be saved only by Gandhiji's method. He had told the Inspector-General of Police also not to harass the youth in any way. They should try to win him over and convert him to right thinking and doing. He hoped that the youth and his guides would realize their error. For it was a wrong done to hinduism and the country. Gandhiji warned his hearers against being angry with the accused. He did not know that he was doing anything wrong. They should pity him. Gandhiji expressed satisfaction at the way Muslims were freely moving about in Delhi. He wanted them to continue the process of

self-purification and convert their hearts into temples of the living God of truth.

New Governor Of Bombay

Raja Sir Mahataj Singh, who is the Governor of Bombay since January 4 in succession to Sir John Colville, addressing the first public gathering after his appointment, said he deemed it a great honour and great privilege to have been appointed Governor of Bombay. "Believe me," he said, "this distinction came to me wholly unexpected, wholly unsolicited, and I would add, wholly unmerited. It demonstrates the broad-minded policy of the Central Cabinet in New Delhi that they have chosen for his high and responsible positions persons who have not been members of the Congress and who have no special claims to their patronage. It shows their trust in persons of goodwill belonging to the minority communities. May we never betray that trust." Speaking before a meeting of Christians in Bombay the Governor said his appointment was evidence of the Central Government's concern for the welfare of the minority communities.

A Silent Revolution

What was happening in Kathiawad is nothing less than a revolution. A communique issued from Rajkot on the 17th said at a meeting between Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary of the States Ministry in New Delhi, and some Rulers of Kathiawad, the Rulers present unanimously agreed that the formation of a single State of Kathiawad would be in the best interests of the Rulers as well as the people. The outlines of the new set-up were given to Sir Menon by Gandhiji and Sardar Patel. The peninsula of Kathiawad comprises more than half the number of Indian States. There are 17 salute States and 47 non-salute States and princely, with an aggregate area of 35,000 sq. miles, a population of four million, and a revenue of six and a half crores (Rs. 8 crores

according to another estimate.) The new single State of Kathiawad will be known as Saurashtra. The covenant provides for a complete merger of the convening States to the new State of Saurashtra which will come into existence on or about April 1. The new State will have a single chamber legislative assembly and an executive responsible to the legislature. The head of the State will consist of a Board of Rulers comprising four Rulers, namely, the Jam Sahab of Nawansagar, the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, and two other salute Rulers to be elected by rotation to the Board and whose tenure of office will be for one year. The Rulers of Dhrangadhra and Palitana have been elected to the Board. The new State will have complete responsible government. The covenant also provides for the convening of a Constituent Assembly, as soon as possible, on the widest possible franchise, to draw the constitution of the new State. It provides that if and when the province of Gujarat is separated from Bombay, following any division that might take place on a linguistic basis, the separated Gujarat will automatically join the new Kathiawad State and will thus become the Maha-Gujarat Province.

India And Pakistan

Writing on the massacre of non-Muslim refugees coming on a train the N.W.F.P., at Gujarat (Punja) the *Pakistan Times* of Lahore writes:—"A large number of non-Muslim men, women and children have been killed in and near Gujarat. All these innocent souls were in our charge. Pakistan had guaranteed them protection until they crossed our frontier. We have betrayed our ideals and broken our pledged word. People who call themselves Muslims, the owners of Pakistan, have been guilty of gross savagery and inhuman brutality, the name of Pakistan has been blackened and besmirched, and the name of our people and our religion has been once more dragged into the dust."

"It is wrong for anybody in the Pakistan Government or outside it to think that we want to absorb Pakistan. In fact it today the Pakistan Government say that they would like to join us, we will refuse it as we do not want to burden ourselves with the problems which they have created for themselves," said Pandit Nehru.

No Union Now

"We have seen enough of Pakistan. Let Mr. Jinnah and anyone of his lieutenants come

and see for himself the incalculable amount of havoc and devastation wrought in this fair valley of Kashmir by these 'friends' of Islam," said Raja Mohammad Afzal Khan, Raja of Nambal (Uri). "I and my family were forcibly deprived of all cash and gold valuing more than Rs. 60,000. Even my young children were not spared the pain of forcible removal of bangles from their wrists, and their earrings were taken away while blood dripped from their ears. Some of the Hindus whom I have given shelter were hunted out and kidnapped by these depraved raiders after large sums of money had been looted from them. Muslims were not spared. Villages like Nambal, Balakot, Gaskot, Salikot, Sabura and Hathlaaga with 100 per cent Muslim population were looted and totally burnt without exception. Poor villagers were made to carry the loot on their backs on pain of death. We should feel highly indebted and grateful to the Indian army which, though mostly Hindu in composition, after having saved us from this open brigandage, is striving very hard to rehabilitate the homeless and the destitute without distinction of caste and creed."

Hyderabad

Dr. Melkote, a member of the Hyderabad State Congress, said that the struggle in Hyderabad was likely to take a new form from January 20. During the period between November 25 and December 15, after the Standstill Agreement between India and Hyderabad was signed, Dr. Melkote said over 3,000 houses had been burnt in the State, 360 women abducted, 600 persons killed in firing, and property worth over Rs. 30 lakhs looted, by minions of the State. Two thousand village officers have so far resigned, and 15 villages have declared independence. Deprecating the criticism against Sardar Patel, Shri K. M. Munshi, India's Agent-General in Hyderabad, said Sardar Patel was one of the first and best disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, and he had organised and strengthened the Congress during the past 32 years. Sardar Patel succeeded in 'wiping out' 300 Princes not by military action but by his wise statesmanship. When such a man concluded an agreement with Hyderabad, there must have been weighty and vital reasons. Sardar Patel knew his job and should be trusted.

States Policy Defended

Speaking at Bombay, Sardar Patel said that so far as a large majority of the States were con-

cerned, the states Ministry's policy was to create confidence among the rulers as well as the people. He felt this policy had been successful. "We have followed our policy regarding Hyderabad in order to avoid complications and repercussions of an adverse nature. The Standstill Agreement had been entered into with the State so that arrangements for a permanent settlement could be made in the interval. I have no doubt that having due regard for its geographical position, its population and its own interests, Hyderabad State will, during the course of the year, fall into line with the other States."

Gwalior

It may be added that the Maharaja of Gwalior has announced his decision to form immediately an Interim Government having the support of the majority party in the legislature. The Interim Cabinet of 11 Ministers will consist of nine popular representatives, including the Chief Minister, and two nominees of the Ruler. A new constitution-making body will frame a new constitution. The Ruler's Privy Purse and the Palace Civil List will be the only reserved subjects.

European Students In U.S. Protest At Ban On Negroes

New York, Friday.—European students at Norman, Oklahoma, demonstrating against the ban on the admission of Negroes to the university, burned a copy of the 14th amendment to the American Constitution, which provides for equal citizenship for all races and creeds, and posted the ashes to President Truman.

The Third Court of Civil Appeals at Austin, Texas, has rejected the application of a Negro mail carrier, Herman Sweetin, for an order directing University of Texas to admit him as a law student. Sweetin, who has been fighting his battle for admission for two years, says he will now appeal to the Supreme Court.—Sapa-Reuters.

Transvaal Indian Congress (Springs Branch)

Biennial General Meeting

The biennial general meeting of the above branch will be held at the Springs Indian School, court yard, Atlantic Bazaar, Springs on Sunday February 22, at 2.30 p.m.
Agenda:—Election

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ਮਲ੍ਹ

પ્રેમ એવેલીએકાન્ત નરહી પાવેલી
 પર કોન દેવે, પાંત કાંઈ, દેલી
 કોનની પદેલીઓપર પદેલીઓ મા
 સાગી, એ રીતેવત કાંઈક, 'દેલી
 નુસ' ની ઓડીસગાથા પગાવ માવણ
 અને દવાની કાગળપીરેલા સ્વાસ્થ્ય
 મેન આ અતિ દુ:ખાવણ અને આપણ
 કરનારે, બેર આપણાં આપણ
 અને અને કંઈ કંઈ બાબત મળ્યાં
 કે પાંત એ શુદ્ધતામાં આવણ, તુરત
 પાંતે કોન સહિય આંદોલન પ્રેમ એકા
 મીએકાન્તની એડીસગાથા આપેલી અને
 એવે બાબત આપણમાં આપણ, ન
 પદેલી પુર્ણાતના માવણ આંદોલનમાં
 કોનની આપણા સાગી, કે શ્રીમદ્
 પદા ગાંધી, અને એવે શુદ્ધતામાં આપણ
 પ્રત્યેકે શુદ્ધતા તારે કાંઈકમાં આપણાં
 અને આપણીએકાન્ત આંદોલન પાંતે
 પાંતે અને એવેલી રજી દોલ એકા
 એવેલી એ.

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જાણે છે. આથી તે મારા મન, સારાં સારાં
મનથી, આજની ઉત્સાહથી, નિંદાથી
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રાજી છે. આગે અમરાવતિ આગીબ કલેક્ટર
 જાણકારીના આગે કલેક્ટરે જે નો અમરાવતિ
 તુલિને એકલેજા મેં આજે પચાસ
 સંદેશામાં 'જી' યુગ 'આજે' હોતે ના
 અમરાવતિ કુલીનાઈતે રીકે આગેકલેક્ટર
 મળે છે. અમરાવતિ કુલીનાઈતે નો અમરાવતિ
 નો રીકે આગે કલેક્ટરે સંદેશામાં
 નાની આગી કલેક્ટરે રીકે નો.

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ॐ ह्रीं क्लीं श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥
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[illegible]

५३३ : सुष्मेदः गान्धर्विभ्योऽभारः
 लान्धर्वः क्षण्यया भेदी भेदी, स्त्रि
 भा भेदीभ्योऽभारः

[illegible]

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
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 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

મગધમાનને મારે સળથો છે. તો
 હાથી અગિયારમું તરુપર નિરખે
 હાથના કરનાં સ્વેચ્છાએ અને રાજ
 બુદ્ધિથી ત્રિવર્ણી એવો સા મારો
 આપણે આજા અને શબ્દ ન મારાએ.
 એમ માનીએ ત્રણેયે તેઓ આ-
 પણી તરુપર આજા તરુપર ગયા તરુ
 આપણી સમીપર છે અને એમ સમજ
 આપણી અંતરના દીપક ન શુભાશુભ
 કુર્ષી તેઓએ કામે નાહુ રાખીએ.
 આ સમજે કે અમને પોતાને સંધિધીને
 તેમજ તેમને પસંદે માનવા પ્રવેશનાર
 નહિને સુધેધીને કરું છું. પ્રથમ આપણને
 તેને મારે રાક્ષિ અને સદ્બુદ્ધિ આપે.

અનન્દા કુલકિય આદિકાના સ્વયમ
 બાગામાંથી અને પાદરથી અમારો
 પોતાના માંડા અને હિલેન્દુઓ તેમજ
 આપણા માંડા અને દિલેન્દુઓ-લીંગો
 એ, અંતરે તેમજ પાદરમાં-તરુપર
 અમરપર ન મેમ અને દિલેન્દુ
 વર્ણવવામાં આવી રહ્યાં છે અને કે
 અમારો આ કુળના વખતમાં અમને
 વીરજ અને મારી આપનાર પદ પદ
 છે તેને મારે મારી પાલિની મારી
 પોતાની અને મારો કુલકીયનો
 વર્ણ આ પદદાર અમારો વેડ
 આપનારની સામગ્રી રક્ષાવવાની રવા
 મારે છું.

અમર કેવી રીતે આવ્યા

ગાંધીજીના અવસાનના અમર સ્ત્રીથી
 પ્રથમ ઓમ ઇન્ડિયા રાષ્ટ્રીયપર
 જોરના મે વાંચે તારીય કાર્યક્રમ વાંચી
 રહી હતો ત્યારે આવ્યા. એકાએક
 મારફતે અમરની મેમ અને ત્યારે માર
 પોલીસ પોલીસ સંપર્ગ આપણોમાં સંપર્ક
 હરવામાં આવ્યું કે ગાંધીજી સાંજની
 પ્રાર્થનામાં જતા હતા ત્યારે પોલીસની
 વખતે ગોળીઓ તેમને મારવામાં આવી
 અને તેમને અવસાન થયું છે.

આ અમર સમયની આગની કવિ
 વાળેએ ક્રિયાવા. અરથી કસકમાં દીદી-
 કો આપણા પોતાની કુકમાં બધ
 કરવા માંડ્યા.

લી મળીએ મારો એ વખતે સાક
 બાજરમાં ફર ખરીદ્યા હતા અને તેવા
 નેમણે અમર આપણા નેમણે રીનીકસ
 મારી વા.

‘નારાયણ દેવી ન્યુસ’ અને સાથિય
 આદિકા મેમ એમેરીકામાં તરુપર
 આ નેમણના અમરને જોયા પ્રથમ
 સમર્થન આપવામાં આવ્યું.

રખનના હિંદીઓએ કરેલી પ્રતિજ્ઞા

નારાયણ દેવી ન્યુસના આશય
 હેઠળ મનોપર રખનના પ્રીકસ
 રખેરમાં મે રંગી મારવા નવા
 મળી હતી. અમથી આગીના સમય
 પામ હાથર ઉપર સાઈ હાથર મયા
 હતા. હા. વામરે પ્રભુપરના રહી
 હતા. આપણ કરતા તેમને કરું કે
 જ કામે મારે ગાંધીજી પોતાના
 પા નેમણ છે તે માં આજ રાખવા
 ના પ્રયત્ન કરેએ તેમને સારમાં
 મારી અંતરથી મળાય.

પોતાની લકામાં રહીને ‘પ્રતુ-
 માનિ’ માળ દીધા એક અને દીદી
 ની આજ્ઞા મારે આપણ મારે અંતરે
 આપણને ગાંધીજીને એકે અંતરથી
 આપી હતી. ગાંધીજીના મરણથી ફરી
 વાંચે મારે તરુપર એમ તેઓએ
 અમરપર કરું.

નારાયણ દેવી ન્યુસ મરણીય વહાં અને
 ના. ના. ના. મરણ નમણી પ્રાથમ

પાદરથી અમર આવ્યા કે ગાંધીજીના
 કરેવાના ખુબી જ વધના એક વખત
 નયુરામ વિનાયક મારો હતા જે કોઈ
 મહાસત્યાગ્રહ કોણવાદીઓમાં એક
 હતા.

ગાંધીજીના ખુબીએ આપણ સારે
 મળ ગોળીઓ હોવા પછી નાથી નાથી
 ને મારે આવા નવા તરુપર પાદર હિંદીઓ
 એર કસના સારજન્ટ જે તાં ઉલો
 તેમણે તેના દાસ પામ લીધા. સારજન્ટ
 તેની નામ ગોળી હોવા નવા હતા
 તરુપર ગોળીએ નેમ કરતાં તેને નામ
 અને ખુબીએ મારો ખુબી નવા નામ
 તેમણે તેને ગામથી લીધા.

ખુબીએ જરૂર જોઈને મારામાં
 પાદરની પોલીસની કોણવાદી નવા હતા.

ગાંધીજીના ખુબીની પોલીસની વજ
 ગોળીઓ મારી હતી એક પાલીની
 જતાથી મારુએ નવા મે મેરમાં.

ગાંધીજીના મરણના કોણવાદી નવા
 નેમણને નવા પાદર નવા પોલીસને
 વડા.

કરી રહ્યાં હતાં. એ કસ ખુબી નહિ
 સકાય તેવું કરું. એમ અંતર નેમ
 મારે હોય એવું મળાયું હતું.

‘મેરકેમાં’ પર અમારે ગાંધીજી સાથે
 લીધાં કામ કરી રહેમાં નવા હતા
 પોતાના પોતાની મેરકેમાં અંતરે અંતરે
 નામ મેરકેમાં નવા. તેમણે સમયમાં
 અમરે મેરકેમાં નવા નવા નવા
 નિર્ધારનામાં નવા નવા મારક
 પૂર્ણ હતા. રખન અવસાને હોઈ
 મરણીએ કરી નહિ હતા નવા મળ
 કાલ નવા મેરકેમાં.

કોમના સમય મેરકેમાં પ્રતિનીધીય
 પરાવત સમય નવા દીદીઓએ
 ના. માંડર સાથે મેરકેમાં અમારે
 નેમકેમાં મારે પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધે હતી.

‘માર્કેમાં’ અંતરેમાં નવા દીદીએ
 અમે મારે પ્રતિજ્ઞા લીધે કરું કે
 તેમના રમરમાં દાદરે અંતરે નવા
 આપણે મળાય તે સમયની નવા

તેમના મરણે કરી રાખવાની અને અંતર
 આપણમાં નવા અને અંતર અંતર
 માં નવા અંતર પ્રાપ્ત માં નવા
 મૂર્ધા નેમર માં આજ રાખવામાં.

હિંદીઓએ સંધ્યા રાજ્યપર બધ

રખનના ગાંધીજીના અવસાનના
 નવા અમર અંતરમાં તેમજ નવા
 હિંદીઓએ પોતાની કુકમાં બધ કરી
 હતી અને સનીપરે આપણ નામમાં
 મળાય અમર દીદીઓએ મેરકેમાં નવા
 માંડા હતા.

નારાયણ દેવી ન્યુસના મેરકેમાં
 નવા એવલ નવા મેરકેમાં ના. ના.
 હાથ. મેરકેમાં પ્રમાણમાં નવા સમા
 મળી હતી નવા હાથ હાથ મેરકેમાં
 હાથ હતા હતા.

સાથિય આદીકા હોઈ મળા સમા
 તરુપર રીપરે હાથે હાથે હાથે
 અને ગાંધીજીના હોઈ સમા સમા
 તરુપર શુક્રવારની રાતે સમાના દીદીમાં
 અને મરણ હોઈ એમેરીકાના તરુ
 થી એમેરીકાના દોહમાં પ્રાપ્ત
 સમાનો મળા હતી.

સર હોઈ એમેરીકાના અને ગાંધી
 માંડા હોઈ સમા સમાના સમા
 આપણ તેમજ સર હોઈ એમેરીકાના
 દોહમાં રાજ સાથે તેર દીપસ સમા
 પ્રાપ્તના મારકમાં આપી જે ને
 આપણ બધવારે સમા માંડા.

વેલનીસમાં ગાંધીજીના અંતરેમાં અંતરેમાં

ગાંધીજીના સમયમાં દીદીમાં પ્રતિ
 નવા હિંદીઓ એક સમા માંડા તરુપર
 સમાના મળામાં મારો દોહમાં નવા
 હતી. એમી મેરકેમાં નવા સારી દોહ
 માં સમાના મળા જે, સમાના કામે સમા
 થયું ને અમારે પાળા સારી દોહ
 માં પાળા થયું સમા નહિ સમા
 માં હાથરે હોઈએ કોણવાદી અંતરેમાં,
 આદિકા અને કામે નવા સારી
 સમાના નવા ગાંધીજીના પ્રાપ્ત નવા
 ના સમાના સમા સમા થયું હોઈ,
 એમી સારી નવા નવા સારી
 હતી.

હા. હાથરે ‘પ્રમાણમાં’ લીધે કરું.
 તેમજ નવા મારક નવા મારક
 તેમજ આપણ સમય રમા તેમજ
 મેરકેમાં હાથરે નવા મારકેમાં રમા
 નવા તેમજ કરું કે ગાંધીજીના
 રખનના અંતરેમાં એમેરીકા તેમજ
 હાથરે આપણ સાથિય આદિકામાં
 નવા હતા અને સમાનામાં નવા પછી
 આદિકા પામ હતા. તેમજ કરું કે
 નવા નવા નવા નવા મારકેમાં ગાંધીજી
 ના મારકેમાં સમા હતા તારે ગાંધીજી
 ના આપણે નવા નવા હતા.

‘પ્રમાણમાં’ મળા મળા અને કરી
 માંડા. નવા પાળા દો કે મેરકેમાં નવા
 કરું કે આજ રહેલી નવા

પ્રમાણમાં મળામાં પ્રાપ્તમાં
 ના. ના. ના. પદે, મેરકેમાં સમા

અને રેવરન્ડ માર્કેમાં કરી તરુપર
 કરવામાં આપી હતી.

પોલીસ ના. એમ. ગાંધીજીના
 કરું કે હાથરે કોમના નવા મેરકેમાં
 રમા હતા. આ અગિયારમું મારકેમાં
 મારી કોમના નવા મળાય તરુ
 માંડાની દીપર મળાય મેરકેમાં.

આદિકા તેમજ કોમના પ્રમાણ
 ના. એ. ના. કામે કરું કે ગાંધીજી
 એમ નવા હતા નવા રમા નવા
 મારે કરી રહેલામાં એક મારકેમાં
 આપણ તરુપર આપણ ફરીમાં નવા
 કરેલા છે. આપણ આદિકા માં
 નવા રમામાં સમાના નવા.

રેવરન્ડ નવા મળાય જે નવા
 અંતરમાં કરું પાળામાં આપણ
 વળે મેરકેમાં ગાંધીજી આપણ હાથ
 રેવરન્ડ કરવા આપણ હતા.

અપણા દોહ મળાય નવા ના.
 પૂર્ણમાં કરું કે ગાંધીજી એક સમાના
 ના મેરકેમાં તરુપર સમાનામાં નવા છે.

દીનીકસમાં સંધ્યા આસ

અમે દીનીકસ સંધ્યાના નવા-
 સીમાં ગાંધીજીના સમયમાં
 તેમજ અંતરે સંધ્યાના દીપસથી
 તેર દીપસ આપણ પ્રાપ્તમાં કરીએ
 હોઈએ. અમરકેમાં ગાંધીજી ના.
 રે મેરકેમાં પ્રાપ્તમાં હાથરે
 દીપસ ના. એ દીપસ હાથરે
 એ પ્રાપ્તમાં સમાના થયા પ્રમાણ
 દોહ નવા સરકેમાં અમે આપણ
 કરીએ હોઈએ. પ્રાપ્તમાં સમાના
 રમા પાળા અને હ નવા પ્રમાણ
 ગાંધીજી દીનીકસમાં હતા નવા
 જે મળાયમાં સમાના હતા ને મળા
 ના અમર ‘પ્રમાણમાં’ મળામાં
 માં આપણે.

તેમજ હોઈ મારકેમાં મારકેમાં તરુપર નવા
 ફરીમાં મારકેમાં આપણ આપણ છે.

ના. એમ. હાથર નવા મળાય
 નવા નવા નવા સમાના હતા
 હાથ સમાના નવા હતા. નવા આ
 પદે મારકેમાં હાથરે આપણ નવા
 આપણ આપણ હાથરે સમાનામાં
 પાળે દીપસમાં.

કોમનામાં પ્રતિ રીપરેમાં પ્રતિમાં
 ના. અમર સમાના રમાનામાં
 રીપરેમાં પ્રતિમાં અમારે હતી નવા
 વખતે નવા મળાય રમા પાળા નવા

આ સમાના નવા મળાય મળાય મળાય
 રમાનામાં ગાંધીજીના અવસાન મારે દીપસ
 રમાનામાં સમાના પાળા નવા ગાંધીજીએ
 પોતાના રમાનામાં પ્રમાણમાં પ્રમાણમાં
 માં કરું કરું અને સમાનામાં કરું
 આ સમાનામાં કરું કરું નવા નવા
 રમા સમાનામાં કરું કરું નવા પ્રમાણ
 મળાયમાં સમાનામાં નવા અને
 પ્રમાણમાં પ્રતિમાં પ્રમાણમાં પ્રમાણમાં

સાધવાથી વાપર્યું હતું. આને આ-
પણા સરમિલિત કમળાચીવ હતા
ને માટે તે વાપરવાના અપાયું જણાયો
મળ્યો છે.

આને સાથે આફ્રિકાની લીંદી કામ
નેમજીવ ઉપાધીથી કામને આપણા વધારી
રહી છે તેને વખતે માધીજી આપણને
જોડી ગયા છે.

આને અમે માટે હવે કોંગ્રેસ
અને પ્રિયતા કરીએ છીએ કે
આફ્રિકાને માટે માધીજી જીવ્યા હતા
અને તમે છે તેને અમે વાપરી રહીએ.
અને અન્યવચી સામે અમરો વિરોધ
પાસણા વગેરે માત્ર રાખીએ કેમકે અમે
માનીએ છીએ કે દમનતાવાને નહિ
નમસ્કારના અમારા કુરબાને રાખી રહીએ
એ માધીજીને મોઢામાં ગોઠવે માન છે.

દાસવાસ હિંદુ સેવા સમાજ

દાસવાસ હિંદુ સેવા સમાજની સભા
અનુચારી ના, ૨૦ માના શુક્રવારની
રાતે જોડાનાસમાજમાં માધી કોલમાં
મળા હતી. લીંદીઓ આફ્રિકાને અને
અમેરિકાને હાથેલા સંખ્યામાં કાગર
થવા હતા. પ્રમુખસ્થાનેથી મા. પી.
એસ. નોશીએ વાણીયું કે શુદ્ધ અન-
વાન પછી માધીજી સહીથી મદાન તર
ગેઠા થવા હતા. માનવજાતીને ફોર-
નારો ફુલીયાના પદમજાવેલી દારમાં
તેઓ સફેદપણથી રચાયા છતાં ગમે
બીજા મેલનારાઓમાં મા. ડી. પ.
ઓશી, ડા. કાદુ, મા. રબુજીઆજ
પાટીશર અને મા. પી. જી. પટેલ
હતા.

શ્રી. જયમનલાલ નાનાભાઈ અને
શ્રી. વિનયકંદ પટેલ સંસ્કૃતમાં અને
મા. વાહ. એ. કાઠીયાએ અરબીમાં
પ્રવચન કરી હતી.

ખીજી સભા દાસવાસ હિંદુ સેવા
સમાજની માધીજીનાં અગ્નિ સંસ્કાર
ગાથે સ્તીવાસ મળા હતી. મદાન કેવ
તપક મરફુસ રોમાં ફોલોના રાખે
હાજી મા. મેશાએ કહ્યું કે માધીજીનું
નામ માનવજાતીના સાથે સંતાની સાથે
લાગર રહ્યું છે. પંડીત નેદક પર
માદકથા એક શીક્ષા તરવ થવા ગતા.

હિંદુસ્તી દાસવાસમાં

(અમરાસા અમરપત્રી તરફથી)

પુખ્ત મહારામા પાપુજીના કોલજના
અરસાના સમાચાર ના. ૨૦-૧-૪૮
ના તુલકારે ૪ વાગે જોડાનાસમાજથી
મળ્યા હતા. તાર માટે અરદન દાસ-
વાસમાં રહે હીંદુ માધીઓએ પોતાની
ફકાના વાષ રાખી હતી ખીજી દિવસે
સતીવાર આપા રવસ કુતરો વધ
રાખી હતી. તમાર ગેવાસ મુકામે
મંજન દાસવાસ હીંદુ સેવા સમાજ
તરફથી સહાયતા પાપુજીના અરમાને
અંગ્રહી આપવા શીક સભા ગરવામાં
આવી હતી. પધારિયા દરેક આપણા
નરફી પાપુજીને અંગ્રહી આપનારો
મવચરો થઈ હતા

ફેલો વડા પ્રધાન પંડીત નેદક
નેમજી માધીપ્રાગ માધીના ઉપર
દિવસોજીના તારે મેલકલામાં આપવા
હતા. રવસ વગેરે પ્રાથમા પછી સભા
પિસ્તગન થઈ હતી.

**હિંદુ દાસવાસ પુખ્ત આપુજીને
અપાવેલીની અંગ્રહી**

પુખ્ત આપુજીના અપસાના સમા
માટે મરદ દાસવાસ પાપુજી દિવસોજી
સાથે સંભવવામાં આપવા હતા.

સુકવરે રાત્રે હિંદુ મંદિરમાં પાધેળી
માનવજોડની સમસા પ્રમુ પ્રાપ્તના કરવા
માં આવી હતી.

અનિવારે સભા દીંદી વેપારીઓ
પોતપોતાનો વેપાર પધા વધ રાખ્યો
હતા. સવારે ૧૧ મા રાખે હિંદુ મંદિર
માં દીંદી તરનાનીની આજોળા માનવ
જોડનીએ પ્રમુ પ્રાપ્તના કરી હતી.
રાત્રે ૮ વાગે હીંદુ રીલીજસ પ્રોટેકશન
સોસાયટી તરફથી પ્રાથમા સભા રોજ
વામાં આવી હતી.

રવિવારે પણ વાળે મોટી વેલમાં
વેપરના અપ્રજાપરે એક જાહેર સભા
મેલવામાં આવી હતી. જેમાં ૧૭૨
વ્યક્તિ પાદરોમાં તરફથી તથા સંસ્કૃત
અને નામીસમાં પ્રાથમા થઈ હતી.
આ સભાની નિશિષ્ટતા એ હતી કે
આનંદ જાનકુ મદિસા માસ રોગા,
જેઓ વધમાં પુખ્ત આપુજીના વજી
દિવસ મહેમાન જન્યા હતા તેઓ
જાવવાની અંગ્રહી આપી હતી.

રાત્રે હિંદુ મંદિરમાં તથા રીલીજસ
પ્રોટેકશન સોસાયટીના કોમસ પ્રાથમા
ઓ થઈ હતી.

પેટરલીયાના લીંદીઓની અંગ્રહી

માપ સતીવારની રાતે બુલવાવાના
ફે. આર. પશા લીંદુ લેલમાં માધીજી
ને અંગ્રહી આપવા એ સંદરના લીંદી
એ તેમજ અંગેને એકસ થવા હતા.
સરવર માધીજીનાં કોટે મુલવામાં
આપ્યો હતો.

મા. નાગરાણીએ આપવા કરતાં વજી
કે ના. ૩૦ અનુચારી મા વિવસ લીંદી
ના પાસે ફુલીયાના પતિહાસમાં એક
કામા દિવસ તરફે મેધાઈ કરી. એ
લિવસે લીંદીના પિલા પોતાના સંતાનોને
જોડી આપવા થયા.

તેઓ લીંદી આપાદ અને એકમ
તેઓ સભા હતા. પરંતુ તેને અદરે
તેઓએ લીંદીને આપાદ અમેરુ વરંતુ
અમે વ્યેક અને તેમના સભા મિલકો
ની અવમજુવા કરી લીંદીમાં લીવાસ
પામતું વેતુ. પરંતુ આપણે તેમને
પામતે માસી માધીજીના અંગ્રહી ફુલીયા
આપવાની છે કે જેમાં જાતી જાતી કે
બીજાલીક આપાત નહિ થકી રાકે.

મેવર મા. એસ. એ. હેલેસે કહ્યું
કે આ સંસ્કારની પતી બુલવાવાની લીંદી
કોમલ અમેરો મદાન આપવા ફિલસોજી
પામતું છે. માધીજીનું કાર્ય જે રીતે
આપણે લેએ એ રીતે અમારો લા

ને જીવંત રહેશે અને તેમજે ૧-૧૦૦
ખેપ મિલક હશે.

મા. ડી. મેલકનંદાવરે આપ વી. એ
કહ્યું હાથે માધીજીને એક વખત તમા
લીલા જે કે અપાદે લીંદીને તેની જાડીમાં
માં કરી નહિ કરી તેલો તમાની જરૂર
હતી.

આમંદીકન એકલિમરન કન્ટે કહ્યું કે
ઉપવાસ માને પ્રાથમા એ મેલક માધીજી
ના અરેના હતા. પાપુજી વખત પોતા-
ના જ અનુપામમાંના વકિ તેઓ પોત
મેલકઅજુલીમાં થઈ છે. તેઓને
માનો પરી છે અને પાપુજી નિદાઓ
થા છે. પરંતુ આપણને સોને તેઓ
પાનાથી અપા છે કે હરે ગમે તે વર્ગ
કે જાનીમા આપણે લેએ છે તમા એકસ
થઈ નાથે રહી સહીએ છીએ. મા. એ.
સી. પુસ્ત્ર માધીજીના વ્યુતને એક અતર
રાષ્ટ્રીય આશ્રમ તરફે વર્ણવી અનુપામ
કે પીડીશ સામાજ્યની આપાદના લીવસો
માં તેની અકિતોના સામના તેમના જેવો
બીજા કોમલે કરવાની મમદુર કરી
તથી. તમા એ વજી એકલિમર મા છે
કે સામાજ્યમાં કોઈ અવધ તરે પણ
તથી પાકયો કે જેણે લીંદીશ પ્રમ
અને સરકારનું એકલિ અનુપામ માન
મેલકમુ લેવા.

મા. એસ. પી. મેલક જે લેગમજીથી
કુકે મુલક થઈ રેલકીમાંની ગુલકાને
અપા હતા તેઓએ કહ્યું કે લીંદીના પ્રથેક
તર તરની કુલક છે કે કોમલ અલકા
ને માટે માધીજી અલકા વખત સુધી
સભા આપણા છે તે આપણના તેણે
પ્રમલ કરવો ના એ. તેમના તમા
તેમના જ એક માન આપણે લીંદી કે
તમા પ્રમુ આલકોના તેમના તમા આપ
મેલકે તોળા હતા. આપણે તમાને
માધીજીના સિદ્ધાન્તની કોમલ નહિ
સમજતા હોય તરે અલિવસની મલ
તેમને મલકાર કે હાથ આપના કોલક
તરફે પાદ કરશે. માધીજીને તેને
પ્રાપા અલકાને પ્રમલ કર્યો હતો
તેની રીતે કહ્યું ખીંતે કહ્યું હતું.

અપાએ લીંદીના પ્રમવરે લીવસોજી
મા સદેશો મેલકના હતા.

પુખ્તપ્રાથમા લીંદીઓની એક પાસ
પ્રાથમા સભા સતીવારે સવારે ૧૨ મા
લેલમાં બુલવાઓ લીંદુ મેલકાવરી તરફ
થી અરવામાં આપી હતી. પ્રાથમા
પાદ મા. જવાણક પી. નાવર વિગેરે
એ આપણે કરી હતા. જાડા પાદ
વાગે માધીજીના અગ્નિસંસ્કાર ૧૫૦૦
જરવો મળાપા હતા અત રીત
મેલકપર મેલકવાને વિલસોજીના રાવ
મયો હતો.

સોલસાવરીમાં

સોલસાવરીમાં લીંદુ સેવાવરી અને
જીવસાવરીમાં સતીવારે અપાર
સભા અરદન હતી જેમાં સારી કાગરી
થઈ હતી. માપાજીને અંગ્રહી આપ
વારે આપણે થઈ હતા.

માપાજીના આર રેવરંડ ૧૬ મેલક
માપાના કરી હતા. સતીવારેના દિવસ
પ્રાથમા રીત રીત માપામાં આપવા
ના અપા પાપામાં ન રીત ઉપવાસ
કરી હતા

રવલપેડા સંસ્કારો

જીઆરપી મા. સંદેનશાને તીર્થોના
મેલકો હીંદુ મેલક માલક પેરતપર
મેલકમાં હતા

માધીજીના અપસાના આપણે
મા અને રાખીને લીંદુ અપાના થયો
છે. લીંદીના મેલકોને અનુપામ આપના
પોદમાં અમારી કોલ દિવસોજી પાદપરો.
એ પાદ માત તેઓનેજ નહિ પરંતુ
માનવ જાતીને થઈ છે.

જનરલ સમસાની સંસ્કારો

વડા પ્રધાન જનરલ સમસા તીર્થોના
મેલકો પંડિત મેલકપર મેલકમાં હતો

માધીજીના અપાવરી અમરના લીંદીને
અમેરો અનિવાને વાદના અપર અને
અનુપામ જેક પેટથી સામાજ્ય સાથે
આફ્રિકાના સાધની પતિ કે તમને કરી
ફિલસોજી પામતું છે. આપણે માનવ
જાતીને મદાન બાર થા છે જેમાં
અમારો વજી સમાવેશ થાય છે આ
કક્ષ પટના લીંદીના આપણને સપામાં
કોમલ પ્રમુજી સહન કરવારો મા પે
અને લીંદીના કુખમાં પ્રમલ જે સતીને
મારે તમા પોતાના તમા અપિ ફેલ
રેપાર થતા હતા અને આપણે આપણો
છે તે જાતી આપણારો થઈ છે. સાથે
આપણે નાપના અનુપામ આપ સંતાનો
મા માને વખતી પોતા અને અમારી
જા અપાએ છીએ અને એ કારણથી
આ લીંદીક રિતોને જોને નરેશો મેલકવાને
વરેના

અનોદે રેલ

લેલકીના મલકન લેલક મા પાદ
જોએ મેલકાર વાલકમાં કહ્યું આ
વખતે એ કે મારા થા એ કહેલું જેવમ
અવેલું છે

લેલકીના સતીવારે માને એક માપુસ
જા લીંદીના કરેના ના તે અપાપાવિર
સુર સમાન હતા અને કરેનાં સતીને
માટે પ્રમલ કરી થવા હતા તેની પાદને
મારે જેકા મેલકમાં હતા.

લેલકીનામાં માધીજીનું સંસ્કાર
રેપાવાની અનુપામ મા પોતવામાં થઈ
કરી છે

માધીજીના સંસ્કારો હરવાલકેરે

આ અકમા માધીજીના તેમના પલ
મા. મેલકીના માધીજીને તમા પ્રમવરુ
તોળી સુશીમાં માધીજીને અત એ.
અપીજીસ માધીજીના પલ અપણ અને
પુતી પધાવરે આપવા હતા ૧૭
માનસામાં માધીજીના ના પાંડાના
સામાય માધીજીના અપાસરમાં આપામ
છીએ એ પદા માધીજીના હરવા
પદા લેલક તમાને પાપા પ્રાપ્તી છે.

$$\mathcal{M} \cdot \mathcal{M}(\mathcal{M})$$

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$$\div 147 \quad 2412 \text{ ms } \} \text{ 2267}$$

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concord with

647. 1890. 1891. 1892.

Exhibit 14 (infrared)

உள்ளே இருக்கிறார்கள்.

σ₂ = 1.07.

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[Faint handwritten notes]

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Alfred Winters

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2014-13-12

Figure 1

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ગાંધીજી પર સા. આ.ના અખબારો

નાટાલ 'રેલી ન્યુસ'

આર કોરુસના ગણકા કે જેણે ગાંધીજી ને જાન ગ્રીષ્મી કે નેમી પચ્ચી માત્ર કીંદમોજ નહિ પણ કમલેન દુનીયા માં પડેલી. તેમના વિશે મને તે કહેવા માં આવે કે કીકા કરવામાં આવે, પરંતુ મેલાના કમોડે દેશ બંધિયા પર આ ગાંધીજી માણસે યરવેશ મહનિક પળા ને અવગણી મકાન તેમ નથી. તેમની કષકમાની સ્વાકાન અને તેમના ક્રેદલા ઉપવાસની અસર એવી થા કરી કે ન આકેપક અને અમકારીક હતી. પછા પશ્ચિમના કોમોને તે નાક કર નાદી હતી. આપબામા છે એવા કોષ કે હે આંધીજીએ પોતાના કોષિપર પાડના ને પોતાનકનિક અને માધ્યમિક પ્રવાસ પાડી કહે. અને કુરતની એક પશ્ચિમીકા ને કે સાધવાના તેમણે પોતાના જીવન દરમિયાન કોમોનિરિધ કરા દતા એવર સાધવાની તેમનું મુલ્ય મણુ છે.

ગાંધીજી એ પડતુ અંધ નથી માનતા કે હીંદ સ્વાજ પુણુ વિશામ થવા રહે. ગાંધીજીને એક સંત મનુષ્ય માં આવ્યા છે: પ્રપંચો રાજકારી નરીકે તેમને નિદેશમા આવ્યા છે: પ્રમોજક કુવર મહાન વિજય માખ કર નારા નરીકે તેમને કલ્પ પોકારવામાં આવ્યા છે: હીંદુ રજા માકસપણે ત્યાપિત કરવાનો સાધાપણી પ્રખમ કરવા માટે તેમની સજાની કીકા થક છે. ક્રેદલા થાત મારા કરનાપાન કુરતા પ્રાકોચી પણ નેક સકાપ કણુ કે, જામકા રાંધી આગાદીએ પતોવેલાં પુનરજી અને નિરકકારે અમના આવ્યા ને એકલું અખમ કણુ કણુ : તેમનું માનસ અનિમ જામ આમ કંપાની જર નરે રાંધેન વધુ પામવા મળવ હતું. ન તેમને એક સાંજુ કે તેમને ખુમ કરેલી. આતમાને પિતવપત્રી નિરપક નીચી હતી એવું કાંધ એક અગમે નથી માનવ. કુખક આનવ નવારોમા પામવા જમા એવુ અનનું આવેલું કે કે બાકા અમકામો ને વિજય મુલ્યપીત થયો છે. આપણ ને પ્રથમ વિચારે એ એવર આવી મમ છે કે આ બાંકર કુલથી કીંદમી છુવા મરકા દાગુ થયારે ક્રેદલામાં નવા નીકળાશે પરંતુ એવે મમ નવાક છે કે આ આપાતથી કણુ વિચારતા કોકો થના નહી. કલે ગાંધીજીને મારીને તેઓએ માનવનતીને તીરાધાર કરી છે ને વિધે કંઈક થક નથી.

'નાટાલ વીટનેસ'
ક્રીસ્ટિયનમનું 'નાટાલ વીટનેસ' સંબંધે કોન મહાત્મા ગાંધીના અવસાન ની કુનીયાપર લખેલી અરજીપરથી ગાંધીજીને મહાનવાનું પુરેપુરું માપ નીકળી થકે છે. તેમના પોતાનાજ જમાનાએ તેમને એક અસાધારિત બક્ષિત નરીકે સ્વિકારી દતા. કે જેમની ને તેમના કેસની બહારે મણુ લાગે નથી પચેમી હતી. કનિદાસમાં ના પુરની એક મહાન બક્ષિત નરીકે તેઓ નોધાર્પ રહે. તેમના અવસાન થા તેમના પોતાનાજ દેશ બંધિયાને આધાત મને એકલુંજ નથી. બાપા બેક, લોધા અને સંકારમેક હતા અને પશ્ચિમના કોકોથી સમજ નહિ સકાય તેવા નકાવના છતાં. કુનીયાના તરેકે દરેક પુણામાંથી આખમ અને અધાવના ખરીકે આવી રહ્યો છે અને તેમના પ્રમે કેટલું માન ધરાધાર રણુ છે એ ખનાવી આવ્યું છે.

તેઓના પોતાના કોકોમાં તેઓના પગ વિશાળ હતી. અંસન બક્ષિતબાવ તેઓ કોરુસની સકયા છે. ગાંધીજી જીવનની અનિમિત્તાઓને પરી જવા ની તેમની આધ્યપનક. સક્રિય, તેમની પોતાની અધીયતો તેમજ પાને પ્રદર્શિત કરેલા મિદલિઓ પાડેલી લીડી બાપને તે આવડારી છે. સંકતમાં પોતાના રહેણાજ બાદ કસ્યાપાના રાંધે જે કે તેમણે રહિષ આક્રિકામાં માલ્યા દતા હતા પોતાને દેશ પાછા રાંધે બાક કુક મલમાજ સાંભોની સંખ્યામાં કોકો તેમને અનુસરવા માંખ્યા. અને કીંદમી રામિદ્ય તોસસાથે તેનું બાસ દરકપ પકકપુ એ બીગ કોલના કરેલી પણ તેઓનેજ અબારી હતું.

મરજીત મળી હીંદ તેમજ પાંચી કસનમા તેઓ પરમ અગતની અક્ષિત રજા દતા. પ્રેમિસ પક્ષમાંથી છુટી પડવાને એ કે એક કાપકા કરતા પછુ મુદત મણુ મણુ જા તેમની વગ નવા ન પછીજ રહી. મારકારણમાંથી સકવર નિરજ સવાનો પોતાની નિર્જીય પોતે બંધેર કાં પછી પણ કોષક પ્રસંગે પણ તેઓના નરકથી કિમારવા મા આવના રાંધેનો આખા દેશપર પ્રજાપ પડતા દતે. સાણુ વર્ધના આરેભમાં હીંદુ કુતીમ અધકપને મારે તેમણે અદરેલા ઉપવાસના અમખના રાજ્યપ પરિમુખે આવ્યાં હતાં અને તેમણે મુકેલી કરેલી હીંદ સરકારે સ્વિ દારી પીધી હતી.

પશ્ચિમના કોકોને તેઓ આજખલા મુકેસ થાં પડવા દતા. પરંદેલી કાંધે તેમનું પ્રયકેરક મુકેસ થક

પડ્યું હતું. અને કેટલીક જમા અમુક પરિસ્થિતિમાં તેમના વિગામે સમજવા મુકેસ થાં પડવા દતા. એટલું સ્વિ-કારવુંજ પડેલી કે અમુક પ્રસંગે તેમની સમાજ સાન મુખર નથી થક પડી છતાં કીંદમી અમલમા તેમણે આપેલા જાવર કરત કામ અને હીંદુ મસ્તીમ અલકપ ના તેમના પ્રવલો પારે એ વસ્તુ વિસાળ વગરની હતી. અને સખા કીકાકારોને પણ સ્વિકારવું પડેલું છે કે બલે મળે તે બાસ તેમણે બજાવેલાં થાપા જા સક તેઓ કુનીયાની એક મહાન બક્ષિત રજા છે.

એક મુસેલ કરનાર નરીકે તેમની બેસ મોટામાં મોટી જણાશે. હીંદ અને બાકિસ્તાન વચ્ચે જવારે સંપંધ બધજ અમડી મયો દતે. ત્યારે જ્ઞાની નકરારો અંધાર સ્વકપ છાં લેવાનું જોખમ રણુ હતું ત્યારે તેઓની અસર આંતી કનકારી થક પડી હતી. ખંગાળ માં કરેલો કોષક સમામતી મળી કોમ તેા તેમનાજ પ્રતિમે, અને પાછળ થી પણ જાને કેમોતીમોને વચ્ચે સુસંધ થપાપ એ આસાએ મુસ્લીમો ને વિનાકારણ છોડવાનું કોટી દેવા હીંદ ને સમજાવનાર પણ તેઓજ દતા. કાકપોરપરની અગોમોમાં સમજુતી થક જાના એકે સિન્દો રતવામાં આવે છે છતાં તેમનીજ અસરથી પરિસ્થિતિ પર અંકુશ મુકાયો હતો અને દાત નાકી રહેલી કાકોને પણ ત્યારે અવકર કુરમાનીનું નાજ પકડતી અકકાવતની લેમ તેા તેમના અધિસાન સિદ્ધાંતની અસારે ખાસ નરક છે.

અત્યારની સ્થિતિમાં તેમના અપ-સાનસ પરિણામ અપકરે અમલમા આવી પડતા સંખપ છે સિવાય કે જાને પડેલા પોતાની સામે આવી પડેલા મમાન તેઓને પારખાને વધાં દારી સમજુતી સ્થાપવાને પોતાનું જમાનું કરે. તેમજો અંકુસ જવાથી કણક મનવાદીઓને કેટલોક પાનતથી તેઓ કોટી રજા દતા તે તક સજશે. અને જાને કામોતીમોને તેઓ એવી કરાકરી માં મુકા રહે કે જેમાંથી કોમરતું અસકમ કાં પડશે. પરંતુ એ વસ્તુ અસબ-વીન નથી કે ગાંધીજીના જુનથી તેમને દવાલીના કરતા પણ વધારે અસરકારક પરિવર્તન થક જમા; મલુ બાદ તેમની રક્ષિત છપતા કરતાં પણ વધારે પ્રખળ સિદ્ધ થાપ. તે એ થાપ તેા અરેજ તેમનું મુલ્ય બલે નહિ જણાય.

રેલી

જો બાકિસ્તાનના 'રેલી' સમે છે ગાંધીજીના મુનકેક પર હીંદ ને અમલમા છોટી દાત તેમનું સિદ્ધાજ

વિજયવન કરવાનો રાજ કરશે ને આ મહાન મરનું છાન અને મુલ્ય અપ થમેકલું નહિ મળાય.

પરંતુ તેના જુનથી તેમના દેસખંધુ-ઓના કેટલું પણ મોટા જમા એવી માનપના ધરાવતો રહે કે તેઓ આખાતિક સરમુખતવાર થક મળા દતા અને ના કુનીયાના નહિ એવાં માનથી પામોનિકે સવા અને અધિસાપાની યોજનાઓ અને બીગ કો. ગર પ્રનિખંધ મુકતા દતા. તેા તેમના જુલુમાં માનનીની કકપાનાનું બીલું એક દખલું પુનરાવર્તન થમેકલું નેકણું. મહાત્માજીએ અમુક જોખમલરેલી પ્રતિજ્ઞા પ્રાપ કરી હતી. તેઓ એક રાજાજીય થાસક મળી મળા દતા જેમના કાસનના તકને વિં બનનિક ક્રિષ્ટએ સવાસ ઉદારી સકાપ તેમ નોલેતો અને તેથી તેઓનું કરમાન અનકરણને બંધનકતો થક પડતું હતું. તે તેઓ કેવળ એક ધમેગુરજ રજા કોત તેા હીંદ પ્રત્યેની તેમની સેવા તેના બાવિમાં અનિમ જ્યા સાથે સંપંધમાં આવી નહિ દેત. પરંતુ તેઓ તેા મનાક દુકમે કાકવાની, નું કહું તેમ તમારે કરમુંજ પડશે નહિ તેા નું મરજીત કિપવાસ કરીશ અને પછી તમે આતમનો રિપક જુનાવી કીકેલા મારુશે" એવી મલમખનું કને-વાની અપીએ પકોંમ્યા દતા. એ નમાધથી કરેજ પાડવી કે પછી આગાથી પાડવી પરંતુ એ કરેજ છે. એટલે ગાંધીજી કીંદમી અધિક માનસની સામે પુકમાં કીતવી દતા અને એ તકાર્માં તેમણે વિનાક થયો. માનવમાનવો નવારોમા માનવ પાનાપુના છાન અને મરજુતું આવ્યું પ્રતપીતક કાંમ કખાણુ નથી. ત્યાં જુનની ક્રિષ્ટએ અનિમિત્તા વિજય થાપ અજાય છે. પરંતુ તેમના મોમે પ્રકેલેા અરે રીપક ના કણુ કરે જોવાનો રદથો છે. મુરા મણુ એવી સખા આકાઓની બાબમાંથી ને કામ પ્રજાક ઉકરો; પરંતુ એવી થદનાની જવાબ-કારી ગાંધીજીને નહિ પરંતુ હીંદને શિર રહેલી છે. તેમ ખતાં આપખા કરમા પરિણામ આવવાનું કોમ તે આથ પરંતુ તેમના નામનો વડો મુર્ગાવર પડી થયો છે.

કુનીયા અંજસીના અમુક પરસાર વાંતી રજા છે. હીંદ પ્રત્યેની તેના સામખી ખરા કરવાની છે. દરેક દેશ માં માક રહેલી કોંકા પ્રનિઓના. અસક્રિયતા અને નિરકકારતા બજોતો સામનો કરવાની જેઓ પોતાની કરજ મચને ને તેઓ જતાવાને અપાક રહેલી ના સંપર્કના કંઈકો કિંમત

આપણાથી ઘણું તરફ આ અભિપ્રાયને પ્રવિણતા અને અનુભવની અને અધિકાર દૃષ્ટિવશ્યમાં આવેલું છે. આવા અનુભવવાળા સુખી, નિરર્થકતા અને અનિયમિત રીતે કાળ કરાવે છે.

ગાંધીજીના નવનિર્માણ કૃતિઓને જે શીખણ છે તે બુદ્ધિ વિહીન માનવીય સ્વાધર્મને જે રીતે તેણે આગળ પાંચે છે તે છે. ગાંધીજીના જીવન અને ઉદાર મરણ દ્વંદ્વમાં એ કોઈ સફળ છે. "કેવળ ધર્મ વચ્ચેના અભિપ્રાયને ન ગણાયેલાં હતાં સુધી તે પદોપર ધર્મ ન હોય." રાષ્ટ્રના બંધનમાંથી શાપ હઠાવવા આપણી જગત માનવજાતનાં યોગે તેવા કદમાં સ્વયંપણ ન માન્ય આવે ત્યાં.

વિવિધ વર્તમાન

પંડિત નેહરુની ઉપજનવાદીઓને સાફ પાલ

ન્યુ દિલ્હીમાં એક નવેર રાજામાં આવેલા રાજા પંડિત નેહરુએ જણાવ્યું છે: "આપણે હવે એક પસંદગી પસંદગી કરી નેવાળી છે કે આપણે આપણી મુક્તિ કેવાળે પ્રાપ્તિ આપીએ છીએ કે નામ પામવા આપીએ છીએ. તેના નીચેના તારાંજો મારા જીવન નોંધમાં અને તેને વિશે હજી મુંડા રહેલી નવિ જોઈએ. જો તમે જોઈતા હોય તો પક્ષમાં હો તેમ જ કહી શકો છો અને મને કે નમતે પોતાને કે સહિયારી વિશેષ એ મહાન આત્મા ગાંધીજીને ઉત્તરો નહિ."

પંડિત નેહરુએ કહ્યું કે મુસ્લીમ લીગ અને હિંદુ મહાસભાના ઉપજનવાદીઓ ના કોમીયારી મધ્યે તોરણ કર્યું છે અને હોંડોળ મધ્યે ફાળા કરી મુક્યું છે.

રેશનરમાં ગાંધીજીના ખૂબ સંવેદી તપાસ પરથી પોલીસને દેશના સંધ્યા આગેમીમાં પરંતુ ખાસ કરી મુંબઈ અને દિલ્હીમાંથી કાયદાઓની પાલક સાવ આપી છે.

મો. જયપ્રકાશની રાજન

આસામના પ્રવાસ પછી કમકમા જાતી વખતે સમાજવાદી ગંગા મો. જયપ્રકાશને મો. પી. ની મુલાકાતમાં હોદી સરકારમાં હોદા સેવા વિના પ્રજાના ઉત્તરમાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે સમાજવાદીઓ જાણ દારીમાંથી જાણના માનવતા નથી પણ સરકારમાં અમલો અસરકારક અવાજ નહિ હોય ત્યાં સુધી અમે સરકારમાં નહિ જોઈએ. જે હાલના સરકારી તંત્રમાં ફેરફાર કરવામાં આવે તો સમાજવાદીઓ તેમના નિર્ણયની કુલિયાવરણ કરશે. જે સમાજવાદીઓ કેમિકલમાં પણ મજબૂત અને તે કોમિસનમાં અને અગ્રમ યોગ્ય નહિ પણ કોમિસનમાં જે સમાજવાદ ચિરંધી માંગણી વધે તો અમે તેના ત્યાગ કરીશું. અમે કોમિસન સાથે સંબંધે કામ કરવાનું નહીં કરીશું તે સમાજવાદીઓ પણ પોતાના પોતા

ને દેશની રાજધાની અને તેમને રક્ષણ કરવામાં આપણે કદ રહેવું જોઈએ. આ કામ સિદ્ધ થયા વિના ખાસ એક કામ કરવાનું રહેવું નથી. સુધારક અને સમાજવાદીઓ પોતાને એક માત્ર નથી. તે ગાંધીજીના મુલ્યોથી આપણને આ ન્યુ કોષ તે તેમના આપણા અને હોંડોળ ખસ મેંજક ગણાશે. ગાંધીજી વિનાના હોંડોળ આપણે સંધ્યામાંથી અપાત નહિ હરી રાજાએ. હોંડોળ આકાશમાં તેમને ખાલિ અંદ મોડ પ્રાધાન્ય જિન્દગી મરજી મૂકા ગયા તેમ જ પત્તાના આપણા હોંડોળ પોરી રહેલી મતાની છે પરંતુ કૃતિના તે શાંતીનીજ આરા સેવશે.

ધારણે આમાના આમાન્ય મુલ્યોમાં ઝંખાવશે. મને ખાતરી છે કે હોંડોળ તેમજ પાણીના જાળમાં એક પાતી સામાન્ય ધર્મના પ્રવેશ છે અને જાળે સરકારનામાં સમાજવાદ કરી નેજા આ એકના સધારો. પાણીના માત્ર સમાજવાદી પક્ષે મને પાણીનાની વચ્ચેનાં આપણાં આપણાં આપણું છે પણ કદ અત્યારે જાણ માંગતો નથી. પરંતુ કદ પાણીમાં પાણીના જાળ.

અ. હિંદુ મહાસભાને સમીટી સેવાની વિચારણા

અખિલ હિંદુ મહાસભાને પોમરી નામવાળી કિલ્લામાં રાજ થા છે અને હિંદુ મહાસભાના સંધ્યા મોવડીઓ આ પ્રજાની વિચારણા મારે અંદર અંદર અંતરમાં મારે નહીં છે. આ અંગેના નિર્ણય હિંદુ મહાસભાના અમલ તાર ખાતે મળવાના વાર્ષિક અધિવેશન માં તેવામાંથી દ્વેષે પરંતુ અનિયમ સંધ્યામાં કારણે આ અધિવેશન આવતા મધ્યે કે મે માસ સુધી મુલતવી રાખવું પણ છે કારણ કે હાલ તે વખતપર હિંદુ મહાસભામાં તેમજ સમાજની પાસે હોળા જુદા જુદા પ્રાંતમાં તેમજ સંધ્યા પાછળ છે. હિંદુ મહાસભામાં મે મુખ્ય જુદો મહારાષ્ટ્ર અને અંગાળ આ પ્રથમ એક એકરોધક વિરોધી અંતરમાં ધરાવે છે. મહારાષ્ટ્રજુદા મે તે એક હિંદુ મહાસભાને અમુક રાખવા ની કિશાન ૨૨ છે અને રાજકીય મંદરમાં તરફે પણ વાહુ રાખવાનો આમક કરે છે પણ અંગાળ જુદા કે જે પણ અંગાળ છે તે હિંદુ મહાસભાને તોમરી નાખવાની અને કોમિસનમાં તેમજ જાણની કિશાન કરે છે.

જાણીએપર પ્રતિજ્ઞ સાથે અમેરીકાના અંગ્રજ વિધાપીએમાં વિરોધ

મુનમ્બેટ રેલવેના રેલસ્ટાનમાં આ રીતે રાજકીય અમાલો તરફ રાજકીય આચાર એક જાણી દેશમાંથી રેલસ્ટાન

ની મુનમ્બેટમાં કાનદાના અમાલો તરફ રાખત કરવાના કદમ માટેની અરજી નામજાર કરી નેજા અમેરીકાના અંગ્રજ વિધાપીએ મુક્યો થયા છે. એકરોધમાંના મોરમન અંગ્રજ વિધાપીએ અમેરીકાના અંગ્રજવાળા સંધ્યા પાતી અને જાણી તેમજ નામજાર કરવા નવાન હા આપવાને ૧૪માં સંધ્યા પાતી નહીં આપી નાખી તેની રાખ પ્રસારિત કુલેમનપર મોકલી આપી છે.

રાજકીય ને મે જાં થવા રાખત થવાને તરી રવા છે તેજી હવે પરી અમાલને અંગ્રજ કરવાનો કદમ કર્યો છે.

હિંદોના વિરોધે અંગ્રજોને અર્થ

રજીયાના એકમાં આખી વિજયા સદ્ગી પરીને મર્યાદા ૩,૫૦૦ પગાર અને અમલો મર્યાદા ૪૫૦૦ મળે છે. આ ઉપરાંત ખાતે વાહો પણ અપાય છે.

૧૯૪૭ની ૧૪ થી એંગ્રેજી ૧૯૪૮ ની ૩૧ થી સુધીમાં રજીયાની કમ્પેરી ને કુલ ૧૭૫૫૦૦૦ નો ખર્ચ થવાનું અસરકારક આવે છે.

અંગ્રેજીના ખાતેના હોંડોળ એકમાં મો. અંગ્રજવાળા રજીયાનાં એકમાં નેહરુ ૪૪ પગાર અને અમલો મળે છે. તે ઉપરાંત તે કમ્પેરી સાથે હોંડોળ માંથી ખાતે છે. ૩૫૫૦૦૦ ખર્ચમાં આવે છે.

ગાંધી ખાતેના એકમાં મો. કે. પી. મેનલને ઉપરના ખાતેના નેહરુ ૪૪ પગાર અને અમલો મળે છે. તે ઉપરાંત ત્યાં તે કમ્પેરીની હોંડોળ નીચે એક જાણ મહાસભામાં આવે છે. જેનો ફર પોર ૧૨૦૦૦ ખર્ચ થાય છે.

ઉપરના ત્યાં કમ્પેરીમાં કામ કરનારમાં ની સંખ્યા પદોમાં સાથે નિમ્ન મુલ્ય છે.

અંગ્રેજી ૪૬, રજીયા ૧૪, ગાંધી ૧૪.

જાણ ખાતેના એકમાં મો. રામ-રામને ૩૫૦૦ પગાર અને ૫૦૦૦ અમલો મળે છે.

સંજના ખાતેના ૪૪૦ કમાનરે મો. કુલ મેનલને ત્યાં ૩૦૦૦ પાત્ર-૨ અને ૨૦૦૦ રા. અમાલના અપાય છે.

કુલ અમલો

ગાંધીજીનાં મુલો સમજા પ્રતિના મતરને તરફથી તે તે પ્રતિના પવિત્ર નહીંએમાં મુલતાર ના. ૧૪ થી ૧૫ રાખવામાં આવશે અને કુલ. ૫૪ અને કુલતારના સિવાય ગાંધીજીનાં નામમાં રાજ માંગવામાં આવશે એવું અંગ્રજ હિન્દીમાં રજીયાને મુલતારના નામને અંદર કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

મુખ્ય હોંડોળ મેંજ મર્યાદા તરી મર્યાદાને મુલતાર નાખી હતી અને ૩૫૦૦૦ એક આપ્યા હતાં.

—મહાસભા ૫૪ પ્રધાને વિધાપીમાં રાજની રાજકીય નામથી વિધાપીમાં રેલકરો, રેલકરોમાં વગેરે માં અમા મારે કપીયા એ કોઈના કાળ મારે આપીય કરી છે.

—જાણી કમ્પેરીની આગેવાની નીચે પદોમાંથી સંધ્યા અંદર અંદર મુક્યો છે. પાણીના સરકારે આ અંગે ખાતે મુક્યોમાં મુક્યું પડ્યું છે. પાણીનામાં આવેલા રમજાત નામ ના સહિયારી મર્યાદા કોઈ રવાની પાણીના સરકારે કરવા પડી છે.

—મહાસભા મર્યાદામાં થતા પગારને નાણુ કરવું એક મિલ મો. એંગ્રજ-મો. આધિપતે રજી કર્યું છે.

—સમાજવાદી પદના સંધ્યા અંગે મો. અંગ્રજ ૫૬૫૫૫૫ એક નિવેદનમાં જણાવ્યું છે કે ના. ૧૫ એંગ્રેજી થાત રહેલા વિરોધ તેમજ સમાજવાદી પદ મહાસભાને મળે છે કે વર્તમાન નેહરુ સરકાર અથવા તે પ્રતિષ્ઠા સરકારને નામના ખાતેથી એ રાખવા કિશાનમાં નથી. આ સરકારે સામેની હોઈ પણ વિનાશકારક મર્યાદા એકરોધક પણ રાખવામાં અને કાનિસિયો લેવાશે.

—હોંડોળ સરકારે રાખ રેવા સંધ્યા ૫૬ ૬૫૬ ૬૫૬ છે. તેના ઉપર કોમો ઉરકેરમાં અને જાણનાં આગેવા મુક્યો છે.

અમાલોના પંચાંગ

| માસ | હિંદુ | મુસલમાન | ગાંધી | સંધ્યા | સુમરિત |
|-----|-------|---------|-------|--------|--------|
| વાર | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૧ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૨ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૩ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૪ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૫ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૬ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૭ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૮ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૯ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૧૦ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૧૧ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |
| ૧૨ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૯૬૭ | ૧૯૭૫ | ૨૦૦૪ |

HISTORIC BORDER MEETING

સરહદ ઉપર ઐતિહાસીક મેળાપ



Dr. Naicker hands the First Batch of Resisters to cross the Natal-Transvaal border to Dr. Dadoo. Both these leaders were sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour on 26/2/48 for aiding and abetting Resisters to break the Immigration Law of 1913.

સત્યાગ્રહીઓની પહેલી ટોળાંને ડૉ. નાયકર નટાલ-ટ્રાંસ્વાલની સરહદ ઉપર ડૉ. દાદુને સોંપી રચ્યા છે. આ બન્ને નેતાઓને ૧૬/૨/૪૮ ના ઇમીગ્રેશન કાયદાનો ભંગ કરવામાં સત્યાગ્રહીઓને સહાયતા આપવાના આરોપસર ૬૨૫૦ની અદાલતે તા. ૨૬-૨-૪૮ ના છ ૭ મહીનાની દેદ સજા કરી છે.

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મેસમમાં કેપ ફ્રુટ પણ રાખીએ છીએ.

તેમજ હાઈએન્ડ ગ્રીસરી હોલસેસ સાવળી પણ છે.

હાથમાં હીલાં આપું છું રોક કે.

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આંધ્રી અધસં,

ફેબ ૨૦૧૦૩.

૮૩, ત્રીકોરીયા સ્ટીટ, ૬૨૫૮-૧.

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| મગાસી મા રૂપિયા આઠ મા | ૫૧. ૨૦ ૫ |
| " " ગોનેરી આઠ મા | ૫૧. ૧૦ ૫ |
| આરી કરેલન આઠમાવાવા પરા ૨ ૦૫ | ૫ ૦ ૫ |
| " " " પરા ૩ ૦૫ | ૫ ૨ ૫ |
| કુચરાટી કિલના ૨૦૦૦ ની કાલના જેવળ | ૫ ૫ |
| પાંચા પુરાની આઠ પાંચાની રૂબ સાધન રાપરી | ૫૦ ૫ |
| " " " આંધ્રીયા રાપરી | ૫ ૫ |
| મુળાપાના રૂપિયા આઠ | ૫ ૫ |
| માલના ગોલા ૩ નોખા પેની ૫ | ૫૦૫ ૫ ૫ |
| આંધ્રી નાના ૩ નોખા પેની ૫ | ૫૦૫ ૨ ૫ |
| કંકુની આંધ્રી | ૫૦૫ ૫ ૫ |
| માલના નાના ૩ ના રૂબ ૨. ૫ ૦-૫, રૂબ ૫-૫ | |
| બીબા ૫ એસીસ્ટેટ (આંધ્રીયા રૂપિયા) | ૫૦૫ ૫ ૫ |
| ૨.૫૫ મીનાના ચેટરેટ બેટીના | ૫ ૫ |
| " " " નમ્માઓના બેટીના | ૫ ૫ |
| રેસી મુકી રૂબ ૫-૦. | માપાટ રૂપિયા-૫૦૫ રૂબ ૨૫ ૫ |
| આંધ્રીયા રૂબ ૨૫ | મા ૨૫૫ અને ૫ ૫ |
| રૂબ ૫૦૫ રૂબ ૫૦૫ | ૨ ૦ |

આંધ્રી આંધ્રી નેલ (સી.સી. મહાજન કુંભર્જી) પાંચનાં રૂપિયાની રૂબ ન
આંધ્રી, આંધ્રી પાંચ, આંધ્રી આંધ્રી પાંચ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫
નેલ પાંચ આંધ્રી ૫ ૫૦૫ આંધ્રી પાંચ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫

આંધ્રી આંધ્રી-૫૦૫-૫૦૫ અને ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫
ની ૫૦૫ ૫, ૫-૫-૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫ ૫૦૫
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THIS WEEK'S Popular Records

| Zagnat | 5 records | 2 | 10 | 11 | |
|-------------|-----------|---|----|----|----|
| Koomat | " | 2 | 11 | 11 | |
| Jwar Bhala | " | 2 | 11 | 11 | |
| Korakshetra | " | 2 | 11 | 11 | |
| Cher Akhee | 4 | " | 1 | 17 | 1 |
| Sakuntala | 7 | " | 2 | 12 | 11 |
| Ham Rajya | 6 | " | 2 | 16 | 11 |

Songs By
PANKAJ VULLICK VE 2505 2506
JUTHIKA RAY N 16710, 16738, 16645
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કેપીટનના પોષ્ટક પાકો
જીભ' કાકાજ પાક (રસેરો મીઠા પાકો) એકર આપવાથી
બજારી રાહકો.

જમાવી કૃષિમાં કામગીરી અને અવરોધ દૂરિયાત તરફનાર અને
કામગીરી પાકો (પાકો) અવરોધ દૂરિયાત, આપાદ, વરમ મકાનો વિગ
વિગત આપવામાં આવશે

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હેડ ઓફીસ:
409, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રિચાર્ડ
ફોન 64 પો. બો. બોક્સ 106.
ટેલિગ્રાફ એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—: ફોલ્લોસ વેપારી :—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

43, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ. જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

ઉત્તમ વાંચન ચારિત્રને ઘડે છે

વાચવા અને સંગ્રહ કરવા લાયક કેટલાક સુંદર પુસ્તકો

ગાંધીજીનું સાહિત્ય

ગાંધીજીની કુદરત બાબત
 ગાંધીજીનો સરકારી સરકારે ૫૦૦૦૦૦૦૦૦૦ ૧૯૪૭ ની સમય વખતે ઇંગ્લેન્ડ
 સંપૂર્ણ ૫૦ ૦૦૦૦૦૦૦
 ગાંધીજીના સંભાષણમાં
 ગાંધીજીની આર્થિક ચેન્જના
 ગાંધીજી સાથે અઠવાળીક
 ત્યારબાદ અને બાદ લેખો બાબત ગાંધીજીના જીવન વિષય
 સામાજિક વિષયો ૧૫૨ કલાકોના મેળોમાં સંબંધ રી
 અર્થજીવન ગાંધીજીના પાર્થિક સંબંધો સંબંધ

ક્રીશ્નારસાલ મરાઠવાળાની પૃત્તિઓ

ધરતી ખીસ્ત
 ગીતા અંધન ધીરો વિરોધો રોમના વિચારો
 આંધો સિવાય દોલત ગાંધીજીના વિચારોને રૂપરૂઝ કરું પુરત
 જુદા અને અલગીર
 ગામ અને રુખ
 સૌજન્ય અંધાર બા... દાસ સ્ત્રી, પુરુષના રોનાની છૂટો રૂપરૂ પુરાણ
 પ્રભાત અપારાધ ના સ્ત્રી અપારાધ ને રોનો સંબંધ

સર રાધાકૃષ્ણનની પુત્રીઓ

[illegible]

बिहारी साहित्य

୨୦୧୧ ଉପରାଜ୍ୟ ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀ ମିଳିତାୟନ ଉପଲକ୍ଷେ ଉପାଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ
 ଉପରାଜ୍ୟରୁ ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ସେବାକୁ ଲାଭ କରିଥିବା
 ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ୧୨,୩୮୧, ଯାହା ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ ୩୫% ହେଉଛି। ଏହାପରି
 ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ୧୨,୩୮୧ ଯାହା ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ ୩୫% ହେଉଛି। ଏହାପରି
 ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ୧୨,୩୮୧ ଯାହା ଶୁଦ୍ଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ସଂଖ୍ୟାରେ ୩୫% ହେଉଛି। ଏହାପରି

સુદ્ધ નેત્રવંશના અરૂંચે

[illegible]

ધાર્મિક સાહિત્ય

[illegible]

| | | |
|---|----|----|
| અન્યતઃ કાશી સંઘર્ષ અગત્યના પ્રશ્નના પુર્વજન્મની માતો | ૧ | ૫ |
| જીમીટરના અકષિતો યાત્રીના અવિરોધો સંબંધ | ૨ | ૬ |
| બાલકના સ્વતંત્ર સંતોના અવિરોધો | ૪ | ૯ |
| બાલકના કાશીઓ આગતમાંની કાશીઓ સંબંધ | ૬ | ૧૦ |
| કોઈ કોઈના સંઘર્ષો આ પેઢીમાંથી અનુક્રમ જાણે છે તેથી કાશી, નંદાનો સ્ત્રી આગા મુકેલો છે. | ૧૦ | ૧૦ |
| આગતમાં કાશીના કાશીના કાશીઓ સંબંધ સંબંધ તેની | ૧ | ૩ |

ਪ੍ਰਾਚੀਨ ਉਰਮ ਨਵੀਨ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ।

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|---|
| નીચેનામાંથી સુરેશ ચર્ચામાંથી સંચય | ૧ | ૧ |
| આપણી બાંહેડીની કોઈ કોઈકોઈકો નવમ કથા | ૧૨ | ૧ |
| સુરેશ ચર્ચાની કોઈકોઈકો નવમ કથા | ૧૩ | ૧ |
| સુરેશ ચર્ચાની કોઈકોઈકો નવમ કથા | ૧૪ | ૧ |
| સુરેશ ચર્ચાની કોઈકોઈકો નવમ કથા | ૧૫ | ૧ |
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8 x 10, 11/1. 7 x 9, 10/6.

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થી 38-6. 2 કુદ 4 ઇચ 1 1/2 કુદ 4 ઇચ 1 1/2 ઇચ થી 40-6.
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हिन्दी-गीता

बारहवीं अध्याय : भक्ति-तत्त्व

[इसमें साधना के उत्तमोत्तर सरल मार्ग बताये हैं । सम्बन्ध में ज्ञान, ज्ञान में ध्यान, ध्यान में कर्मकल त्याग; दूसरे शब्दों में, भक्ति को खेद बताया है । इसीको सबसे सुगम उपाय कहा है । भक्त के शब्द भी विस्तार से बताकर साधक का मार्ग और सुकर बन दिया है ।]

हिन्दी-गीता

अनुसूच

नित्यमुक्त हुए ऐसे आदमी भक्त भी भवे,
या सेवे ब्रह्म अव्यक्त, इनमें भीन उत्तम । ॥ १ ॥

धीमतावाच

जगत्के मन मेरे में मुझकी दिव्य वृत्त ही—
भजते पदों अङ्का से उनको भेद मानना ॥ २ ॥
तो भी अन्विष्य, अव्यक्त, सर्वोपायी, यत्नवान् ।
नित्य, निरुचल, निर्लिप्त जो आदर उपासते ॥ ३ ॥
रोकते इन्द्रियाँ चारों दक्षिण सम-बुद्धि ही—
पाने ली मुझको ही है प्रिय के हित में रत ॥ ४ ॥
अव्यक्त में लगावे ली उन्हें स्वेच्छ-विशेष है ।
भेदे ही भर से वेदों पाता अव्यक्त में गति ॥ ५ ॥
घड़कें सब ली कर्म मुझकी, मत्परायण-
अन्य योग से मेरा करे ध्यान, उपसर्ग ॥ ६ ॥
निरोध मुझमें चित्त उनको शीघ्र में लग ।
समाप्त-दिग्ग ने पारं । वास्ता मनुष्य मार्गके ॥ ७ ॥
जगत्के मन मेरे में, बुद्धि भी मुझमें रखो,
जिससे फिर निष्पत्ति, मुझमें मिल जायेगे ॥ ८ ॥
यदि शराय्य ही मुझमें चित्त को करना स्थिर,
अन्यास योग के द्वारा तो बाढ़ी मिलना मुझे ॥ ९ ॥

१—जिसकी कोई पहचान न बचाई जा सके । २—बार

बार प्रयत्न करना ।

बारहवीं अध्याय

अन्यास मान ही पावे इसी कर्म सभी मुझे ।
तो मिलेगी तुम्हें सिद्धि मर्त्य^१ कर कम को ॥ १० ॥
न कने कर्म भी ऐसे तो मम योग साधके ।
सर्व कर्म-फल-त्याग करो नियम में रह ॥ ११ ॥
भेद अन्यास से ज्ञान, ज्ञान से त्याग भेद है ।
ध्यान से कल का त्याग, त्याग से सान्ति सत्त्व ॥ १२ ॥
अद्वैत सर्वभूतों में मैत्री य कहना। समता,
समता न व्यवहार, समान सुख-दुःख में ॥ १३ ॥
मदा मन्दुस जो बोधो जिताराम दृढ़निश्चयी
मन, बुद्धि मुझे सौधी, मरु ली प्रिय है मुझे ॥ १४ ॥
जिसे न ज्ञान लोगों का, कामे जिसे न लोग भी ।
दर, लोक, भव, कोष नदी, मो प्रिय है मुझे ॥ १५ ॥
नहीं व्याध, उदासीन, दुःख, निर्मल, निःस्पृह ।
कर्मात्म सभी छोड़ भक्त मो प्रिय है मुझे ॥ १६ ॥
नहीं उपास-सन्ताप, नहीं शोक, नहीं कृपा,
शुभाशुभ-परिणामी, मरु भी प्रिय है मुझे ॥ १७ ॥
मम है क्षण-मिथी में तेरे मातापमान में,
शीतोष्ण, सुख-दुःखों में मम, आसक्ति-हीन जो ॥ १८ ॥
निष्ठा वा स्तुति से हृदय, दीनों मन्दुस सर्व न ।
स्मरण-निर्गलभी^२ भक्त ली प्रिय है मुझे ॥ १९ ॥
धर्मोद्यत नहीं नियम तो भङ्गयुक्त, मत्परा-
सेवता जो चही भक्त क्षणीय प्रिय है मुझे ॥ २० ॥

१—सेवे सिद्ध । २—ईश्वरके लिये दूसरी पद्वि पर नियम
अवलाम्बन न हो ।

THE SONG CELESTIAL.

(from Chapter XII.)

SHRI KRISHNA TO ARJUNA.

Whoever serve Me, as I show Myself
Constantly true, in full devotion fixed,
Those hold I very dear. But who serve
Worshipping Me thus, One, The Unchangeable,
The Unrevealed, Unmoved, Unbornable,
Uttermost, All-pervading, Highest, Sure,
Who thus adore Me, mastering their senses,
Of one set mind to all, glad in all good,
These blessed souls come unto Me. Yet, hard
The travail is for such as bend their minds
To reach in Unchangeable That endless path
Shall scarce be met by man bearing the life he
But whence any doeth all his deed
Renouncing self for Me, full of Me, fixed
To serve only the Highest, night and day
Musing on Me, him will I swiftly lift
Farth from life's ocean of fears, and death,
Whose soul clings fast to Me. Cling thou to Me!
Clasp Me with heart and mind! so shalt thou dwell
Surely with Me on high. But if thy thought
Droops from such height; if thou be'st weak to set
Body and soul upon Me constantly,
Despair not! give Me lower service! seek
To reach Me, worshipping with steadfast will;
And, if thou canst not worship steadfastly,
Work for Me, toil in works pleasing to Me!
For he that laboureth right for love of Me
Shall finally attain. But, if in this
Thy faint heart fails, bring Me thy failure! find
Refuge in Me! let fruits of labour go.

Renouncing hope for Me, with lowliest heart,
So shalt thou come, for, though to know is more
Than discern, yet worship better is
Than knowing, and renouncing better still
Near to concentration, yet nearer—
Dwellers Eternal Peace!

Who hateth nought
Of all which lives, living himself benign,
Compassionate, free from arrogance exempt,
Exempt from love of self, unchangeable
By good or ill, patient, contented, firm
In calmness serene himself, true to his word,
Seeking Me, heart and soul, yeaved unto Me,
That man I love! Who troubleth not his kind,
And is not troubled by them; clear of wrath,
Living not high for gladness, grief, or fear,
That man I love! Who, dwelling quiet-eyed,
Stainless, serene, well-balanced, unperplexed,
Working with Me, yet from all works detached,
That man I love! Who, fixed in faith on Me,
Gone upon none, scorned none, rejoiced not
And grieves not, letting good or evil hap
Light when it will, and when it will depart,
That man I love! Who, unto friend and foe
Keeping an equal heart, with equal mind
Bears shame and glory; with an equal peace
Takes heat and cold, pleasure and pain; abides
Quit of desires, hears praise or calumny
In passionless restraint, unmoved by each,
Linked by no ties to earth, steadfast in Me,
That man I love! But mind of all I love
Those happy ones to whom 'tis life to live
In single fervid faith and love unceasing,
Drinking the blessed Amrit of my Being!

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1905

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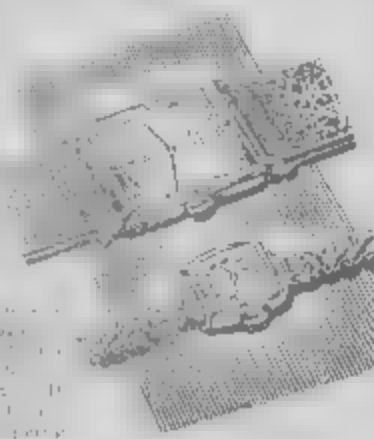
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હાલ ૩૬ પેસેજરો સારી સંખ્યામાં હોવામાં આવે છે માટે દેશ
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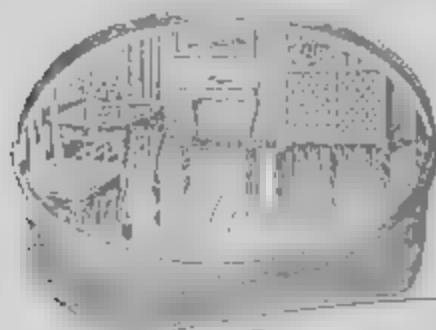
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Indian Opinion

Friday 13th February, 1948

The Duty Of A Satyagrahi

THE Minister of the Interior Mr. G. H. Lawrence has made some statement in the House of Assembly which need to be pondered over by Congress leaders in particular and the Indian community in general. The Minister has said that the Passive Resistance movement lacks spontaneity. I am happy to say he did "that the vast majority of the Indian community in Natal and in the Transvaal have adopted much saner conduct and certainly did not give their support to attempts such as the provocatively to break the law. He further stated that the Resisters who crossed the Transvaal border were really dupes, the pawns of others who for their own particular ends were using by this method to draw attention to themselves and this problem; that those who crossed the border belonged to the unemployed class and must obviously be paid for their actions they are taking and they must be maintained by those who are responsible for these actions.

The only way to reply to these allegations is not by haughty words but by firm and dignified action. There is no doubt about the fact that the enthusiasm in the community is not as great as the cause demands. But that does not necessarily mean that they are willing to submit to the Asiatic Act,

against which the campaign is mainly directed. It only shows a weakness on our part in developing sufficient courage and the spirit of sacrifice, without which a struggle such as this cannot succeed. That of course is a human weakness, which everyone who stands for truth and justice must sincerely try to overcome. If we do not do so we shall have submitted to the status of serfs and grievously let down posterity who will quite justifiably curse us and the hopes of all the oppressed people of the world of their conditions ever improving will be shattered. Above all we shall have proved false to that departed great soul Mahatma Gandhi whom we so revere. His very life should bestir us to our duty.

It is false, it does not rebound to the credit of our community, to say that this movement of Passive Resistance is led by any particular individual, and that if he is no more the movement would fall flat. Every individual must be his own leader and be led by his own conscience. If we have any respect, as we profess to have, for Mahatma Gandhi, let us not misuse the weapon of Satyagrah, which he has taught us to wield. Those who wield that weapon must be untrammelled with the purest motive. They can have no other ends to serve but

righteousness. They must be implicitly truthful, their every action must be beyond the shadow of a doubt. Whilst they must not be lacking in firmness in action, in their language and in their manners their moderation should be exemplary. A person who does not possess these qualities is not a Satyagrahi in the true sense of the term and therefore cannot claim to lead a Satyagrah movement. If, therefore, our Satyagrah movement fails it will fail through no fault of the weapon but through our own fault.

Our object in writing in this strain is not to dishearten our people but to awaken them to their sense of duty. The path we have willingly chosen to tread in South Africa is not an easy one. Nor is freedom's bath which we are fighting in the name of humanity, an easy one. It has taken the toil of many thousand before it was won. Those who join must dedicate themselves to the altar of Freedom.

As providence would have it, whilst these last lines were being written, a telephone message was received by the editor, Mr. Munilal Gandhi, informing him that a summons was issued against him as well as against Dr. V. M. Undoo, Dr. G. M. Naicker and Mr. Sundra Pillay of Capetown to appear before Court on February 26, to answer a charge of aiding and abetting Passive Resisters to

enter the Transvaal Province without complying with the terms of the Immigration Regulations Act, 1913. The editor does not regret having written this article nor is he prepared to withdraw a single word from it. It is his fervent prayer that he may have the strength and courage to stand by it.

HOW GANDHI'S BODY WAS CREATED

THE funeral pyre was erected on a platform three feet high and 12 feet square, constructed by the Central Public Works Department, New Delhi.

Fifteen maunds of sandalwood, four maunds of ghee, two maunds of string (for censet), one maund of coconuts, and 15 seers of camphore had been used for the funeral pyre.

The Mahatma's body was carried from the bier by the Ashramites and placed on the sandalwood pyre with the heap to the north. Flowers, khadi garlands and wreaths were placed at the feet of the Mahatma. The first wreath was placed by Dr. Lu, the Chinese Ambassador. The national flag that covered the bier was removed and sandalwood was piled upon the body.

Before the body was placed on the pyre, holy *thirsha* water, from the *Junna* was sprinkled over it, and thereafter the *parashis* (priests) chanted *mantra*.

At 3.45 p.m. Mr. Ramdas Gandhi, third son of Gandhi, lit the fire, and the entire ceremony was performed according to Vedic rites.

By 6 p.m. Mahatma Gandhi's mortal remains had been completely reduced to ashes.

Pandit Nehru was seen urging the people to stay on. But sobbing women rushed forward to obtain a last *darsan* of the Mahatma. Several children fainted, and Pandit Dittu Sarda Patel and Lady Mountbatten were seen carrying children to safety.

COLLIERIAL STANDARD
 ISAP Secretary William on Monday said in the Union House of Assembly that he had previously drawn attention of the Minister of the Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, to the fact that on two occasions different batches of Indians moved illegally and openly from Natal into the Transvaal.

It had been threatened that a third batch would soon be the same thing. The Minister had assured him that with regard to the third invasion the police would take appropriate action. The third invasion had now taken place, but the police had taken no action except to control a hostile demonstration by Europeans in the area where the Indians crossed the border.

If no action against the Indians was intended by the Minister then Parliament should be informed.

"To allow this matter to develop, which is apparently the policy of the Government, seems to be a most dangerous proceeding," Col. Stallard went on.

"This is no isolated movement of a particular number of passive resisters. This movement is deliberately linked up with the further demand for equality of treatment of Indians with the European inhabitants of the Union. It is a definite move in their campaign for equal rights."

Mr. J. R. Stratford (U.P. Parktown) said you in Council of Indians being allowed into the Transvaal.

Col. Stallard: I most certainly am not.

Minister Replies

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, said it was necessary for him to intervene at once in order that the House should be under no misapprehension regarding the attitude of the Government in relation to the Indians who had crossed into the Transvaal.

Col. Stallard had somewhat over-emphasized the gravity of what had taken place.

"On January 10 a meeting was held under the auspices of the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal Indian Congress, where proposals were considered for the second phase of the of passive resistance struggle," said Mr. Lawrence.

"The meeting decided in principle a new phase in the campaign by securing volunteers to cross the borders of the Transvaal. Subsequently a mass meeting was held and volunteers were called for."

"In this attempt that has been made by certain so-called leaders of the Indian community, who are undoubtedly under an ideological influence foreign to South Africa, their efforts have been

INDIAN QUESTION IN UNION PARLIAMENT

directed to securing a spontaneous effort among the Indian community. This attempt failed.

"Previous history of the passive resistance movement has shown that it lacks spontaneity. In this case a certain number of persons have been induced to cross the Transvaal border. On January 24 a batch of passive resisters numbering 15 in all and led by Mr. Naicker, travelled by date car as far as Maritzburg."

"The group then proceeded further and on January 25 were voluntarily arrested. The party then proceeded to Newcastle and finally arrived at Volksrust."

"Fifteen arrived at Volksrust, where they were met by some 30 Transvaal Indians under the leadership of Dr. Dadoo. The party of 15 was handed over to his charge."

The figures in the preceding three paragraphs are as given by the Minister in his speech.

Dr. Dadoo holds an executive position in the Transvaal Indian Congress. He is also a leading member of the Communist Party in the Transvaal.

"There were no incidents at any of the stages through which the party of 15 passed on their way to the border. No scenes took place. No particular enthusiasm was shown by members of the Indian community, and the party entered the border and proceeded to Johannesburg."

"This party was then received by a so-called reception committee in Johannesburg, and from there proceeded to Pongolung where the remainder went to a certain stand in the district of Roodopos, where they occupied certain land. They occupied a property owned by a Malay."

"There is no doubt that it was hoped by the organizers of this breach of the law that there would be widespread feelings of 'millenarianism' among the Indian community, both in Natal and the Transvaal. The fact is that the vast majority of the Indian community in Natal and in the Transvaal have adopted a sane and sensible attitude and certainly did not give the 'passive resistance' such an ill-provocative breach of the law."

"It is quite clear that the 15 persons who have thus broken the law are really the tip of the iceberg of others who follow a particular end or ends, and are not interested in the problem."

"Incidentally, the members of that Party and those who subsequently crossed the border belonged to the unemployed class and must obviously be paid for the action they are taking, and

they must be maintained by those who are responsible for those actions."

Replying to a question by Mr. J. G. Strydom (H.N.P., Waterberg) the Minister said that batches had crossed the border so far. Since the first batch of 15 arrived it had been discovered that efforts were being made to provide for the passive employment of certain of them and that premises were being renovated to enable them to apparently look like permanent residence in the Transvaal.

In other words there is fairly clear evidence now that what has taken place has gone beyond a mere demonstration in that those who have illegally entered the Transvaal are now preparing to settle down in the Transvaal.

"The police have now the information that they wish to give and the Government being advised of the position, have given full consideration to the facts, and have decided upon appropriate action."

"We in South Africa do not renounce as a policy the bringing about alleged reforms by breaches of the law. The law must be maintained."

With that in view, instructions had been given to the Commissioner of Police on Saturday that those persons who had broken the law would have to be arrested and brought before the Court and tried."

"If Indians from Natal were under arrest and would be brought before the appropriate Court tomorrow (Tuesday)."

Later the Minister corrected the statement that he had said that he cannot deal together with the case now because, that being so, these cases are in the hands of the law. However, he said that so soon as these cases have been dealt with by the Court the persons will promptly be removed from the Transvaal back to Natal."

In the case of any further attempts to violate the provisions of the law, prompt action would be taken.

Appropriate steps would be taken also to see that law-abiding persons did not be induced to disregard the law to serve the personal ends of other members of the community.

Mr. J. G. Strydom (H.N.P., Waterberg) said the question was whether the Government were not a party to the offence committed by the Indians in allowing them to cross the border unhindered. He hoped that in future they would be stopped at the border.

He was much more concerned about the unorganized infiltration across the border by Indians than he was about the organized demonstrations. What steps did

the police take from time to time to ascertain whether there were any illegal immigrants in the Transvaal from Natal or Lourenço Marques by checking the identification certificates of Indians?

Satyagraha In S.A. Bound To Succeed

IN his post-prayer address a few days before he was assassinated Gandhi referred to Passive Resistance launched by the Indian community in South Africa. Indians in South Africa were not permitted free entry into the various provinces, he said. In defiance of their ban they went and won the satyagraha had marched to Volksrust and then moved to Johannesburg where they held a meeting.

This was a courageous step and if the people as a whole became satyagrahis in the right spirit, victory was sure to crown their efforts. The Government had shown a degree of tolerance and not effected any arrests. But with the progress of the movement, it was feared, arrests would follow.

So long, however, as the movement was conducted peacefully, there was no reason for the Government to resort to prosecution. Why should the Whites consider

infra dig to talk matters over with non-whites? Gandhiji suggested that the authorities should contact the satyagraha leaders and satisfy their reasonable demands.

To-day India and Pakistan, just because new dominions, were entitled to expect friendly treatment from other dominions. But if the South African Government still treated Indians as inferiors on the score of colour, he had no hesitation in declaring that they would be putting themselves in the wrong. It was unthinkable that dominions should quarrel among themselves.

ROSTER, SENTENCED

THE 15 INDIA to use the law, and to see that law-abiding persons did not be induced to disregard the law to serve the personal ends of other members of the community.

They were taken to Marshall Road in a van and a lorry under police escort and detained for the night. They appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Tuesday and were each sentenced to one month imprisonment suspended for one year on condition that they were not convicted of any offence against the Immigration Laws in that period.

MORE TRIBUTES TO GANDHIJI

Kimberley Indians

A MEMORIAL SERVICE to Gandhi was held in the Kimberley City Hall at which many Indians and other non-European were present. European and church representatives also attended.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Indian Political and Welfare Association. The service began with a prayer by Pandit Prasad Upadaya, which was followed by an address by Mr. J. V. R. Pillay the chair man. He said that the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi had shocked not only India but the whole world.

Mayor's tribute

The Mayor, Mr. J. W. Orr, said that Gandhi's death had been felt by Europeans and non-Europeans in Kimberley as a great loss. He offered sympathy to the Indian people on behalf of the City Council and the people of Kimberley. Mr. Orr referred to tributes to Mr. Gandhi by leading men all over the world.

Other speakers mentioned the greatness of Gandhi's life and the high example he had given to the world. The speakers included Mr. J. P. Joshua, representing the Coloured people, the Rev. L. Goldman, Mr. I. G. F. Moutz, Mr. J. Sessels, on behalf of Natives, the Rev. Abrahamson, Father Lyden, the Rev. Sarguel and Mr. H. A. Gity.

At the end of the service Archbishop D. Alexander paid high tribute to Gandhi's life and teaching and to all he had done to make the world a better place.

Memorial Meeting At Gandhi Library

A Memorial Prayer Meeting, under the auspices of the M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsee Rumorjee Hall Committee, was held at the Parsee Rumorjee Hall, Durban, on Wednesday, February 4, to express sorrow at the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi. Rev. A. J. Chomson presided.

Prayer was offered by Rev. A. J. Chomson, Mr. N. K. Naidu, Pandit and Mr. N. J. Roshan, after which the Rev. Mr. Chomson spoke from a paper written at his dictation and pronounced the Mahatma's death.

Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (Natal)

Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (Natal) meeting held in Durban on February 2 passed resolutions of sympathy at the death of Mahatma Gandhi and sent them to Shree Jawaharlal Nehru and members of Gandhi's bereaved family.

Overpo

The Overpo and District Tamil and Telugu Protective Association held a Prayer meeting. Prayers were offered by the teacher of the Tamil School, Miss Coomaraswamy Vaidya Francis. The chairman of the Association, Mr. K. Sootramoney referred in brief to the public life of Mahatma Gandhi. We are proud of the fact, he said, that Mahatma was due to attain Swaraj for India and that he certainly was the uncrowned king of India. The Association sent messages of sympathy to Pandit Nehru and the members of Gandhi's family.

Germiston

A Prayer Meeting to pay tribute to the memory of Gandhi was held on Sunday, February 1, under the auspices of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Germiston Branch at the Asiatic Bazaar. Prayers were offered by Pandit L. P. Maharsy in Hindi, Mr. P. R. Sany in Tamil, Mr. S. A. Jalal for the Muslims and Mr. R. Daya for the Christians. Speeches were made by leading Indians who paid glowing tributes to Gandhi. The meeting was presided by Mr. C. M. Moodley.

Gwelo (S. Rhodesia)

The Indian community of Gwelo (S. Rhodesia) held a special meeting of prayer as a mark of respect for Gandhi. All Indian shops were closed on Saturday.

We most continually pray, said the speakers, that Gandhi's spirit will remain with us through the difficult task that is still ahead of us. The Mayor, Mr. Van der Merwe sent a message of sympathy to the Indian community and flags were flown half mast over Indian buildings and it was seen flying at half mast over the Municipal Buildings.

'Diamond Fields Advertiser' (Kimberley)

In the course of a leading article the 'Diamond Fields Advertiser' dated February 2, writes:

The Mahatma was, as the title implies, a great soul, and his power was proven. Ordinary scales of value must be discarded. The Indian leader was inspired by none of the recognised motives of ambition, greed for power, lust for fame and riches, the desire for popular applause or self advancement in its various phases. He opened his public career by an act of renunciation, by giving up what promised to become a lucrative legal practice, with political rewards beckoning. Thereafter for half a century his main pre-occupation was self-effacement. In Western eyes, what he did in that direc-

tion was more obvious than why he did it. Gandhi appealed to the cartoonist, thanks to his shaven head, his spectacles and his loincloth. There was more to him than that, as even the cartoonist knew. He was what the individual saw in him, and it can

also be said that his conscience, as rich, both great and small, grew in stature by the contact. The end was sudden and violent, yet the enigma which was Gandhi remains; he had an imperishable quality about him which the assassin's bullets missed.

DURBAN INDIANS MEET TO DISCUSS INDIAN EDUCATION

A REQUISITIONED meeting of all the citizens of the Durban, presided over by Mr. R. M. Thoma, the Deputy Mayor, was held on Monday, February 9, at the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj Hall, Lorne Street, Durban, to discuss the acute shortage of primary and secondary school accommodation.

Dr. Mabel Palmer, Organiser of the N.U.C. (non-European section) moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. J. N. Singh, Chairman of the Education Committee of the Natal Indian Congress, and passed by the meeting.

This public meeting of the citizens of Durban at the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj Hall on February 9, convened by Mr. R. M. Thoma, the Mayor of Durban, Mr. L. L. Boyd, having reviewed the position regarding Indian education in Natal and having given careful consideration to the critical problem of the acute shortage of primary and secondary school accommodation for Indian children, resolves:

(1) That the Provincial Administration, whose sole responsibility it is to provide for Indian education in Natal, be requested to adopt a definite, clearly stated, practical plan for the building of primary and high schools in Natal for the accommodation of Indian children of whom nearly thirty thousand are presently without school accommodation.

(2) that in order to meet the immediate crisis facing the school going population of the Durban and District, the Provincial Council:

(a) procure a High School site within the City or at a reasonable distance of the City, and commence building immediately to house the 283 students refused admission at Sastri College at the beginning of this year and those who will be eligible for secondary education next year.

(b) negotiates with the Minister of Defence and the Defence authorities for the procurement of military huts to be erected alongside existing schools for the purpose of immediately accommodating infant classes.

(c) grants its permission to a few of the larger primary schools in Durban to conduct Junior Certificate classes until such time as alternative accommodation is

made available for this purpose.

(d) initiates the platoon system for infant classes in all primary schools where the pressure on new pupils is great.

(e) considers the advisability of adopting either of the following suggestions:

(i) the staggering of school days so that two schools may run where one is being run now, or

(ii) the adopting of a platoon system for other than infant classes to achieve the same object.

(3) That the following be elected in a deputation to interview His Honour, the Administrator, and to make representations in accordance therewith:

His Worship the Mayor or his Deputy, Dr. Mabel Palmer, Mr. S. Cooppan, Mr. B. D. Lalla, Mr. A. I. Meer, Mr. J. N. Singh, Mr. N. S. Devlin, Mr. A. E. Shukh, Mr. M. D. Naidoo, Mr. V. S. Naidoo, Mrs. M. L. Lavoipierre.

Other speakers at the meeting were Mr. B. D. Lalla, President of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society; Mr. H. Nattrass, Principal of the M. L. Sultan Technical College; Mr. S. Cooppan, M. A., M. Ed.; Mr. V. Sirkari Naidoo from the N.U.C. Department of Economics and Mr. A. I. Meer, Secretary of the Natal Congress.

A message was read from Mrs. M. B. Lavoipierre, Chairman of the Council of Human Rights, supporting the resolution and urging that immediate steps be taken to provide schooling facilities for the thousands of Indian children deprived of primary and secondary education in Natal and protesting against the Provincial Administration's action in refusing to carry on negotiations with Indian leaders in regard to this matter.

Mr. J. N. Singh announced that the Natal Indian Congress would be commencing standard seven classes on Monday next at the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj Hall for the 283 students refused admission at Sastri College at the beginning of this year.

Mr. B. D. Lalla representing the Natal Indian Teachers' Society assured the meeting that the whole-hearted cooperation of the teachers in any scheme adopted for the giving of education to the unfortunate Indian children of whom nearly 10,000 are out of school. The meeting unanimously elected a deputation to interview the Administrator of Natal.

MAHATMA GANDHI LEAVES THE WORLD

(From Our Own Correspondent)

HASTENED by an assassin's hand, Mahatma Gandhi's life drew to an abrupt close on the evening of January 30, leaving a nation and a world irredeemably bereft.

In this anguished hour, when the recollections of every bouncy his generous spirit gave to his people crowd into memory, the way of the future is uncertain to an orphaned nation, whose vision is dimmed by the swift uprush of tears. But the light which has ebbed away will flow back and men will be at peace with itself in the serene recognition of the perishable legacy Gandhi has left us.

At their deepest level of significance, the life of the hero and that of the saint become close parallel. By regarding himself as the instrument of the moral concept of duty, far greater in its scope and significance than the conflict of personal destiny, the hero affirms the victory of the spirit at the very hour of the death

of the flesh in the battlefield and the saint's most victorious affirmation in his martyrdom. In the case of Gandhiji, this parallelism has become an identity. As the patron knight of the nation, he led it to victory in one of the greatest battles for independence in history and his high personal ethics affected a unique transformation by leaving this fight entirely untouched by violence. After the fight was won, the saint took over and worked hard so that the moment of victory may stabilise into an era of peace. But before the task was completed, death, his 'incomparable friend,' beckoned him and folding his hands in a last farewell, he has joined those who went before, Socrates, Christ, Abraham Lincoln.

So few in the angelic visit this fretful earth that, by a common intuition, humanity agrees to share their heritage equally. Gandhiji belonged to the human race and not to India alone. And wherever

there is unhappiness due to human friction, whether it be based on colour prejudice, class hostilities or religious fanaticism, people will turn gratefully to this being who, engulfed by the dark

beyond, will continue to shed his kindly influence, will always be available with us as a catalyst for transforming history from a mere sequence in time into a progressive divinisation of man.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Gandhi is dead, Mahatma, hero, saint.
Slain by a countryman whose cause he pled,
Ungrateful wretch, who knew not what he did
Mourn, India, mourn, your greatest son lies low
Who loved you with a passion wife ne'er knew.
Scorning earth's pleasures, glory, honour, pomp,
He fought by fasts for freedom and for truth
That the untouchable might live as man
And know the joys of human brotherhood.
Gandhi has gone: his little frame is ash.
His mighty spirit lives and till Doom's crack
He shall inspire all who love their kind
And seek to lift them to a nobler.

M. WHITEFORD.

23 Montfort Road,
Observatory,
Cape Province.



MAHATMA GANDHI LYING IN STATE

Monks symbolising in their transience the perishability of the body and affirmative in their beauty of a realm of immortality and imperishable value, covered the body which had been the vehicle of one of the greatest efflorescences of the human spirit. Gandhiji's face showed no trace of his violent death, and looking at the serenity of his countenance, one could almost imagine that he was listening with closed eyes to the Scripture which the Bible preface is reading at left.

લોકોના દર્શનાર્થે રાજવામાં આવેલો ગાંધીજીનો રથ

ફોના મિત્રો તમને કહેવો ગોળીમાં મારતી બરોડા બસર વિના અગિયો મોંની ચાંતીથી વેદાધ્યક્ષ સાબરો રથા હોય તેમ માંધીજીનો સાચો અધેશો રેખાઈ રહ્યો છે.

Smuts Refers To Gandhiji

AT MOSLEM BAZAAR

OPENING a Moslem bazaar in Capetown last week, General Smuts paid tribute to Gandhiji. He said he and Gandhiji had been good friends, acquainted with each other over a long period of years. They first met over 40 years ago when there were Indian troubles in the Transvaal before the days of the Union.

"I found him always ready to discuss a matter in a reasonable and fair-minded manner, and always searching for a solution along peaceful lines. He was a great human."

"Then he returned to India to become the leader of that great country with its vast population. And now that this foul murder has taken place he has left behind him a name almost unequalled in the world to-day."

"He was an outstanding leader of men, who made a great contribution to the development of his own country, a man of great courage and example."

"We express our sympathy to the people of India, and in doing so to our fellow Indian citizens in South Africa."

General Smuts paid tribute to the good work of his old Moslem friends in this country, with whom good feelings had always existed.

"There are no more law-abiding people anywhere in South Africa," he went on. "Maintaining their self-respect and identity, they have made a real contribution to our society."

"To our national life they have added colour and variety. Let us have more of this colour instead of dressing all alike. Why not? Your community adds to the variegated scene which makes this country far more interesting than others."

"Some people think of this only as a colour problem. That is the least part of it. The Lord gave us colour, and the problem is to live together peacefully and with human understanding and fellow-feeling and goodwill. It is what our society is for."

There were backsliders in every community, and it was our duty to extend a helping hand to them, for the helping hand was the symbol of the human race. Those who could not keep up with the

pace of our civilisation must be helped to do so.

When he thought of the Malay

population as he remembered it when he was a boy he was amazed at the progress made. The Malays

were an example to every other section of the community in South Africa.

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION

ગાંધીજીની રૂંદમશાનયાત્રા



The long file of the cortege from Nrla House to the Juma Masjid was lined on either side with people of every creed and every age. Gandhiji lay exposed to view on an army transfer bedecked with flowers. The Nation's Tribune, to which his life of dedication had given a meaning and a reality, covered his body. Sardar Baldev Singh, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and Mr. Desai (Gandhi) were on the transfer beside him. The procession was headed by four armoured cars followed by representatives of the Armed Forces and volunteers. Then came the Governor-General's body guards on horses, flying their red colours and white flags. Behind them were Gurkha troops, prominent Congress leaders and civil military officials. The cortege which followed was drawn by men of the three Armed Services.

The procession at Kingsway. The Secretariat Buildings and the Parliament House can be seen in the background.

પીરના દાહિસથી પમુલા નદી સુધીનાં પંચ માહરનાં માર્ગે જાને પાણી હરેક જગતી અને વપના યોગીશી વાકરો દવો. ગાંધીજીને કુશોથી આજીવનનું પ્રકરની આદીમાં ચોક્કા જેલ શરૂ તેમ મુકામાં આજીવ દવા. રાષ્ટ્રપ્રજાની તેમના દેહને રાકવામાં આવેલો દવા. સરદાર ખજેરસીદ, જલિન નેહરુ, સરદાર પટેલ અને શ્રી. કલકાસ ગાંધી ગાંધીજીની પાસે પોડિયા હતા. સરકારને યોગદે ચાર મંપો રાખવામાં આવી હતી. જેની પાછળ તરકરી રીવાજીઓ અને જલસેવો દવા. તેની પાછળ મવરનર-જનરલના આગરદાસો પોતાપર લાઇ અને સર્કલ પાણી કરવાવાળા વળા દવા. તેની પાછળ મુરખા જલકર, ગાળીના પોમિસ નેનાઓ અને તરકરી અને તરકરી આગરદાસો દવા. જલગીઝ હરિયાના અને હવર્થ પંખુ તરકરી સંપાદકીઓની કલકીના માનવેસર મંપોજીના રહેલની માટી વિચિત્રા હતા. આ મોરખાં મરચના રીવાજેમાં રીવાજ છે. પાછળના ભાગમાં પાસાંમેન્ટ હાકિમ અને રીજેક્ટીવટલા મકલો છે

(The following article was written by Gandhiji a few days before he was assassinated. It appeared in 'Harijan' dated February 1.)

A young man writes:

"Today at noon I learnt that you had commenced fasting. I resisted the temptation of writing to you during the fast. But I can do so no longer.

"1. It is idle to think that a fast of five or seven days on your part can establish heart unity between Hindus and Mussalmans. All it can achieve will be a sort of unity on the surface that manifests itself in mammoth public meetings, processions and such demonstrations. And that is good so far as it goes. But it won't be a sign of a real heart unity. You should not, therefore, delude yourself into the belief at the end of your fast that heart unity has been established. I do not regard the peace at Calcutta either as betokening heart unity. What your fast will do will be to make the Hindus suppress their anger so as not to kill innocent Mussalmans. And I think it should be enough to induce you to end your fast.

"2. By your penance you have gained a unique place in the hearts and affection of the people. On the other hand, our people have not yet attained a living faith in the immortality of the soul, which can enable them to regard physical death with philosophical indifference. They are not prepared to allow your life to ebb away by inches before their very eyes. They will, therefore, suppress their anger and hatred in order to save your life. But this pent-up anger is sure to burst out at the first opportunity. It seems to me that some such consideration alone must have led you to suggest that even civil war was to be preferred to partition.

"3. If anger and hatred are to be purged out of the hearts of the people, the Government ought to reach them to base their lives on constructive work. But today we see in the papers that shortly 600 imported tractors and 6000 or more tons of fertilizers, i.e., ammonium sulphate are going to be unloaded on our shores. One can understand people warring in industrialisation of key industries to build the country's war potential, but I fail to understand why they should want to centralize the production of the prime necessities of life, viz. food and clothing. In America they are tending more and more to revert to natural manures. We seem to be going in for the production of chemical fertilizers.

"4. I can say from my experience that the Indian Muslims are not so innocent as they might appear. Let not the tales of woe which the Delhi Muslims pour

into your ears mislead you into thinking that all the Muslims in India or a greater part are innocent sufferers. On the contrary, a large majority of them are simply hiding their time and waiting for an opportunity to play the fifth columnist when Pakistan would invade India. I do not impute these motives to the multitude of ignorant Muslim mavericks in the villages but I do believe that they can serve as fuel to the fire. It seems to me that at the back of the Pakistan arrogance and truculence is the feeling that Indian Muslims are with

way is for the Indian Government to handle the situation with firmness. Thus, it seems to me, it has failed to do so far and so that except—thanks to your influence—the interest of the country has suffered."

The foregoing letter deserves careful attention. Contrary to what the correspondent holds, instances as he adduces of instantaneous change of heart. It would have been more apt to say that such heart change is transitory. Now that my fast is over, it remains to be seen what result it produces. I say this not to

21-DAY FAST AS PENANCE

"XIV AT NO. 51 OF ASSASSINATION"

MR. P. S. SANE, the Socialist leader, popularly known as "Sane Gurukul," started a 21-day fast at 7 p.m. on Sunday, February 1, "in order to atone for the sin of a Maharashtrian who assassinated Mahatma Gandhi, the nation's greatest leader." Mr. Sane's fast will end on February 22, the fourth anniversary of the death of of Shri. K. K. K. K. K.

The Socialist leader announced this decision of his at a mass meeting of nearly 25,000 workers who had gathered at Kamgar Maidan at the call of the Bombay Socialist Party, to pay homage to Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Sane said it was unthinkable that anybody could harm the Mahatma, but a Maharashtrian had done the worst. As one who believed in Mahatma Gandhi's ideals he had decided to offer penance with a view to enabling people to purify themselves of the sin committed by an individual, he said.

Mr. M. A. Harris, General Secretary of the Bombay Socialist Party, said the nation was heart-broken at the loss of their beloved leader.

Mr. Anoka Mehta told the workers how greatly Mahatma Gandhi had loved them, and declared that although an individual had taken Mahatma Gandhi's life people who had tolerated communalism in their midst so long were also to some extent responsible for the outrage. He asked the people to live up to the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi and see to it that his dream of India becoming a country where all communities lived at peace with one another was fulfilled very soon.

Mr. Achut Parwarthan also addressed the gathering.

them, and that they can and will exploit you to the full. They also reckon upon getting the support of some other selfishly inclined powers.

"5. In view of the foregoing, I feel that your fast was not meant to achieve anything more than making the Hindus resolute their passions.

"6. I hold that the Hindu-Muslim trouble can be resolved only in two ways. First, by the Hindus completely cleansing their hearts. That expectation may be said to have been held long ago. As you have observed, the Congress struggle has so far been based on the passive resistance of the weak. Therefore, now that power has come to it, it will march towards *himsa* with redoubled speed. A glance at the record of the provincial Governments will amply bear out this. The other

depreciate or detract from what the writer of the foregoing letter has said. The Hindus, Muslim, Sikhs, all may learn something from it. The ideal of communal unity is not a new one. It has always been before the country as one of the pillars of national independence. Without it independence cannot last. This has been regarded as more or less axiomatic. The transition period which I hope is now over, reflects a datestamp. We may, therefore, expect that the unity that has been established in Delhi will prove enduring.

That the edifice of unity can rest on constructive work alone is a maxim which everybody should remember. The question is how to realize it. It is up to every worker who believes in it to live it in his life and to bring it home to his neighbors. By doing so

explaining the scientific basis of the constructive programme, it is made interesting. Our daily experience shows that this programme cannot be advanced by mechanical or unintelligent work.

That factories and chemical fertilizers will spell our ruin, I have no shadow of a doubt.

I do not regard all the Mussalmans in India to be innocent. What is obvious is that after the birth of Pakistan the Muslims in the Indian Union have been placed in a very difficult situation and as far as the majority community is made out exact justice to them. It would spell the ruin of both Hindu religion and the majority community, if the latter, in the intoxication of power, entertains the belief that it can crush the minority community and establish a purely Hindu Raj. I consider the present occasion to be particularly auspicious for purging out the dross from the hearts of both the communities by a strenuous effort at self-purification.

The meaning of the fifth paragraph is not quite clear. In any case, my fast being for the purification of all I expected and still expect all—be they Hindu, Muslim or others—to turn the searchlight inward and to cast out all hidden impurity.

In the sixth paragraph I find only dry logic. It ignores the heart. No one has a right to say that what could not be achieved during the struggle for independence is unachievable at all times. On the contrary, today there is a real opportunity to demonstrate the supremacy of *ahimsa*. True, our people have been sucked into the whirlpool of universal militarization. If even a few can keep out of it, it will be their privilege to set an example. *Ahimsa* of the brave and be reckoned as the first servants of India. Therefore, all can be realized through experience. It is accepted in faith.

The Swami Government is bound to proceed with firmness and courage. A Government which is weak or which allows itself to be led into courses which its power does not approve of, is not fit to rule. It ought to step aside and make way for a better one. To say or to believe that Lord B. K. Nehru and Sardar Patel have weakened under any influence is to betray gross ignorance of their character. And it is a gross error to see really the constructive effect suggested to it by my correspondent. It is a shame for one who is ashamed of and for the country to deplore it. It is a shame for one who is ashamed of

PRAVERS AT PHOENIX SETTLEMENT

THE following are items of prayer performed at the Phoenix Settlements on the thirtieth day of the death of Mahatma Gandhi are given here for the information of our readers. About a thousand people—men, women and children—from Natal and Transvaal participated in the prayer, which was performed at 5.30 p.m. in the open on the grounds in front of the house occupied by Mahatma Gandhi when he was in Phoenix. The weather was exceptionally clear and the atmosphere serene and seemed with the burning of incense. A full size photo of Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi taken in the Union in 1913, was decorated with flowers and placed on a high platform with other light and incense burning on from

दीनिकसंस्थाभां माथर्ना

1. 1990年12月，在江蘇省江浦縣，發現了兩具古屍。這具古屍的年齡約為30歲，身高1.75米，體重75公斤。這具古屍的骨骼結構與現代人無異，但其骨骼的密度卻比現代人高得多。這具古屍的骨骼密度比現代人高，這說明這具古屍生前可能從事過體力勞動，或者其骨骼密度較高，這說明這具古屍生前可能從事過體力勞動，或者其骨骼密度較高，這說明這具古屍生前可能從事過體力勞動。

THE CHANTING IN HINDI OF

रघुपति राघव राजा राम
पतिन पावन सीता राम

Two Minutes' Silence

Water from the Elbe River City in Saxony.

॥ गङ्गायास्वामिन् त्वमे पविष्ठस्मान् ॥

नन्तः तत्कालेन गुडमौषा सा घृष्टः कुर्याद्विग्रहम् ।

一、
 二、
 三、
 四、
 五、
 六、
 七、
 八、
 九、
 十、

मसी, यज्ञ, इत्यादि, कर्म और मन्त्रों का विरोध करनेवाले विप्रको भूति मिले है, संयोगक कर्ण अक्ष, गह, कर्म और उन्मिदसिद्धि रद-
मन्त्रोंसे विप्रका मयल जाते हैं, योगजन समाधि
जगत्पर कर्मय सिद्धिसे विप्रका, द्वायन कर्ते है
आ नृत्ता, कर्म विप्रको गतिगता कल नही
—कर्म कर्ते है ।

अनुवृत्ति

है-अथ ! शिवप्रवृत्ति, निराला हो, निव
मार्गधर्म अथ। अन्तर्गतता दे, किसे यंत्रो
दे ! अथ ! शिवप्रवृत्ति कैसे योग्यता है, कैसे
अथ ! है और कैसे बलता है !

1957-58

[illegible]

— ५५ —
 श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान्

है गार्ह, मनको सभी कामनाओंको छोड़कर
 गुरु जह स्वभावहीमें निजमें संतुष्ट हुआ
 है उसे शिष्यप्रवृत्त बंदन है।

दे दुःखों को वांच जा दुखों से स्वभा मो नप
दुखों को वांच दुखों को छुड़वाता नहीं, यहाँ
नृणा, भय और मोहसे गति संयमी पुरुष
निश्चलपक्ष रहता है ।

जो ईश्वरनिष्ठ प्राप्त अनुकूल विपश्यता न
अभिगन्धन करता है, न प्रतिकूल विपश्यता
देता, यही किसी भी विपश्यन आसक्त न
होनेवाला पुरुष स्थितप्रज्ञ है ।

जैसे कलुत्रा समी ओम्से जपने आरंभ की
संगठ होता है किन्हीं नो आना सभी
इन्द्रियोंको उनके विषयों संगठ होता है,
वही एक सिद्धांत है।

निषेधार साधकके विषय (निषेध) इनके
वर्णन) हटते हैं। पानु उत्तमसे उसका
विषयसे नहीं हटता। वह उस में शुद्ध हट जाता
है, तब परमात्मा साक्षात् होता है।

[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अभिप्रायनिर्वाहः ।

३. प्रवृत्तिर्यदस्मात् सन्नात् शयं मनोज्ञान् ।
आमयेयंभन्ना सुष्टुः स्थितेभ्यस्तद्विद्यते ॥

३ दृष्ट्वैश्वनुश्रियन्नाः मुक्ष्युः पितृसहः ।
 श्रीताम्रपयक्रौञ्चः स्थितधीर्मनिरुच्यते ॥

५ यः सुव्रतानामिदं हस्तगतं श्रुत्वा शुभम् ।
नामिदं नृनि न श्रेष्ठं लभ्य प्रतां प्रतियुक्ता ॥

५ यदा संहरते चायं कूर्मोऽङ्गुलीं च सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणां दिव्येष्वभ्यस्तस्य घ्नमा प्रमिच्छति ॥

(२) विद्या निर्विकल्पे निःकारस्य देविनः ।
रसवत्यै, सौऽभ्यस्य एवं दृष्ट्वा निवर्तते ॥ ६

५ अने: ॥३॥ कान्ता मन्त्रात् ॥ १ ॥
६ अने: ॥४॥ कान्ता मन्त्रात् ॥ २ ॥

[illegible][illegible]

GANDHIJI'S MOST FAVOURITE HYMN IN GUJARATI:
"VAISHNAVA JANA TO"

Twelfth Discourse From The Bhagavad Gita In Hindi:

अनुवच

निम्नमुक्त हुए ऐसे आपके भक्त जो मैंने,
या सेवा नका अवसर, इनमें कौन उत्तम ! ॥ १ ॥

भगवत्पाद

जगत्के मन मेरे मे मुक्तको मिल्य मुक्त हो—
मजते पूर्ण अज्ञ से उनके भेद मानता ॥ १ ॥
तो भी अचिन्त, अच्युत, सर्वव्यापी, अनाद्य ॥
नित्य, निश्चल, निमित्त को अक्षर उपासने ॥ ३ ॥
रोकते इन्द्रियाँ सारी सर्वत्र सम-बुद्धि हो—
पाते को मुक्तको हो है शिष्य के हित में रत ॥ ४ ॥
अच्युत में लगाते ही उन्हें स्वेच्छ-विशेष है।
बड़े ही भय से देही पाता अस्मत्त से गति ॥ ५ ॥
चढ़ाये सब ही कर्म मुक्तको, मत्परायण-
अनन्य योग मे मेरा करे ध्यान, उपासना ॥ ६ ॥
विशेषा मुक्तमें बिल उनको होम है स्वयं।
सत्कार-मित्र से पाये। तारना मृत्यु मार्गके ॥ ७ ॥
समाधि मन मेरे मे, बुद्धि भी मुक्तमें रखो,
जिगसे फिर निश्चक, भक्तमें बिल जावो ॥ ८ ॥
यदि अक्षय ही मुक्तमें बिल को करना स्थिर,
अन्यात् योग के द्वारा तो चाहो मिलना मुक्त ॥ ९ ॥

१—बिलकी कोई पड़चाल न बताई जा सके। २—बल
वार प्रबल करण।

अन्यात् सीन हो पाये अपनी कर्म सभी मुक्त।
तो मिलेगा तुम्हें किन्हीं मर्त्य^१ कर कम को ॥ १ ॥
न बने कर्म भी ऐसे तो सम योग साधके।
सर्व कर्म-फल-भोग करो निबन्ध में रह ॥ २ ॥
भेद अन्यात् से ज्ञान, ज्ञान से ध्यान अक्षर है।
ध्यान से चल का ध्यान, ध्यान से शान्ति मत्तार ॥ ३ ॥
अक्षय सर्वभूतों में मैत्री य कल्याण, ज्ञान,
ममता न अक्षय, समान सुख-दुःख में ॥ ४ ॥
मदा तनुष जो योगी जितारमा दृढ़निश्चयी
मन, बुद्धि मुक्तें सौधी, भक्त तो शिष्य है मुक्त ॥ ५ ॥
जिसे न होम होमों को, होमों निरोग न होम भी।
हरे, शोक, भय, कोप नहीं, तो शिष्य है मुक्त ॥ ६ ॥
नही स्वया, उदासीन, दृढ़, निर्मल, निःस्पृह।
कर्मोत्तम सभी छोड़े भक्त तो शिष्य है मुक्त ॥ ७ ॥
नही उपास-गन्धर्व, नहीं शोक, नहीं रुद्धा,
शुभाशुभ-परिचारी, भक्त तो शिष्य है मुक्त ॥ ८ ॥
सम है शत्रु-मित्रों ने ऐसे मानापमान में,
होतो-भूत, सुख-दुःखों में सम, क्षाति-हीन को ॥ ९ ॥
निन्दा या स्तुति में तुल्य, हीनो, तनुष सर्व में।
शिरबुद्धि निर्मलभी^२ भक्त तो शिष्य है मुक्त ॥ १० ॥
धर्मोद्भूत नहीं मिल्य हो भट्टायुक्त, मन्त्र-
सेवता जो नहीं भक्त अतीव शिष्य है मुक्त ॥ ११ ॥

१—मेरे लिए। २—ईश्वरके लिये दूसरी वस्तु पर जिसका
अवलम्बन नहीं हो।

THE TWELFTH DISCOURSE FROM EDWIN
ARNOLD'S 'THE SONG CELESTIAL'

SHRI KRISHNA TO ARJUNA.

Whoever serve Me—as I show Myself—
Constantly true, in full devotion fixed,
Those hold I very holy. But who serve—
Worshipping Me The One, The Invisible,
The Unrevealed, Unnamed, Unthinkable,
Uttermost, All-pervading, Highest Sure—
Who thus adore Me, mastering their sense,
Of one set mind to all, glad in all good,
These blessed souls come unto me. Yet, hard
The travail is for such as bend their minds
To reach th' Unmanifest. That viewless path
Shall scarce be trod by man bearing the flesh!
But whoso any deed, all his deeds
Renouncing—self for Me, full of Me, fixed
To serve only the Highest, night and day
Musing on Me—him will I swiftly lift
Forth from life's ocean of fear and death,
Whose soul clings fast to Me. Cling thou to Me!
Clasp Me with heart and mind: so shalt thou dwell
Surely with Me on high. But if thy thought
Droops from such height, if thou be'st weak to set
Body and soul upon Me constantly,
Despair not! give Me lower service! seek
To reach Me, worshipping with steadfast will,
And, if thou canst not worship steadfastly,
Work for Me, toil in work pleasing to Me!
For he that laboureth right for love of Me
Shall finally attain! But, if in this
Thy faint heart fails, bring Me thy failure! And
Refuge in Me! let fruits of labour go,
Renouncing hope for Me with lowliest heart,
So shalt thou come, for, though to know is more
Than diligence, yet worship better is
Than knowing, and renouncing better still.
Near to renunciation—very near
Dweldest! Eternal Peace!

Who hateth naught
Of all which lives, living himself benign,
Compassionate, from arrogance exempt,
Exempt from love of self, unchangeable
By good or ill, patient, contented, firm
In faith, mastering himself, true to his word,
Seeking Me, heart and soul, vowed unto Me,

That man I love! Who troubleth not his kind,
And is not troubled by them; clear of wrath,
Living too high for gladness, grief, or fear,
That man I love! Who, dwelling quiet-eyed,
Stainless, serene, well-balanced, unperplexed,
Working with Me, yet from all works detached,
That man I love. Who, fixed in faith on Me,
Does upon none, seems none, rejoices not,
And grieves not, letting good or evil hap
Light when it will, and when it will depart,
That man I love! Who, unto friend and foe
Keeping an equal heart, with equal mind
Bears shame and glory; with an equal peace
Takes heat and cold, pleasure and pain; abides
Quit of desires, hear-praise or calumny
In passionless restraint, unmoved by each;
Linked by no ties to earth, steadfast in Me,
That man I love! But most of all I love
Those happy ones to whom 'tis life to live
In single fervid faith and love unceasing,
Drinking the blessed Amrita of my Being!

LEAD KINDLY LIGHT

Lead, kindly Light amid the encircling gloom
Lead Thou me on:
The night is dark and I am far from home,
Lead Thou me on.
Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distant scene, one step enough for me.
I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on.
I loved to choose and see my path: but now
Lead Thou me on.
I loved the garish day, and spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will: remember not past years.
So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure is still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone;
And with the morn, those angel faces smile,
Which I have loved long since and lost awhile.

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના દર્શન
અને હક્કમાં સ્થાપના

પુસ્તક ૪૬ મું—અંક ૭.

શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૨ ફેબ્રુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮.

પૃષ્ઠ નંબર પાંચ

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન-૧”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૨ ફેબ્રુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮

સત્યાગ્રહીનો ધર્મ

મુદ્રી પ્રધાન મી. એચ. ઇ. લોરેન્સે સુનીયનની આમની સજામાં ફેટલીક વસ્તુઓ કરી છે કે જેના ઉપર કોઈએ નેતાઓએ ખાસ કરી અને હાઈકોર્ટે સામાન્ય રીતે ઉઠા વિચાર કરવાની જરૂર છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે સત્યાગ્રહની લડતને કોમનો શાશ્વત્વની ટેકો નથી. તેમણે કહ્યું: “મને કહેતાં જાનાં કે માથે છે કે નારાલ અને ડુંગરાલ માં હાઈકોર્ટ કોમના મોટા ભાગે પધારે ડહાપણવટો આગે લીધા છે અને આ રીતે કાયદાનો ખંગ કરી ઉસ્કેરણી કરવાના પ્રયત્નોને તેણે ટેકો આપ્યો નથી.” તેમણે વધુમાં કહ્યું કે, જેઓ ડુંગરાલ ની સરહદમાં રાખલ થયા છે તેઓને, બીજાઓ, જેઓ આ રીતે પોતાના તરફ તેમજ આ સવાલ તરફ ધ્યાન આપવા પ્રવેશ છે, તેઓના હેતુઓ સામવાને હોવાનું નાજીયેર જાનાવવામાં આવ્યા છે; અને જેઓએ સરહદ કોંગ્રેસી છે તેઓ એકાદ વર્ગના છે કે જેઓને જેનીની રીતે તેઓ કામ કરે તેને માટે પગાર આપવા જ પડે અને એ કામ કરાવવાને માટે જેઓ જવાબદાર છે તેઓના તરફથી તેઓ પોતાવા મનુષ્યો.

આ કથનોના પ્રદક્ષિણર ગુમામી બધી શાખોથી નહિ અપાવે તેમજ પરંતુ દ્રવ્યપુર્વકે પરંતુ વિનયપુર્વકે કાર્યથી અપાવે તેમજ. એટલું તો નિઃશંક છેજ કે આ સવાલને વિષે જેટલો મહત્ત્વે તેટલો ઉત્સાહ કોમ તરફ મી જાતાવાઈ નથી રહ્યો. પરંતુ નેતા બધાં એવા નથી થતા કે

એરીવાટીક કાયદો, કે જેની સામે આ લડત ખાસ ચાલી રહી છે. તેને શાશ્વત્વથી નમવાને કોમ તરફથી છે. એ પરથી ખાસ એટલુંજ સિદ્ધ થાય છે કે પુરતી લીમત અને ત્યાગવૃત્તિ, જેના વિના આવી લડત સફળ થવી અશક્ય છે, તે કેળવવામાં આપણું જવાબા હીજે, આ એક માનવજાતનીની સામાન્ય જવાબા છે અને સત્ય અને ન્યાયને ખાતર લડનારા પ્રત્યેકે દુર કરવાનો દાર્દર પ્રયત્ન કરવો પડે છે, તે આપણે તેમ નહિ કરીએ તો સુકામો તરીકેનો દરજ્જો આપણે સ્વિકારેલો મળાશે અને આપણી પાછળની પ્રવર્તને કોમો લીધેલો મળાશે, કે જે વાળની પછે આપણને આપ આપશે અને કુનીવાના સઘળા કવચયેલા લોકો, જેઓ આપણી લડત તરફ આતુરતાથી નજર કરી રહ્યા છે, તેઓ ની સ્થિતિ સુધરવાની સઘળી આશાઓ પરી ભાંજશે. નીશી વિશેષ તો આપણી વચ્ચેથી આડી ગયેલા મદાન આરમા, માંધીજી, જેઓને માટે આપણું એટલો પુજ્ય ભાવ પ્રાપ્તિએ હીજે, તેઓને કોમો લીધેલો મળાશે. તેઓનું દુવન આપણી કલ્પને વિષે આપણામાં વધારે જાગૃતિ આમનાર થવું જોઈએ.

આ સત્યાગ્રહની લડત કોમ અસુકે વ્યક્તિ તરફથીજ દોષવાઈ રહી છે અને કો તે વ્યક્તિ અસાપ થઈ જાય તો તે મડી નાંખવા ની છે, એમ કહેતાં જોઈએ અને

કોમને શોખ આપનાર નથી. પ્રત્યેક જાણ પોતાનો નેતા છે અને પોતાના અંતર અપાવ થી તેણે દોષાણું જોઈએ.

આપણે દાવો કરીએ છીએ તેવું જ માંધીજી પ્રત્યે આપણને માન હોય તો સત્યાગ્રહનું શરૂ, જેનો ઉપયોગ કરતાં તેઓએ આપણને શીખવ્યું છે, તેનો આપણે ફરફ પોગ નજર કરીએ. જેઓ એ શરૂ નો ઉપયોગ કરે છે, તેઓના હેતુઓ બીલકુલ શુદ્ધ હોવા જોઈએ. સત્ય સિવાય બીજા કશા હેતુઓ તેઓને હોયજ નહિ. તેઓએ સત્યનું સુક્ષ્મપણે પાલન કરવું જોઈએ. તેઓનું દરેકે દરેક કાર્ય શંકાથી વડે હોવું જોઈએ અને તેઓના કાર્યમાં દ્રવ્ય હોવા સાથે તેઓની આપા અને આચારમાં આકર્ષ નક્કત દેવી નેમજી. જેનામાં આ યુગો ન હોય તે જાતે ખરા અર્થમાં સત્યાગ્રહી નથી અને નેતાશી સત્યાગ્રહની લડતના નેતા બની નહિ સકાય. આથી જો માપાની તરફાલની લડત નિષ્ફળ નીવડે તો એ શરૂના દોષને લીધે નહિ પરંતુ આપણી પોતાની ખામીઓ ને લીધે.

આ રીતે લખવામાં અમારો હેતુ આપણા બાઈઓને નાદિમત કરવાનો નથી પરંતુ તેઓની ખરી દરજ્જાને વિષે તેઓને જાગૃત કરવા નો છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકામાં જે માર્ગ આપણે રચેલાઓ અલગ કરવાનું પસંદ કર્યું છે તે નહોલો નથી. તેમ સ્વાતંત્ર્ય શુદ્ધ. જે માનવજાતનીને નામ આપણે સલાવી રહ્યા છીએ, તે પણ કંઈ સહેલું નથી. જા હુકમે દુશ્મનોની આકુતી લીધેલી છે. જેઓ તેમના સ્વેચ્છા તેઓએ સ્વાતંત્ર્યની પેલીપર પોતાનું મરિદાન આપી દેવાનું છે.

કુદરતે નિર્માણ કરેલું હશે તેમ આ છેલ્લી લીટીઓ લખાઈ રહી હતી ત્યારેજ આ પત્રના તૃતી ઓ. મળીલાલ મંધીને ટેલીફોન નો કહેલો મળ્યો કે સત્યાગ્રહીઓને ૧૯૧૩ ના મંધીમેશન કાયદા ની ફરકે પરવાના મળવા વિના ડુંગરાલની સરહદમાં રાખલ થવા નું ઉત્તેજન અને સહાયતા આપવાના આદેશનો જવાબ આપવા ફરજીયાતી તા. ૨૬ મીના કોર્ટ સમક્ષ હાજર થવા તેમના પર તેમજ ડો. યુ. મ. કાહ, ડો. ઇ. એમ. નાયકર અને કેપ્ટન ટાઉનના મી. સુદ્રા પીલેપર સમન્સ મળાવવામાં આવ્યા છે. તત્કાલે આ લેખ લખવા માટે જરાએ બેઠ નહી તેમ તેમાંથી એક પછી કામ પાછા મેચી લેવાની પ્રવ્રતા નથી. જે કથાનું છે તેનું પાલન કરવાની હિંમત શક્તિ જાણે બિજા તેની દાર્દર પ્રાર્થના છે.

સત્યાગ્રહીઓને સજા

૧૯૩૮ ના ઈમામન્ટસ રેમુલેશન અપાના રીપોર્ટ કરવા પોતા સમય ઉપર ૨૪ પોર્ટાઓની એક કુકરી મોટાપ્ર પ્રાંતમાંથી ડાંગરાલ માંખમાં મળેલી, જ કુકરીના માખરોને મળા મોમપારે મોરેરે ખજ વાગે સોદાનીસખમાં કોર્સખમાં આવેલા એક મેદાન પરથી તેમ જ માસનીપર નિતારેમાં આવેલી કેપમાંથી વડવામાં આવ્યા છે. તેઓને પોલીસ માટી તથા મોટર સોરીમાં નેદાનીસખમાં મારાઈ રહેરે પોલીસ મોટા પર હાઈ જવામાં આવ્યા હતા અને તેમાં રાખા પ્રદેશમાં રાખવામાં આવ્યા હતા. તેમાંના કેટલાકને મળા મેંગળ વારે સોદાનીસખમાં મોટરફેટ સગર અપાતમમાં ખડા કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા. તેમાંને એક માસ ની દરની લગત પછી છે અને તે એક નવન મર મોટર રાખવામાં નાની ન.

ગાંધીજીને વધુ અંજલીઓ

હીન્દુઓની મુશ્કેલીનું સંકેત-સંકેતશાસ્ત્ર

હીન્દુઓની મુશ્કેલીનું સંકેત-સંકેતશાસ્ત્ર નરહથી પ્રારંભના રાખા મળી હતી. તેના સંકેતરૂપી પ્રાણજાલવાદની રીત-આદર્શને જાણીએ છીએ કે ગાંધીજીએ અમેરિકામાં 'વેનિસ રેસ્ટ હાઉસ' સર્વપ્રથમ સંસ્થાવના કેળવી હતી. કમ-કેમ જોજ સમજાવતાં, કમળી મુજો સંપાદન કરી દતા, જેણે કુખ સુખ સમાન મર્યાદા કરતા, લગભગથી વિજાદી બોલીને સ્વાયત્તતાએ સમજાવવા કરતા કે ભારતની કમળા પ્રજા મારે તમે નમસ્કાર સંમળની તિબેરી ઉપાદી મુકવો, અને એ મધુર વાક્યો બદલ પડવાની સાથે મુદીદારોએ પોતાની કોમળાઓમાં ગાંધી જાદી દીધાં કરતાં, આને કીદીઓને અને જગતમાળો આ મહાન વિજ્ઞાનીની ખોટ જાણી રહ્યાં છે. જગતની પામ્યા પ્રજા માનવી હતી કે કીદી કપો સિવાય અને કુકળોને ને માથો સિવાય આગાદી સાંગદી ન સાકે એ અપાવતા ગાંધીજીએ દુર કરી ને સાવ અને અધિકારના સંજ ગારન ને મુકિત અપાવી. પુવેની મદાન વિજ્ઞાની, જેની કે, કંઈ પીડના, નમ પાન છુક, શ્રીકૃષ્ણ, પીરવાનદંડ, મહામદ મેનઅર, જોવા અનેક પપે ગોરાએ જે કથન હિચ્છાએ કરતાં, તેવાંજ મહાતમાજીએ પણ હિચ્છાએ કરતા. તેમણે એવું સમજાવ્યું છે કે નગરો વિરોધ કરનાર પ્રથમ પણ પ્રેમ રાખવો. તમને મારનાર પ્રાપે પણ વિરોધ રાખવો.

પુત્ર્ય મહાતમાજીની કથનોના અંત આપે એમ નથી અને આપણે પણ નહિ. જેમ માણસ તરફ વિનાશને ખોલ રહેો પારણ કરે છે તેમ ગાંધીજીએ પોતાનું એક સરીર બદલ્યું તેથી ગાંધીજી તાર પામ્યા એમ રહે કોમ માનો એ પ્રકાર સ્વપર્ન કોમ નામ કરી રોકવું નથી. ગાંધીજીએ જે કાળે સહીને બારને મુકિત અપાવી કે એને રોકે આપણને મળનાર નથી.

બેનાની

તા. ૩૦ નવ ૩૧-૧-૪૮ ના રોજે રાનના મોકલવા નયા બેનાનીના મુશ્કેલીના શાળાના મહાનમાં પ્રારંભ સમા રાખવામાં આવી હતી. સભામાં પીડીટ, બેકસમય નયા બેનાનીના કીદી, મુસલમાનોની સારી સંખ્યામાં હાજરી હતી.

બાપુજીના સ્વર્ગમનની આપણે તેમ જ આપણા જગતને પૂરેલ મહાન ખોટ અંગે કેટલાક બાધોએ વિવેચનો કરી દતાં.

નાયબોલના કીદીઓના શોક (અમારા બાપુજીની તરફથી)

પુત્ર્ય બાપુજીના અપસાવના સમાચાર મળ્યાંજ અમેના કીદીઓએ કુકળો બંધ કરી હતી, નન પાન દિવસે રાનીવારે પણ આપણે કુકળો અને પંખાઓ બંધ રાખ્યા હતા. સુકવારે જાહેર નાજરજા કમિઝ અને કમિઝની પાદીંગ બોધાવનામાં આવી હતી. જેમાં કીદી અને મુસ્લીમ બાપુજીના સારી દામદરી હતી. હાઈલ બંધી પણ કેટલાક બાધોએ આપ્યા હતા. પુત્ર્ય બાપુજીના અપસાવ અપસાવથી ચલેલી મહાન ખોટ પ્રથમ કીદી શોક દર્શાવવામાં આવ્યો હતો અને તે મુશ્કેલીના તરફ પુ. બાપુજીના કુકળો કરના અને પંખા જગતરસાલ મોકલ ઉપર મોકલવાના રાવ સવોનુએ ચલે દતો અને ને મુશ્કેલી તરફ રાનીવારે મોકલવામાં આવ્યા હતા, રાનીવારે જાહેરે ૧૨૧ થી ૧ પાખા મુકી પ્રારંભ કરવા સમા મળી હતી. જેમાં પણ કીદીઓએ ઉપરાંત કેટલાક મુસ્લીમ બાધોએ પણ જાહેર થયા હતા.

એક મુસ્લીમની અંજલી

વસ્ત્રકથુક (નિર્ધાર પ્રસ્તાવ) રી મી. એસ. એસ. મુશ્કેલી સંજે ક: વહોરુતાનો પ્રજાજી તરફ મળે. મરની મુશ્કેલીના નમ ગમે, કીદી મુશ્કેલી અધિકારના તરફ મળે. પોતાના દેશની રાજીને આપર અંગ: કરણથી નીજ મરદીરો બોલ આપ તરફ મળે, કીદી કદોહાની વસ્ત્રીના કમો મળે, એસીસના સુધારોનો મદદ માર મળે, મુશ્કેલી રાખના દર્યાપોને ની સામે સત્યાગ્રહનો પેદા કરનારો મળે, અને જગતની દામની કદોહી રિશિનો તારખાજાર મળે, મારે રોકે નિગાજસ રીજાં માનવી કરી દેશે કે: જગત વિષે એવા પણ જોવા વળ કરોક નિર્ધાર મહાતમા ગાંધીજીની નથી જગતમાં બેક.

એસ. એસ. મુશ્કેલી

કીદીગરન (નિર્ધાર રોકેસીયા) કીદીગરનના કીદી બાધોએ પુ. બાપુજીના કીદીઓ અને આપણે કમોસામના બાપર બંધીરે પણ વાંચે વસ્ત્રીના સામે સત્યાગ્રહ. આપણા કીદીગરનની કીદી જગતમાં શોકનું મોટા કરી વસ્ત્ર. તરતજ હોકે કીદી બાધોની કુકળો નામ મળે મળે સાંજે સાડા સાત વાગે મી. હરી મોદાર ની રોકેસીયાં છન્દિઅન એસના. એસના આસરે રોકે પુ. બાપુજીને અંજલી આપવા નાયન સમા રાખવા

માં આવી હતી. હોકે બાધ બેનાએ બાપુજી સાથે હાજરી આપી હતી. એક દિવસે જોહાનીસપાઈથી મી. એસ. પી. મેડ તથા મી. મળીબાઈ સાથે વાઈ પટેલ પણ કીદીગરન આવ્યા હતા અને પ્રારંભ કરવામાં આવી હતી. રાનીવારે આપણા કીદી જગતમાં મોકલિત પાખો હતા, કુકળો બંધ ની ન પણ ખરા બાધ બેનાને કુકળોએ ઉપરાંત કરી હતા. અરજ રીજાંજીના તરફ મોકલવામાં આવ્યા હતા.

વેલો

વેલો (સુધાર રોકેસીયા) ના કીદીઓએ ગાંધીજીને અંજલી આપવા એક પ્રારંભના સમા બરી હતી. બાપુજી કરનાઓએ કુકળો કરી આપણે પ્રારંભના કીદીએ કે હવે આપણી સમા રોકેસી મુશ્કેલી કરવામાં ગાંધીજીના આત્માની આપણી દોષવસ્તી મળે. સવળી કીદી કુકળો ગાંધીજીના માનમાં બંધ રહી હતી અને કીદીઓના મહાનપર વાજા અરધી કીદીએ કરકસરમાં આવ્યા હતા અને મુશ્કેલીપર મહાનપર પણ તેમ કરવામાં આપણે એવામાં અપુ પુ. રોકેસીયા બેપર તા. વાન રે માનની કીદી કામને રોકેસીયા સદીએ મોકલ્યો હતો, પણ કીદીઓએ એ દિવસે ઉપવાસ કરી હતો.

આમન સમાજ લોકોએ અધિકાર (અમારા બાપુજીની તરફથી)

સુકવાર તા. ૩૦-૧-૪૮ ના રોજે ગમેરના ૨-૩૦ ના સુધારે રોકેસીયાના પુત્ર્ય બાપુજી ઉપર બેનાઈદર મળવા કુકળ સમાચાર નામી અમેના કીદી, પારસી, મુસ્લીમ, બાધોએ કુકળો બંધ કરી અને બારન સમાજ તેમજ કીદી એસીસીસના મહાન ઉપર અંજલી કીદીએ જાહેર રાખા શોક પ્રદર્શન કરવામાં આવ્યો.

રાજીવારે જાહેરે ૧૨-૩૦ સુધાર તર ઉપર પુત્ર્ય બાપુજીના અંગની અરકારના બપોરે રોકેસી બાધોએ એકમીન ચાલ અને કુકળી રોકે મહાતમાજીને અંજલી અર્પી. જાહેરે આર વાંચે આમન સમાજ માં આપવા મી. મોકલે મોકલવા જગતમાં પ્રખ્યાતને મોકલવા મળી રંગા બેનાનીસ બાધો પણ સારી રાખ્યામાં જાહેર હતા, પાદીક પ્રારંભના તાર પુત્ર્ય બાપુજીના કરવા જગત અપસાવ મારે મહાતમાજી કરે પ્રવચન થતાં. પ્રવચન કરનારામાં સમાવળા મંત્રી કેસવલ મી. રોકેસી બાઈ વસનજ, મી. બી. કાલેબાઈ, કીદી એસીસીસના પ્રખ્યાત મી. અમલ વોરા, છન્દિઅન એસના પ્રખ્યાત મી. મોકલવા, મારત રોકેસીયા પ્રખ્યાત

મી. મળીબાઈ, મોવાનીસ એસીસીસ એસના પ્રખ્યાત તેમજ મી. એસ. પ્રખ્યાત ઉપરાંત મી. મોકલવા મી. માધવ-દાન વિરોધ પણ હતા. જેમ રોકેસીયા પ્રલીનીયા પણ દાખર હતા. હોકે રોકેસીયાના અપસાવની કીદીને જે મહાન મોકલવા જે તે તેમજ પુત્ર્ય બાપુજી પોતાનું જગત રોકે મારે અપણે કરના કુકળો બેનાએ કરી હતો. પ્રખ્યાત મોકલવા ઉપરાંત કરેસી બાધોએ કે કમ, મહામદ મેનઅર પણ મહાતમા મોકલવા બાધોએ પ્રજા સંસારના કીદીએ તરફ જાહેર. પ્રખ્યાત મળીયા કીદીએ રોકેસીયાના તરફ કીદી અને ગાંધીજી ના કુકળોને પર મોકલવા પસાર કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા.

બેનાની કીદીઓ

(અમારા બાપુજીની તરફથી)

પુ. બાપુજીના અપસાવના સમાચાર સંભળતાં આપણા ચલેસમાં હાલકાર મળી ગયો હતો. કીદીના કાળા પર વિજ્ઞાની પણ જેવું થઈ ગયું. તા. ૩૧ ના સુધારે મેરા કીદી સમામાં મોકલ મોકલ મોકલ પ્રારંભ કરવા બેનાએ અંજલી. રોકેસીયા તાર પાદીન જાહેરના મોકલ પર મોકલવામાં આવ્યો.

તા. ૩૦ ના સુધારે મેરા કીદી સમા માં ગાંધીજી પ્રિય મીતાજીના સ્થાને અને બેનાના મદામના.

તેમ રોકેસી મુશ્કેલીમાં મોકલવા મુશ્કેલી પાડે કુકળો મોકલો.

રાજીવારે અને સમાજને કુકળો, નીસાળા વિ. બધ રોકે હતી. અધિકાર કીદીઓના મહાનપર રોકેસીયા અંજલી કીદી રાખવામાં આવ્યા હતા.

માનમાં નામી કરનારમાં મી. રોકેસી મોકલવા, મી. પુરોતમદાસ કોકેસી, મોવાનીસ વિ. મી. રંગા આંતરીયા બાધોએ ગાંધીજીની ન નુ પામ સેવાઓની તરફ કરી હતી અને મેરા કીદી અપસાવ મોકલવા નામી કરી. ગાંધીજીની મહાનપર વાખો મુશ્કેલી રોકે પાનને પ્રારંભ કરી હતી.

ગાંધીજીની પાદીરીમાં દપાસની કીદી

મહાતમાજીની પાદીરી જાણવા કીદીઓના દપાસ ખાતાની કમો એ દપાસની રોકેસી કરવા નામી કરી છે. આપણા મોકલવા એકેસી માં માસથી અધી આપણી અને બાર આપણી દપાસની રોકેસી મળે.

—કીદી મોકલવા મુશ્કેલી મોકલવા સપળા મોકલે ૬૦ ગાંધીની સામાન્ય નીતી અપુરારે સરકારી અને અધી સરકારી વસ્ત્રીમાં રોકે નામી પીરસ પાન-સુખા કરી છે.

આ આ કાઠીવાવાડાનો એક એકમ રાષ્ટ્ર સમાધિ કે તબુ 'શ્રી રાષ્ટ્ર' થવાનું એ તેના આનંદાસીક કરારનામની કેટલીક વીમળા મુજબની વાચકોને જાણવવા જેવી છે, રાષ્ટ્રનીયો (સાચકો) ની એક સમાધિ (શ્રી) રહેશે, જેમાં નાર સ્વભાવ રહેશે, તેના સુદામિયા પ્રમુખ, "રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખ" મળાશે, આ સમાધિના સભ્યો, પ્રમુખ ને ઉપ-પ્રમુખને પાંચ વરસ સુધી તે દેશ પર રહેવાનો હક રહેશે. તે સન ૧૯૪૮ થી આવી ૧૯૪૮ થી પોતાના દેશમાંની કરારને સંભાળી રહેશે. રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને મુખ્યતા મળવનરના જેટલોજ પગાર, અર્થાત્ તે બીજા સભ્યોને મેળવવામાં ૬૫ રહેશે. રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખની પોતાના દેશમાંની કરારને અદા કરી શકે એમ ન હોય ત્યારે ઉપપ્રમુખ તે દરમિયાન પગાર લે તેમન રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને મળતો પગાર લે, બેવાનો દક રહેશે. રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને તેમની અમુક દરમિયાન સિવાયની કરારને અંગતવાર્તા મંદક અને તમામ આપવા પ્રકારની એક સમિતિ (કાઉન્સિલ રહેશે). રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખની પ્રત્યક્ષ મુજબ પ્રધાનો મુદતો અને દેશમાંની પર રહેશે. પ્રધાનો ની પદેથી સમીતી (કાઉન્સિલ) વચ્ચે કરાર થાકે રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખ કાઠીવાવાડાના મતવાર મંદક (હોદ્દા) મોકલવા મદિ મનિનિધિઓ સુદવા આ રચાયેલા) સભ્યોની એક સના ૧૦ થી કેન્દ્રમાંથી ૧૯૪૮ સુધીમાં મોકલવાશે, કરારનામ કરનારો દેક રાષ્ટ્રની યાત્રિક (રાષ્ટ્રની) વહેવાર રીતે સભ્ય હોય એટલા વચ્ચે, પશુ ૧૫ થી એકાદસ ૧૯૪૮ થી મોડા નહીં એ રીતે પોતાના રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખ ને રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને મેળવી રહેશે. તે પછી એ રાષ્ટ્ર (રાષ્ટ્રની) ને તમામ હકો, સના અને હકમત કાઠીવાવાડાના રાષ્ટ્રને આપ મશે. કરાર કરના રાષ્ટ્રની સરકાર પાસે રહેશે. રાષ્ટ્રનીની તમામ રેકો અને અંગતવાર્તાઓ કાઠીવાવાડાના રાષ્ટ્ર પાસે આપી જશે, અને તે રાષ્ટ્ર ને અદા કરશે. કરાર કરતા રાષ્ટ્રની તમામ ગરકામતો ને અંગતવાર્તા દરમિયાન કાઠીવાવાડાના રાષ્ટ્રની નમરવા મળે અને અંગતવાર્તાઓ મળાશે, કરાર માં ઉતરનાર આપ હોય રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખ ને સરકારી હથ પરાવત્ત હશે તે એવા રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખ વહીવટી તંત્ર ને તારીખથી રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને તપાસ કરવામાં આવશે તે તારીખથી આમાં સરકારી આ ના પાવાડ રાષ્ટ્રની પાસે. આ અંગે હોદ્દ સરકારે દરમિયાનવચ્ચે એ કે દેશ રાષ્ટ્રની કે મુજબની મળતી રહેશે તે મુજબ રાષ્ટ્રની મરકરી રહેશે વધારે રેવાયો કે તેના અંગતવાર્તા, અમલ એમુ સંચાલન કરવામાં સન ૧૯૪૮ ઉપર રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને દસ્તક રહેશે. પશુ ઉપર આપનો દેશી હોય પશુ આપને અંગે રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને રાષ્ટ્રમાંની સમીતી કે પ્રધાનોની કાઉન્સિલ સાથે મસલત રેશે આ પ્રકાર અદકારે એ એવા અંગે કરશે નહીં.

નવું 'સૌરાષ્ટ્ર'

(અમારા ખાસ અગત્યની તરફથી)

વંદાદેશ, બાન્ધુઆરી ના. ૩૧, ૧૯૪૮

કરારના મુ

આપિ અંગતવાર્તા

અની સકરો તેકલી વચ્ચે કાઠીવાવાડા અંગતવાર્તા સના નિમોજ કરવામાં આવશે. રાષ્ટ્રની માટે પારાસભ્યો અંગતવાર્તા હોય એવી, તેમજ આન કરારના તેમજ હોદ્દાના અંગતવાર્તા માંગનામાં રહેશે આ રેલી, સરકાર ની રચના કરશે અંગતવાર્તા પદવાની કરાર આ અંગતવાર્તા સનાને રિતે રહેશે એ રીતે રચવામાં આવેલું અંગતવાર્તા રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખની સંચાલિતી અમલમાં આમે નહીં આ સુધી રાષ્ટ્રની પારાસભ્ય સના રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખના દાખમાં રહેશે. તેઓ રાષ્ટ્રની અમલ સના હોય પશુ આમ ની શાંતી તમા કરાર વહીવટ મદિ વદકુકો પડી કે કાઠી સકરો. અથવા એવાજ હોય વદકુકો (કાઉન્સિલ) એમલે કાઉન્સિલ હશે. તે કાપવામાં નેકરો અથવા તે રાષ્ટ્રની પારાસભ્યો પસાર કરેલા જેટલું પગ કરાવશે હશે.

રાષ્ટ્રનાં આત્મી પરચ તથા મીલકત

કરારમાં ઉતરનાર પ્રત્યેક રાષ્ટ્રના રાષ્ટ્ર પોતાના આત્મી પરચ અને ને વચ્ચે કાઠીવાવાડા રાષ્ટ્રની મદિસુધમાંથી અમુક રેલી રકમ મેળવવાને હકકાર રહેશે. એ આત્મી પરચની રકમ કરારમાંથી મુકામ હશે, એટલી રકમ રાષ્ટ્રના અંગત વચ્ચે પોતાના નિપાસ રચનાને નિપાસ. સના તેમજ બીજા કાપાઓ સંધિ મળાં પરચ સુધી પોતાના તેમજ પોતાના કુટુંબના સમય પરચ માટે પુરતી મળવી જોઈશે, અને તેમાં હોય પશુ કરારે વચ્ચે કે પદાતિ યા સકરો નહીં. એ રકમ રાષ્ટ્ર મેળો ને વચ્ચે પશુ મળશે અને કાઠીવાવાડાની સરકાર નીમ્યા તીમરી પાતા સમય પસિ રણ કરીને આ રચના હકમાં ઉપાદી સકરો. ને દવારવા એટલાના રાષ્ટ્રના રાષ્ટ્રનાં પોતાના આત્મી મોકલનાં ઉપવામ કરવાનાં (રાષ્ટ્રની મીલકત) અધિકાર રહેશે. રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખને પોતાના રાષ્ટ્રના વહીવટ ને વચ્ચે મુજબ કરશે તે રિતે રાષ્ટ્ર પાસે પોતાની આત્મી મીલકત ને હોય તેના ઉપવામ કરવાને તેને આ રીતે અધિકાર રહેશે. આ તારીખથી એક કાઠીવાવાડા અંગત રેલી તેવી પશે ની રચના મીલકત, અમીનગરી, રોકક રચના વચ્ચે આત્મી મીલકતની નોંધ આપવાની રહેશે. એ મીલકત આત્મી મળાય અને કરી મીલકત રાષ્ટ્રની હોવાય એ મુદત પર અંગત મદકાર કોયે આપ હશે હોદી સંધિના સરકાર નિમુકત કરે તેના અંગત આત્મી અંગત

અની અધિકારી તમામ એ તેકરાર રણ કરવામાં આવશે. આ આત્મિકારીને નિર્ણય અને પદેને અધિકારી રહેશે, આ કરારમાં સામેલ યનાર રાષ્ટ્ર, રાષ્ટ્રી, રાષ્ટ્રમાંના, રાષ્ટ્રી, યુવરાષ્ટ્રી વચ્ચે મેળવના અંગત અધિકારો, અંગત વચ્ચે ૧૫ થી એકાદસ પદેનાં પોતાની તરફ કે હક પાસાર આત્મિક હતાં તે રીતે હશે વચ્ચે મેળવી સકરો. આ કરારમાં એટલાના રાષ્ટ્રના કાપ અને રસમ મુજબ મળીના ઉતરનાં કરારને સના અંગત અધિકારો અને વિલિપ્ત મદા હશે તે તળવી વચ્ચેના મીલકત આપવામાં આવે છે

બીજા મીલકત

કાઠીવાવાડાની સરકાર દ્વારા સંધિના તમા અંગતી તરફાર સાથે મસલત ચાપાને વચ્ચે તેના નીમ મુજબનાં પગમાં વચ્ચે, સામાન્ય કીનાની હોય તેવી આત્મી પદેને તપાસ કરશે, અને સુરક્ષા તેમજ સરકાર પુરત નીતી અમલવાર કરશે મારે, તેમજ આ આત્મી તમામ વચ્ચે અંગત સના બસમળ કરવા મદિ કાઠીવાવાડાના પ્રધાનો અને મુખ્ય પ્રાંતના પ્રધાનોની અને એક સંમુકત સનાદકાર સમિતિ નિમુકત કરશે. રાષ્ટ્રની એટલી અધીસ સમિતિનાની સના મુખ્ય દાઢીને સંધિનાં.

તોકરને આત્મી

કાઠીવાવાડા રાષ્ટ્ર આત્મી આપે છે કે આ એક સાથે એકાદસ રાષ્ટ્રના મીલકતની તોકરી તેમની આત્મી નાં રાષ્ટ્રી, એટલાનાં યમા વચ્ચે મળશે રહેશે, અથવા અંગત કરો વચ્ચે એ રાષ્ટ્રની તોકરીમાંથી નિમત આપ હશે એ પરચ અંગતની સકરવા હોય તેવા આત્મી વચ્ચે આ તોકરીમાં મળશે.

કાઠીવાવાડા રાષ્ટ્ર આત્મી આપે છે કે આત્મિકા સંધિ નિમતિવેતની આત્મ રાષ્ટ્રવામાં આવશે. અધિક એકાદસના ગાદીક કમીસ નરની એટલાના આ કરાર આ અંગતવાર્તા સાથે મદશે. તેમની મેળા કાઠીવાવાડા રાષ્ટ્રને અપરત થશે.

આપિ અંગતવાર્તા

મુજબની આપ મોકલ મોકલો એક અંગત પ્રાંત રચવામાં આવે તે પ્રકારે, આત્મિકાના રાષ્ટ્રનીઓની મેડા નમર પ્રધાનોની સમિતીમાં આત્મ રાષ્ટ્ર તેવી ગરનામું એ પ્રાંત સાથે કાઠીવાવાડા ને મળતવા અંગતી મળવા કરવામાં કાઠીવાવાડાની સરકારને આ કરારનામાં કરાર હોય કરાર વચ્ચે એક મળવા નહીં.

કેલકાઠી 'મુલાસા'
આપનાર રાષ્ટ્રના વચ્ચે પ્રધાન સી. અંગતવાર્તા પ્રધાનો આ કરારનામાં બીજા કેલકાઠી મુલાસા આપનાં ના. ૧૫ મીએ નવી દિલ્લીમાં ઉભું :

સૌરાષ્ટ્રનું નવું રાષ્ટ્રના દિલ્લી સંધિ આથે બીજાં મેડામાં રાષ્ટ્રનાં જેવા અંગત કરારનું હશે. આમ હતાં રાષ્ટ્રનીઓ એ સિલક સાથે સંમત થવા છે કે મુજબનાં પ્રાંત આપ કે મુજબ કાઠીવાવાડા એના આપ મળી ને. સૌરાષ્ટ્રના કામચલાઉ પાટનગર તરીકે રાષ્ટ્રકોટને પસંદ કરવામાં આવ્યું છે, પશુ સૌરાષ્ટ્રની મોકલવા કાપની પાટનગર નકરો કરશે. કેલકાઠીની ૨૦ થી સુધીમાં સૌરાષ્ટ્રની કામચલાઉ સરકાર હોયકારક કોલેજ મુદતનાં ની આપવાની મેળ રચા. આપની મનવાર મંદકો અને સોમનાની મુદતથી અંગત. આ સૌરાષ્ટ્રના અંગતવાર્તા મળનારી અંગત તેમજ પારાસભ્ય તરીકે પશુ કામ કરશે. અંગત સૌરાષ્ટ્ર રાષ્ટ્ર દસ્તીમાં આવે ત્યારે કાઠીવાવાડાનાં અધિકાર રાષ્ટ્રની કરતી અંગત મદકાર. અને આત્મ રાષ્ટ્રની આત્મીની સામાન્ય સૌરાષ્ટ્ર રીતે નામુદ થય ને. વડાસરાની પ્રેશ રાષ્ટ્રપ્રમુખ, અને અમલવારના નામુદમાંથી પાદ કરીએ, તે અમલ કાઠીવાવાડાની સૌરાષ્ટ્રમાં સમાવેશ થા કરશે. મુજબ અને બીજાં સંધિનાં વચ્ચે મેળવનાં આત્મી છે તે આત્મી વચ્ચે સુધી કાઠી સંધિનાં એકાદ કે નહિ તેના નિર્ણય ન કરે તો સુધી તેમજ અમલ રહેશે. આ અંગતવાર્તા મેળવા બીજાં મુજબ મળતો આપને અપાડિયે.

શાને મુજબ ઉપવાસ ઉપર

મકારાપદના તપાસી વચ્ચે અને સોમનાસિલક તેના મી. મી. મેલ. સના એટલા સાંન મુજબને વામે ભાષીત છે, તેમજ ના. ૧૫ મી આત્મિકા આ ઉપવાસ ઉપવાસ ઉપર કેતમાં છે.

તેમજ મળવે છે કે એક મકારાપદિય નરકલી આપ મુજબ પશુ છે તેમજ આપ તેના કે ઉપવાસ ઉપર ઉપાં જુ. મળે ૨૫૦૦૦ ની મળી ને અંગતવાર્તા મળે કે આ નિમતરી સકામ તેમજ નથી કે કોમ મદકારાપદને મળી ને આત્મ એક મકારાપદિય એ આપ રાષ્ટ્ર મળે ન.

આ. આત્મિકા ઉપવાસ રરમી કેલકાઠી ને ને દિવસે ના. અંગત આત્મી વચ્ચે સંધિનાં છે તે નામે મુદશે.

મી. આત્મિકા વચ્ચે અંગતવાર્તા મળે ને એક મકારાપદિય આપ મળવા મળવા આત્મિકા ઉપર ઉપવાસ રરકુ.

પુર્વ અને પશ્ચિમ

પુર્વ, દાથી કિપર વારાંજીના મહા-સોલની ભાષક છે, અને યોદ્ધાની સુધ દીની દરીદતા છે; વાધના શીઠારણ સ્થાન છે અને રેલી માટેનું સ્થાન છે; વજાદનો રંગ છે અને જીવનની જાખમ છે. પુર્વ એ તે મદનતા, ભેદ અને રંગભર્યું છે. અને જીવનમાં, પેતર અને નાનકડી જીવાદોરીવાળું છે. પુર્વ કુદરતનું સમઠમનું સૌંદર્ય છે અને જીવનની દેખીતી રંગતા છે.

પશ્ચિમ શુદ્ધ છે. પુર્વ જીવનના અર્થ માટે બિજા રંગ છે. પશ્ચિમ સંકીર્ણ માધક સુત્ર છે. પુર્વ મીઠાશથી ભરે છે. પશ્ચિમ નવાને માટે તલાસ કરે છે, અને જીવનને રાજ્યમારે છે. પશ્ચિમ વાંચે છે પણ અને પીચારે છે. પુર્વ વાંચે છે નહય અને આદરી રિચનીતું પરિચાલન કરે છે.

પશ્ચિમમાં મનો તામ સમાન છે; પુર્વમાં માનવ છે.

પશ્ચિમ ધન, સત્યા, સંકિત અને સોદશી માટે સોજીવતા સેવે છે. પુર્વ

આ પધાને સ્પીકાર છે પરંતુ એ સંજ્ઞાતા, કાદાક, નસતા અને જામ-રતિને સરારે છે.

પશ્ચિમથી પુર્વે જુદું જ છે પરંતુ એ રંગ દીકાઓના તદાવન છે. આરે રંગ એકાવા પુરોષ નથી અને એકાવા વાસળી સદીનું નકા પરંતુ એકાવા સદી નું છે. પુરોષ મહેદા સદીમાં તે માટે ભાગે આજન એકાવા જેલું કવ-આજના પુરોષ જેલું નથી.

એકાવા દળવેરા તપથી પશ્ચિમનું પુર્વ છે.

એકાવાની સમસ્તા વર્તમાન કાળમાં જીવન જીવવાની યશસ્વત કુદવાની છે.

દીદતાનની સમસ્તા પીસમાં સદીને કાવકળા મળા માટેની છે.

દીદતાનમાં પુર્વ અને પશ્ચિમ વચ્ચેનું જનનું નથી પરંતુ સત્તરમાં અને પીસમાં સદી વચ્ચે છે.

હુક રીસાર

(પી એટ એલેન્ડાંથી)

ભારતની દુર્બળતાનું કારણ

શ્રી. અર્જુનચંદ્રા કલિંચ

ધ જા ગણતરી કરતી વરણી તરફ માટે આન જવા લાગ્યું છે. તેમાંથી એ એક માળનો કુકમાં રહીશું, મને કાંઈ છે કે ભારતની કુર્બાળતાનું મુખ્ય કારણ પશ્ચિમતા નથી, સારિશ નથી, આશ્ચર્યજનક દાન વા પુર્વનો અજાન નથી, પણ વિજાર સંકિતનો કાલ છે. જાનની જનન જીવનમાં જાનનું જ પ્રાપ્ત્ય નથી રણ છે તે તેનું કારણ છે. હું આરે વાળી વીચારે કુદવાની અસાધને વા જાનિશ્વર, અજવા ગુહિનું વીરોધી માનસ મન રહ્યો છે. આપણા મન પુર્ણ આપણી અને કો ને રિશન રહી દોષ, પરંતુ આજે ના આ રિશન માટે અપ્પલિશન સુચક છે. મનપુત્ર શાસનો કુજ કાં, આજાનીઓના શીલમનો સમય કાં, પણ આજે કન જનતામાં જાનના પીલમનો પુગ આજે છે. જેઓ તમારે વીચારે મુખમાં જાને મન આપે છે, તેમની સંકિત વધ છે. પુરોષ તરફ જુલો લાંબ વરણી દેખાશે, નાનારને એક વીસાળ અને નિશ્ચિત સારરે અને પીસનું પ્રચલ વેશજાળી અને કાલ સુલીપવિત રીતે મનોભાવી સંકિત. પુરોષનું અપ્પુ જાન એ એમાં રણ છે. એ જ સંકિત ના મળથી તે જનતાને કસતેલ કરી રહ્યું છે. આપણા રાજીન તપસ્વીઓની રેણે, કે જેમના જાન મહાપથી રેણે પણ કાલ પામતા, વસ વસ, અને જેમના જાન આપણા ને જાન જાનની અજવા અનુભવતા. લોન કરે છે,

પુરોષ વીનાશને માટે પસી રણ છે. હું એમ માનતા નથી. આ જે પીલમને અને કલિંચો મન રજા છે એ જાનું નવસજનની પુર્વે અજવા છે. હવે હોઈ તરફ દિશો. દેશક કુદાજવા નકાપુરો તીવાય પીલ નથી માનતા આજન અજાન પ્રાપ્ત મનુષ્ય ન છે. આ માનુષ્યને જિવન નથી તનહતું, તેઓ રીત ન કરી સદા રજ નથી. એમના આજ માન પણ સંકિત નથી, જે કેવળ કાલના જનતાના કાલના કાલ માન સંગ વીચારે અને કાલીલીપી જનતા માન છે. અજારે પુરોષ ન. રાકો મંદીરે વરણી માન છે. ના કોઈ મંદીરે પણ વિચાર કરે છે. ન માનું જાનમાં માન છે. રજા કુદા મંદીરે માનુષ્યને ન સંતોષ પામતા નથી. વરણી કંઈ મુખ સુધી પદાની ન સમજવા માન છે. કુદામાં પામી એકલી ન કે રીતી સંકિત અને વિચારને એક કાલ રીતી ને આશ્ચર્યજનક જનતા આજાની તેની રજારસંકિત માન કરી મળી નથી. આ પ્રવેશમાં પુરોષને મનુષ્ય પ્રમાણ જેનું તાનના કાળ છે. પુરોષમાં જાન એ જન રહ્યા દાન તમ ને આપી વસવા કરે છે. આ પ્રવેશમાં ને કાલ સંગ સંકિત નથી. પરંતુ આ મંદીરને અનિશ્ચિત કુદવાના પ્રવેશને પણ આજે પુરોષમાં આજા મન રજા નથી. આપણામાં ને કાલ આપણતાન છે કે આપણા પુરોષના વરણી મળે છે. જેમની પાસે એ છે તેમની પાસે એક એવી

વિચાર છે, એવા સંકિત છે જે પીનાની એક કુર્બા માનથી પુરોષની સમસ્તા પ્રચલ સંકિતને પણ તપ્પવસાની પેર કાળી રજ રજ છે. પરંતુ સંકિત મેળવવાને સંકિતની (કુદામાંથી) અજર છે, અને આપણે સંકિતના કુદાસર નથી રજા. સંકલના કેપાસર વસા છે. પરંતુ સંકિત સંકલ રીતે મેળવી સમસ્તા નથી. આપણા પુર્વને એ સંકિતનો એક મહાસમર કાલને કાં, વિજાળ માન પ્રાપ્ત કાનું અને એમાંથી એક મહાન સંકિત કાળી કરી કાં. એમને રજા માટે ગાલનાં આજાની કાળાને પ્રચલે માન મહા કાળાં અને જિવનનો વેશ પણ મંદ જનતા કાળાં. પણ આજે આપણી સંકલિત અસાધતાન વા મન છે. રજુ આજારે વીચારે અનુસરણ આ ના સુદન આશ્ચર્યજનક પ્રાપ્ત કાળી મન મળે છે. નાનું આજ આજના રજેશ લાં સુધી કાલેનું પુરોષમાં રજા રજે મન આજાવિત છે.

ખખરપનો

ઈસ્ટ કાંનમાં લખ

કસ્ટ મંદના કુર્બા નાને તપ્પીતા પશિ મો મરજુકાલ મેળાવણના પુન શ્રી, જીજાવણ સંકલનાના પુર્વે ની, જિન રજામણી લમ રેવેશનું નિશ્ચયી શ્રી. પાળવાલ નાના માટે રેવેશ દાકી દોલનાં માન, વધી રજવના મહાસાળ શ્રી. પ્રાણકરે નેવેશના કરને વાવ કા. તમ વાદ શ્રી વીવા બાધ મરજુકાલ તરફની દી પાટી આપવામાં આવી કાં નાન સંકલ પ્રાપ્તિ સંકલનેની મંદીશી કાલરી વચ્ચે નાનકડીને કુર્બા કુર્બા વર્તણે કાલરી અનિશ્ચિત પાકવામાં આવા કાળ ના પ્રચલે શ્રી. મરજુકાલ નાપવાલ તરફની તપ્પી નાન ગાલ નાના તરફની કુર્બા કુર્બા રેવેશ કોને જાનની રજો આપવામાં આવી કાં.

કેપાસનમાં લખ

એક ખખરપનો કેપાસનથી અજાને કે કેવેશના મરજુકા વલી રા, કાળી દાન નરજાનીવાળાના બેદન અને મં. રજ. કાલિને મંદન જાનમરના વાલેજ શ્રીમતી મનગેરીના મુખ ભય પેટીએલીએવના કાલકાલ કુર્બાના પુન મી. રીજાલ એક ના, રે-ર-ર-ર ના રાંજે શ્રી. રજુકાલ તપી કરને રેવેશ વાળી કરવામાં આજા કા. નવ જન પેટીએલીએવેશ પેટીએ આવી કાં. જાન વાદ વર વજુને પુર્વ તરફની રજાલ શ્રી. કાળી રીતી મીન મંદન તરફ કરવામાં આજું કાં.

કાંસવાલ રેવેશ રજાલ મંદન શ્રી. કાંસવાલ રેવેશ કાંસવાલ ના મંદેર મુર્જુકાની સમા અનુભારી ના. રજ મીએ શ્રી, મરજુકાલ માધવા મહાનના મળા કાં. નીચેના કાંસવાલ રેવેશ કાંસવાલ નવા વરેના અમસદારે કુર્બા કાંસવાલ કાં, માનનીય પ્રમુખ: કાંસવાલ વરેશન, પ્રમુખ: મેવેશ કાંસવાલ; કાંસવાલ: જીવનના મંદીરે નાનકાલ કાં અને વરજુકાલ માધવા; ખખરપનો: માલકાલ પ્રકાલ; એકીકર: રતનક શ્રી પ્રકાલ. કાંસવાલ સંકલ: સોન કાલ કાળ, જીવનના વરેશન, નરજાવણ મંદન, કાંસવાલ રજ. કેવેશના આજા.

આવકાર

કસ્ટ નીચારી શ્રી. કાંસવાલ મુર્જુકાલ મેળાવણ પ્રા કરસનકાં ના મેટીકાલે મંદન આજમાને શ્રી રજેશ રજવેશ માટે જે વાલેશ તરફની કાંસવાલ, તાર, વરજાની અને રજામાં આવી રીસારે આપવામાં આજે છે તે સંકલ કાંસવાલે આ વચ કાંસવાલ માં છે.

કસ્ટ આજુ કાં મેવેશ

| | |
|----------|-----|
| કસ્ટ | ૮ ૫ |
| કાંસવાલ | ૫ ૫ |
| અનુ વાળી | ૫ ૫ |
| કસ્ટ | ૫ ૫ |

આ કાંસવાલ માળ.

અડવાડીક પંચાંગ

| ચારતી | દંડ | મુસામાન | પારસી | સુનીય | શીયા |
|-----------|-------|----------|------------|---------|---------|
| ૧૨ | ૧૨૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૩૨૫ | ૧૩૨૫ | ૧૩૨૫ |
| ફેબ્રુઆરી | માર્ચ | ૧. આગસ્ટ | ૧૦. ફેબ્રુ | કાંસવાલ | કાંસવાલ |
| મુન | ૧૨ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫-૩૪ |
| તપી | ૧૪ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫-૩૪ |
| તપી | ૧૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫-૩૪ |
| તપી | ૧૬ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫-૩૪ |
| મંદન | ૧૭ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫-૩૪ |
| મંદન | ૧૮ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫-૩૪ |
| ૧ | ૧૯ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫ | ૫-૩૪ |

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| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Front | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Keenest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Two Hips | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Kerukabohn | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Obor Alchen | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Sakrapala | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Hani Rajya | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

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એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—ફાઇનસ્ટ વેપારી—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

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—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

જેહાનીસબમનું નણીતું સાડી મઠ



સસ્તા આવે આકર્ષક અને કળામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. રૂ.

| | |
|--|---------|
| સીલકની ભરત ભરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| છાપેલી ભેરજોની સાડીઓ | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીલક મઝલીનની ભરતભરેલી સાડીઓ | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત સીલક મઝલીન સાડીઓ | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત ભેરજો સાડીઓ | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| ફીલ્મ રહાર. બે રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

જાણેલું વાવણ, સાડી માટે ૫૦" પનો. આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૬ વાર. ભરત ભરેલું રંગમ, સાડી અને બ્રાઉન માટે ૪૫" પનો રી. ૧૨-૬. મરઠ તથા છાતરાઓ માટે સીલક સર, પાવળયા, સોલસ, રખાણ વીગેરના કારમાં આસ થયેલો કચો છે.

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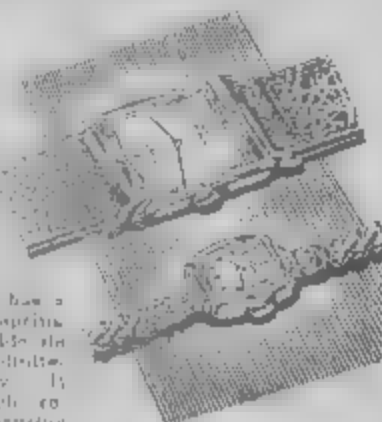
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IN 1905

No. 8—Vol. XLVI.

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Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
PAYABLE FOUR PENCE.

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1948

Sane Thinking, Not Anger, Is Required

WE note that the *Cape Argus* is angry over the second phase of the Passive Resistance campaign. It approves of the Government dealing with the movement with a strong hand and promises the support of the European population of the Union. Our contemporary is enraged that the law of the land should be flouted with impunity. If ever there was a time to curb one's anger and to do some calm and patient thinking over what is happening, we have no doubt it is now as it never was before. To give way to anger and to lose one's patience will not improve matters; it will worsen them.

The Passive Resistance campaign has never ceased. It has only entered into another phase since the Government have ceased to arrest the resisters for contravening the Trespass Law. The main point of the struggle still continues to be the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. The violation of the Immigrants Regulations Act has been chosen because the discriminatory restrictions on inter-Provincial migration have been a long-standing grievance and if the laws that detrimentally affect the Indians can be broken there is no need to break other laws. Passive Resistance allows the contravening of any laws ex-

cepting those whose contravention constitutes the violation of the universally accepted moral code or the interference with the activities and the peace of the public. Thus a passive resister may, for instance, trade or hawk without a licence. There is no need for the Government to pass special laws to deal with such law-breakers. Every law is provided with a penalty clause and the individual concerned either obeys the law or undergoes the penalty prescribed for committing a breach of the law. Passive Resisters should not cause irritation to anyone when they are prepared to suffer, without a murmur, the penalty, how ever severe it may be. Passive Resisters are never, nor should they be wanting, in reason. In the present instance, unreasonableness is, in our humble opinion, entirely on the part of the Government.

The Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses are properly constituted organisations representing the Indian community. They are carrying on the Passive Resistance campaign with the mandate of the people they represent. Instead of negotiating with the leaders of the campaign the Government have chosen to ignore them and have been carrying on negotiations with the so-called Organisation, which owes

its existence to the boosting up it has been given by the Government and the Government-inspired European Press. It is being nurtured like the Government's pet baby. The Government know full well that that body has the following only of a few capitalists in our community who are anxious of safeguarding their own vested interests and are anxious to regain their lost reputation in the community owing to their defeatist policy. They have received no mandate from the public for what they are doing. We are unhappy to have to make these remarks about the Government and also to have to criticise our own misguided brethren, whose place is within and not without the Congress; or else they must prove that they command the confidence of the public. By ignoring the Congress and encouraging the Organisation the Government are committing a flagrant breach of the principles of democracy.

Passive Resisters are seeking justice, not martyrdom. But if as the *Cape Argus* says 'they may be regarded as heroes and martyrs in New Delhi and at Lake Success, it will be nothing for them to be ashamed of. If they are true to themselves and to their God it matters not what others think of them. Their honest service is their reward. They need aspire for no more. But we

refuse to believe that passive resisters have not achieved anything. It is quite obvious that they have, by their self-imposed sufferings, achieved much more than they are credited with in South Africa. In fact it is that achievement that has made their opponents so restless. That restlessness however, should not lead to anger. It should rather inspire a saner approach to the question at issue.

There is talk in the air about a round table conference. From the very beginning even before the obnoxious Asiatic Act was passed, we have been asking for a round table conference between the Governments concerned, but the Union Government stubbornly refused to budge from the stand they had taken. If they are now inclined to agree to the holding of a round table conference, we dare say, neither the Government of India nor Congress will be found lacking in responding favourably. But we have our doubts as to the sincere desire on the part of the Union Government in this regard, for if there was, the proper quarters for negotiations are the Government of India, and a mission that should go to India should be of Government representatives and not of self-appointed men from the Indian community, who have no mandate whatsoever to speak in the name of the community.

GRASP THE NETTLE

THE *Cap Argus* writes as follows under the above caption in its issue of February 19.

In dealing with subversive movements, there is a time for indulgence and there is also a time for firmness. Each of our different racial communities is perfectly entitled to state its grievances and to use all constitutional measures to bring them to the attention of authorities none is entitled to break the law. If the Indians of Natal feel their exclusion from the Transvaal as a grievance they have the right to protest against it, but no right to commit breaches of the law. When they are instigated by the leaders of a certain section of their community (by no means the whole) to break the law, and when a certain movement in another country too plainly casts its shadow over the whole of their proceedings, then it is time for the Union Government to act, and act firmly. Up to the present the Government has waited with wise patience for the so-called passive resistance movement to reveal its military weakness, as it has not failed to do. The whole campaign of the Natal Indian Congress has resulted, not in achieving any more for their own people, but in the splintering of Indian leadership and the rise of dissident organisations, together with a steady decline of enthusiasm among the rank and file. In view of the increasing influence of the moderate section, which seeks its chief support from outside the Union rather than in

Natal, has set itself to prevent a settlement by raising a new question. Hence the illegal crossing of the Transvaal border. This new defiance of the law of the land has signally failed to re-awaken the flagging enthusiasm of their compatriots. As Mr. Lawrence said in the House, the whole movement palpably lacks spontaneity. In fact, far from being a unanimous protest against alleged injustice, it is nothing but a petty conspiracy against the State, organised by a minority and artificially stimulated by influences outside the Union. Now that this stage has been reached, it is evident that patience and leniency will no longer serve any useful purpose, and the time has come for vigorous action. It must be made clear to all concerned that the law cannot be flouted with impunity. If special legislation is required to deal with the matter, Parliament is now in session, and it should be a simple matter to pass such legislation as will ensure that those who choose to break the law must take the consequences. They may be regarded as heroes and martyrs in New Delhi or at Lake Success, but we doubt very much whether the mass of the Indian population of Natal will regard them as anything else than mischief-makers who have received their deserts. As for the European population of the Union, there is no doubt that it is ready to support the Government if it decides to grasp the nettle firmly.

(The above is dealt with in our leading article.—Ed.)

CAPETOWN PAYS TRIBUTE TO GANDHIJI

A MEETING to pay tribute to Gandhiji was held on Sunday, February 15, under the auspices of the Gandhi Memorial Committee. The Mayor of Capetown, Mr. H. G. Gearing, presided.

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence said he was glad to have an opportunity to give public expression to the sympathy for the people of India on the irreparable loss they had suffered by the death of Mahatma Gandhi.

It was not easy for the Western mind to understand the spiritual influence that had transformed Gandhiji who had held tremendous authority over millions. It had made him, without question, one of the greatest men not only of his day but of the centuries. He had shown all his life that he was prepared to sacrifice his all for his people.

Not everyone perhaps, had agreed with him or approved of his methods, but all had respected him. Many had loved him.

General Smuts and Gandhiji had been great friends and they had much in common.

Mahatma Gandhiji had devoted his whole life to the ideal of an independent India and he had lived to see that ideal translated into reality.

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr. H. E. Gearing, offered the condolences of the City Council and the citizens of Capetown to the people of India on their great loss.

It was surely an irony of fate that one, who all his life had preached the doctrine of non-violence, should be the victim of an assassin's bullet.

Memorial School

Gandhiji had been the great apostle of peace by persuasion, and the greatest tribute his followers could pay to his memory would be to see that the torch he had kept burning vigorously in the years to come.

Mr. C. C. Palapala, of the Gandhi Memorial Committee, an-

nounced that a school and a hall would be built in Capetown in memory of Mahatma Gandhiji.

Among the other speakers who paid tribute to Gandhiji were Mr.

J. W. Meldrum, representing the Government of India, Senator E. H. Brookes, Mrs. V. Stanhope, representing the Theosophical Society and others.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

QUESTION MR. LAWRENCE CAN BEST ANSWER

TO THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

SIR.—The Indians in this country have a legitimate and an indisputable right, according to the principles of democracy, to oppose any law which may appear to contain the distinct qualities of discrimination and repression of their much cherished liberty, in pursuance of their aspirations to live as decent and respectable citizens of the country of their birth.

The Asiatic Land Tenure Act, which was enacted against the Indians, in spite of their determined opposition gave birth to that noble movement, The Passive Resistance Movement with which is closely associated the name of that great apostle of soul force, the late Mahatma Gandhiji. This movement was considered and regarded by the vast majority of the Indian people as the only effective weapon with which to defy the act when all other means of an amicable settlement had proved a failure.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the campaign, we know that it definitely had a most sobering influence on the Government. Notwithstanding this fact, the authorities regarded the campaign as an agitation sponsored by extreme elements of the Communist Party, which would be temporary, little realising that this contentious question would be brought before the United Nations Organisation for a full dress debate.

The decision of the General Assembly, as we all know, was a clear condemnation of South Africa's racial policy.

Mr. H. G. Lawrence, now Minister of the Interior, who was appointed by General Smuts to lead the South African delegation for the second session of the U.N.O. Conference was assigned the unenviable task of defending South Africa's lost prestige and honour. The irrefutable charges made against her, for the iniquitous treatment of her Indian population, were strongly repudiated

by Mr. Lawrence, who contended that the problem was a domestic one and resented foreign interference in the internal affairs of South Africa, in spite of the concentrated verbal bombardment by Mrs. Paudyal to the contrary.

However South Africa gained a technical victory, when the Indian resolution failed to get a required two thirds majority in the General Assembly. This technical success was acclaimed by the entire European Press as a great achievement vindicating South Africa's lost prestige the previous year. On the contrary it did not in any way enhance the prestige of South Africa in the eyes of the great majority of the Nations at U.N.O.

Indians are considered as Union Nationals according to a statement made by Mr. H. G. Lawrence, notwithstanding the fact that they are denied the elementary rights of democracy. If Indians are Union Nationals, how does Mr. Lawrence reconcile his statement with the arrest of the Passive Resisters, for crossing the Natal border into the Transvaal. I think Mr. Lawrence could best answer this question.

—N. BALAKRISHN NAIDOO

LAWRENCE URGES BETTER RELATIONS WITH INDIA

SPEAKING at a meeting held under the auspices of the Gandhi Memorial Committee on Sunday, February 15, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, said that all persons of goodwill earnestly desired India and South Africa to make peace with each other. That could be brought about without dishonour on either side. He would devote all his efforts towards bringing about more friendly relations between the two countries.

"GANDHIJI LIVES"

The following touching story met on Gandhiji by Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who attended on him during his last and acted as his personal medical attendant for many years. — reproduced from 'Hartan' dated February 28—

WHEN Gandhiji coming to me" asked the wife of the Muslim Deputy Commissioner whom I met at about 1 p.m. on the 30th ultimo. She and several others had made tender enquiries about his health. His recent fits and the miracles worked by them at Calcutta and Delhi had touched the heart of Muslims in Pakistan as elsewhere. It was gratifying to see the erstwhile "Enemy No. 1 of India," looked upon as the friend of the Muslims both in India and Pakistan. In my mind I rehearsed how pleased Bapu must be when he would hear my report. And suddenly at about 4-15 he rushed the Commissioner's wife greatly agitated. "What is the world coming to?" she cried. "I hear Gandhiji has been shot dead." I turned cold and began to shiver. "No, no, it is only a rumour," said someone else. "We shall try up Delhi and find out the truth." But I was reluctant to wait. True or false, I wanted to get back to Lahore and from there to Delhi as early as possible. The Deputy Commissioner lent us his car and we motored down to Lahore during the night. There was beautiful moonlight and ineffable peace all around as the car sped along the lonely road at top speed. I kept on saying to myself, "No, the rumour must be false. Bapu is not dead. He is alive, he is alive." And from within the heart echoed back, "Bapu is alive," and I felt reassured.

We reached Lahore at 6 a.m. and before long the illusion that I had missed the whole night felt to pieces. A friend came to sympathise. Little did I realise the agony caused by his words meant to give comfort! A little later Pandit's familiar voice at the radio out of the polytechnic of intense grief left no room for hoping against hope. We had been orphaned.

I paced up and down impatiently for the aeroplane that was to take me to Delhi. It was supposed to come at 9 a.m. It came a little after 9-30 a.m. Sorrow was written large on the face of everyone—Muslim or Hindu—attending the aerodrome officials. They were most considerate.

They would have willingly sent for a private plane from Peshawar, they said, but that would not save any time. They, however, did everything to expedite the departure of the plane when it arrived and the pilot brought the plane

from Lahore to Delhi in about one hour and twenty minutes.

I rushed from the aerodrome to Birla House in a car leaving the luggage to Mr. Cross with whom Gandhiji had sent me to Bahawalpur. I was still in a semi-dazed condition. Mian Fikharuddin came with me. "Every one of us is responsible for Gandhiji's murder," he said in the car with tears in his eyes. Had not we all sometime or another condoned violence and harboured some urge of communalism in the secret recesses of our hearts? I began to examine myself. "Some talk irresponsibly, others act," I regretted within myself. "What the mad man, who had brought Hinduism to shame, had done was only the natural corollary to what almost all of us are some time or other guilty of." And I thought of our women. Even they had not escaped the virus. How was Gandhiji to pull us out of this all engulfing bog? He had fasted. And now had come the climax. He was crucified and by one of his own children!

We reached the Birla House. The car entered by the back door. There was a huge crowd even on that side. I rushed through it like mad, pushing and elbowing my way to the spot where stood the palaki ready to start. Someone helped me to climb up. There was the Sardar sitting near the feet of his dead master, sad and serene. He drew me up. There lay our dearest Bapu, face only uncovered, radiating peace in death as in life. I could not see the pallor of death but I fancied I saw on it the same old smile of welcome. Distracted, I involuntarily pressed my face on to his chest expecting the usual affectionate pat on the back and the cheek. Beside me stood Abha and Mannu. Someone called out, "Now you must get down." Pandit Nehru helped us all to get down. He stood near the head with his grief-stricken face. The procession started.

We reached the cremation ground, said a short prayer and then they started placing faggots of Sandal wood on the dead body. We all made our last pranam. My heart cried out, "Bapu, forgive, forgive all our failings, all our faults and failures." I drew away from the funeral platform and sat down. I could see no more. I kept repeating to myself the Gita verses, the translation of which is as follows:

If, thinking Thee but friend, unfortunate,

O Krishna! or O Yadava! O friend!

I cried, unknowing of Thy majesty,

And careless in the fondness of my love,
If fasting I reverence showed to Thee,

At play, reposing, sitting or at meals,

Alone, O sinless One, or with my friends,

Forgive my error, O Thou boundless One.

Father of worlds, of all that moves and stands,

Worthier of reverence than the Gurus' self,

There is none like to Thee, Who passeth Thee?

Pre-eminent Thy power in all the worlds.

Therefore I fall before Thee, with my body

I worship as is fitting; bless Thou me.

As father with son, as friend with friend.

With the beloved is lover, beat with me

The crowd pressed in on us. The Sardar pulled Abha and Mannu out of the crush somehow. We got into a military truck and saw the flames from a distance.

Sitting at night in front of his portrait, I fell into a trance.

"The light has gone out and there is darkness all around," Pandit Nehru had said in his radio announcement, but had immediately corrected himself by adding, "No, the light shines and will continue to shine thousands of years hence." Bapu is alive and will live for ever even like Christ and Buddha. They all taught the law of love, but Bapu demonstrated to the world that *ahimsa* is not for the pacifist only; it is the law of society.

In the Aga Khan's palace where one remarked that his followers, the constructive workers as a rule, did not possess that *je ne sais*, that personality which alone could enable them to carry his message in the living form to the masses. His reply was, "Yes, they do stand rather helpless today, but the fault is mine. Inevitably they look to me for guidance. I am afraid it cannot be otherwise during my lifetime. But I cherish the hope that they will blossom forth when I am no more and what they have been silently imbibing all along will then bear fruit." After a short silence he added, "Which of Christ's disciples had given proof of great ability during his life time? God gave them the strength to propagate Christ's teachings only after he was gone." All these thoughts kept whirling in my mind as I sat before his portrait which rests where he used to sit and work. May God give us the strength to live up to the teachings of the Great Master, at whose feet we had come together and sat due to some portion of our previous births. Tears rush to the eyes at the thought that never more shall

we hear the loving, soothing voice; never more shall we feel that magic touch of his pat which always made one feel strong and lightened one's burden whether physical or mental. But we must force back our tears. We must not allow our emotion as he completed by them. I am sorry that we all feel at our loss must be transmuted into action. We loved him with loving fervour during his lifetime. Let us all pray that we may be able to do now with firmness and determination. A friend sent me few unprinted lines of his composition yesterday. From it I call the following:

"You he called friends hold in heart with dread,

And you, the stranger who may read these lines,

His only tools are now your hands and feet.

Consider what you touch and where you tread!"

Within my heart I hear an echo say, "No, he is not dead! He lives and watches our fruitless efforts with the same old, sweet, sad smile."

POLICE RAID RESISTANCE OFFICES

ON Saturday morning the Durham Police carried out a search of the Natal Indian Congress premises in Saville Street, and Dr. G. M. Naicker's house. After the search Captain D. A. Deane, Chief of the Durham C.I.D., said: "During the course of certain investigations in connection with alleged contravention of Statutory Provisions, search warrants were executed by the Police during the morning. Some documents were seized in terms of the warrant."

Specially selected detectives, under the command of Captain H. P. Kinn, of Marshal Street, raided the offices of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Passive Resistance Council in Market Street, Johannesburg, the morning and took possession of a number of documents.

At the same time a similar raid was conducted on the premises of Dr. V. M. Dadoo, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress and chairman of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council.

The search of the Congress offices in Johannesburg was made by four detective and lasted about one hour.

The Transvaal Passive Resistance Council claims that among the documents taken away were a cycle-ridden copy of a statement made by Dr. Dadoo and one of the names of the first batch of prisoners who entered the Transvaal.

Dr. Dadoo was present with both searches were being conducted. Mr. Manilal Gandhi was served with a summons to appear in court last Friday by a detective who came out to Phoenix specially from Durban for the purpose.

MAMMOTH MEETING IN DELHI MOURNS MAHATMA GANDHI'S LOSS

ગાંધીજીના માનમાં દિલ્હીમાં મોટી જંગી શોકસભા



Pandit Nehru addressing the mammoth meeting at Rambla Grounds on February 2, when over a quarter of a million people gathered to pay their last homage to the Father of the Nation. Sardar Patel, Acharya Kripalani and Mr. J. B. K. D. D. also addressed the gathering. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. A life-size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi was on the dais.

પાંડિત નેહરુ એ રામ્બલા ગ્રાઉન્ડ્સ પર ફેબ્રુઆરી ૨ના રોજ એક મહત્વની મીટિંગને સંબોધી રહ્યા હતા. આ મીટિંગમાં એક કરોડથી વધુ લોકો હાજર રહ્યા હતા. આ મીટિંગમાં શરદ પટેલ, અચાર્યા કૃપલાની અને મૃ. જી. બી. કી. ડી. ડી. પણ સંબોધન કર્યું. મૌલાના અબુલ કાલામ અઝાદ આ મીટિંગને આગેવાની હતા. મહાત્મા ગાંધીનું એક જીવંત ચિત્ર દૈયા પર હતું.

WHATEVER may happen we are determined to see that the raiders are turned out," said Mr. Mirza M. Beg, Member of the Kashmir Emergency Administration. "Kashmir has set an example for both India and Pakistan by all communities living together as brothers despite great provocation. I appeal to the Muslims in India to be loyal to the Indian Union and identify themselves as true citizens of India."

Indian casualties in all operations in Kashmir and Jammu from October 27 are 842 including 339 killed. A conservative estimate of the raiders' casualties put them at more than ten times this number.

"There is no Hindu-Muslim question in Kashmir," said Sheikh Abdullah speaking at New York. "The National Conference of which I am the head

and which is the biggest political party in Kashmir, does not look upon the people as Hindus and Muslims but as citizens of the State." "The fight in Kashmir goes on every day," he added, "and were it not for the support we are receiving from the Government of India we would have had to either surrender to Pakistan or perish. When I say Pakistan I mean it, for Pakistan is behind all this murder and violence. We shall refuse to be enslaved by Pakistan. We shall not submit to violence and fraud."

Pandit Bhim Sen, District

Magistrate of Poonch, gave a few details of the killing, loot abduction and arson committed by the raiders. In Pallandri 30 Muslims were murdered in cold blood. Both Muslims and non-Muslims have been killed. In village Trappi 512 Hindu men, women and children were collected in a house by the raiders who set fire to it. In a Muslim village Muslims were killed and Muslim girls abducted by Pathans. "A very important feature of the misdeeds of these raiders is that they take special care to destroy and burn religious places, places of public

utility, hospitals, police stations and tehsil buildings."

India And Pakistan

Speaking at the Muslim University, Aligarh, Pandit Nehru spoke at some length on the relations between India and Pakistan. "We have been charged with desiring to strangle and crush Pakistan and to force it into a reunion with India," he said. "That charge, as many others, is based on fear and a complete misunderstanding of our attitude. I believe, indeed, that in the present context of the world India must develop a closer union with many other neighbouring countries. But all this does not mean any desire to strangle or to compel Pakistan. Compulsion there can never be, and an attempt to disrupt Pakistan would recoil to India's disadvantage. If we had wanted to break Pakistan, why

OUR INDIA LETTER

[From our Own Correspondent]

Haroda January 31.

ON THE KASHMIR FRONT

did we agree to the partition? It was easier to prevent it then instead of trying to do so now after all that has happened. There is no going back in history. As a matter of fact, it is to India's advantage that Pakistan should be a secure and prosperous State with which we can develop close and friendly relations. If today, by any chance, I was offered a reunion of India and Pakistan, I would decline it for obvious reasons. I do not want to carry the burden of Pakistan's great problem. I have enough of my own. Any closer association must come out of a normal process and in a friendly way which does not end Pakistan as a State, but make it an equal part of a larger union in which several countries might be associated."

Peace A Vital Need

At another meeting in Aligarh Pandit Nehru said that poverty and unemployment would become permanent features of our life if communal peace was broken any more. "Free India has the primary duty of defending itself and not looking towards other countries or even U.N.O. for protection and defence. But defence cannot be effective if peace is broken or is in constant danger of being broken. The Hindus being in a large majority in India, he added, would naturally influence all phases of life in the country, but they could not be given special rights nor others denied some because they happened to be a particular community. He revealed that the Indian Embassy at Moscow conducted its affairs with the Russian Foreign Office either in Hindustani or in Russian. Even U.N.E.S.C.O. had included Hindustani among its accepted languages.

"When you go to Delhi," said the Nawab of Rampur, Pro-Chancellor of the University, to Pandit Nehru, "carry this message to the Father of the Nation. Please tell him that Aligarh University, which 25 years ago could not rise up to his expectations, had made up its mind to shape itself after his heart's desire." The representatives of the students assured the Prime Minister that they were prepared to make all sacrifices for the sake of the Indian Union.

Lord Mountbatten

Lord Mountbatten, it is announced, will definitely relinquish his appointment as Governor-General of India in the third week of June.

Gandhiji's Utterances

On the 25th Gandhiji said that assurances were daily pouring in that all was well with Delhi and that there was nothing to worry so far as the communal situation was concerned. It gladdened his heart to be told by his Hindu and Muslim friends that a reunion of hearts was in the course of being established. The eyes of the whole world were on them. Telegrams were pouring in from all quarters of the globe—from China, Africa, Europe and America expressing deep appreciation and admiration of what they had done in Delhi. He hoped they would all so act as to come up to the expectations that had been aroused.

Speaking on the 26th Gandhiji severely deprecated strikes and lawlessness, and said: "Let us permit ourselves to hope that though geographically and politically India is divided into two, at heart we shall ever be friends and brothers helping and respecting one another and be one for the outside world."

Gandhiji visited the tomb of Khwaja Kutubuddin Bakhtiar at Mehrauli near Delhi where the Ura was being celebrated.

Maulana Ahmed Saeed said that Muslims were grateful to Gandhiji for creating an atmosphere in which they were able to celebrate the Ura.

Gandhiji said that both Muslims and Hindus must purify their hearts, and in that lay their salvation. He deplored the recent massacre of Hindus and Sikhs in a refugee camp in Pare Chinar in the N.W.F.P. by armed Pathans, and said that such incidents greatly pained him. During the Ura, as a mark of goodwill, tea was served to the Muslims on behalf of the Sanatan Dharma Sabha.

Junagadh Muslims

Gandhiji received a telegram from Muslim leaders of Junagadh, in the course of which they said: "On this occasion we take an opportunity to say that the position of the Muslims in Junagadh State is safe. The Administration has made sincere efforts to preserve law and order. The Muslims who are prepared to live here are guaranteed safety. We are sure now our vote in the plebiscite will clearly show that we wish to remain in the Dominion of India. We, Muslims of Junagadh, wish to make it plain that we will not tolerate interference of those who still hope to create dissunity among the various communities of the State."

Attack On Indian Territory

Pathan raiders from Pakistan recently attacked a number of villages about 25 miles north of Jaisalmer, a State in Rajputana. The raiders, armed with automatic weapons, came on camel-back and killed villagers and burnt and looted shops and houses. The Government of India is understood to have sent a strongly worded note to the Government of Pakistan protesting against the incident and demanding an indemnity.

Sardar Baldev Singh, India's Defence Minister, speaking at Lucknow, felt constrained to say: "The attack on Jaisalmer State from Pakistan territory is an attack on India, and we are not going to tolerate this aggression." India, he said, wanted to live in peace with Pakistan, but would not tolerate such attacks on her territory. "Pakistan must stop this aggression immediately, or serious consequences would follow. Such things only worsen our relations and will do good to none."

Tale Of Woe From Sind

Prof. N. R. Malkani, a Congress leader from Sind and a staunch follower of Gandhiji, said in a statement: "The disturbances on December 17 at Hyderabad in which about 35 persons were killed, followed by those on January 8 at Karachi in which about 175 persons were killed and about 12 temples looted and desecrated, have made Hindus feel that their lives are no longer safe in that province. But even more than the loss of the Hindus, the property of Hindus is in danger. No means are spared—direct or indirect, fair or foul—to deprive them of their possessions. The 12-hour city-wide loot in Karachi on January 8, in which nearly 75,000 men, women and children including employees of the Pakistan Secretariat participated, meant a loss of two to three crores worth of Hindu property. There was ransacking and thorough loot of more than 3,000 shops and houses which were lavishly furnished and maintained bungalows and flats in fashionable localities. It has meant not only the ruin of the looted owners but rapid transfer of the remaining shops at ridiculous prices. The social life of Hindus is at a standstill. Individuals remain, but there is no society or even family life. Colleges and schools are almost closed, and our children are either at home or at school in various parts of the Indian Union."

Liquor Going

In the rest of India several ameliorative measures are being vigorously pushed forward. One of them is the prohibition of liquor. One of the very first acts of Raja Sir Mahadeo Singh, the new Governor of Bombay, was to announce that no liquor would hereafter be served at functions at the Government House. A little later the Government of India sent out a circular asking their officers not to serve liquor at parties, receptions etc. All the Provincial Governments are working out prohibition schemes at a more or less rapid rate. For instance, the Prime Minister of Madras announced that the whole province of Madras, including the provincial capital, would become 'dry' from October 1, 1948.

No Alcoholic Drinks At Official Function

The Government of India have asked all employees of the Central Government to refrain from serving alcoholic drinks at official or semi-official parties given by them in view of the general policy of prohibition.

The secretary of the Eastern Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj, Mr. Bhulabhai Mahankar, informs us that a collection of £2017-2-9 was made to help the refugees in India which sum amounting to Rs. 26566-14-0 was sent to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Wisdom cries out in the streets and no man regards it.

—SHAKESPEARE.

Where there is no vision the people perish.

—PROVERB.

RESISTERS SENTENCED

FIFTEEN resistors who had re-entered the Transvaal border after having received one month's suspended sentence in Johannesburg and having been deported to Natal were sentenced on Wednesday in Volksrust to three months' imprisonment with hard labour and the suspended sentence of one month was put into operation.

The case of another group of five resistors who had entered the Transvaal border was remanded to February.

Another group of resistors is due to cross the border in a day or two.

[illegible]

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

પ્રથમ કોલોન ૬૨૦
સને ૧૯૦૧માં સ્થાપિત.

પૂરેનાં ૪૬ મું—અંક ૮

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૦ ફેબ્રુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮.

પૃષ્ઠ નંબર ૪ પૃના

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૦ ફેબ્રુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮

ગુસ્સો નહિ, હઠાપણથી વીચારની જરૂર

સત્યાગ્રહની લડતમાં નવાં સ્વરૂપથી ‘કેપ આરગસ’ ને ગુસ્સો થયો છે. સરકાર તરફથી સખ્ત પગલાં લેવાય તેને તેણે અત્યુભવિત આપેલી છે અને યુની-યનની અંગ્રેજ વરવીની તેને સહાનુ-ભૂતી મળવાનું વચન આપ્યું છે. હેથના કાયદાનો બેધરવાઈથી જાંબ ઘર્ષ રહ્યો છે એથી જામારા સહ-ચેત્રીને ગુસ્સો વ્યાપ્યો છે. ગુસ્સા પર કાણુ મુકવાના અને જે બની રહ્યું છે તેના ઉપર ચાંતી અને ધીરજથી વિચાર કરવાની એ કોઈ પણ વખતે અભાવસ્થામાં હોય તો અજાડ કદી નહિ હતી તેવી આજે છે એ વિષે અમને જરાયે શંકા નથી. ગુસ્સાને વશ થવાથી અને ધીરજ ગુમાવી બેસવાથી બાહ્ય સુધરશે નહિ પરંતુ ખગડશે. સત્યાગ્રહની લડત કદી બંધ થઈ જ નથી. પ્રવેશબંધીના કાયદાના હોમને માટે ઘરપકડ કરવાનું સર-કારે બંધ કર્યું હોવાથી લડતે નવું સ્વરૂપ ધારણ કર્યું છે. લડતનો મુખ્ય મુદ્દો તો એશીયાટીક લેન્ડ ટેન્ચર ને કંઈ આજુજ છે. ઇમ્પીરિ-શન કાયદાનો જાંબ કરવાનું ઠરાવ-વાનું કારણ એ છે કે આંતર-પ્રાંતીય વચ્ચાહત પરના જાતીયેક પાકનારા પ્રતીબંધોની જુની કિર-યાદ હતી અને દીંદી કોમ ને પ્રતીકુળ રીતે લાગુ પડનારા કાયદાઓનો જાંબ કરી શકતો હોય ત્યાં સુધી બીજા કાયદાઓ નો જાંબ કરવાની જરૂર રહેતી નથી. નીતીના સર્વમાન્ય નીમ-ચોનો જાંબ થતો હોય અથવા બહાર પ્રજાની પ્રજાનિઓ અને યાંત્રીમાં ખલલ પહોંચતી હોય તે સિવાયના કોઈ પણ કાયદાનો જાંબ

કરવાની સત્યાગ્રહીઓને છુટ હોય છે. એટલે કે, હાખલા તરીકે, સત્યાગ્રહી વગર પરવાને વેપાર અથવા ફેરી કરી શકે. કાયદાનો જાંબ કરનારા તેવા હોઠાને કેસણે લાવવાને સરકારને ખાસ કાયદા હકવાની જરૂર રહેતી નથી. પ્રત્યેક કાયદામાં સત્યાગ્રહી કલમ હોયજ છે અને લાજતી વળગતી વ્યક્તિએ યા તો કાયદાને તોળે યવાનું હોય છે અથવા તો તેના જાંબને માટે કરાવાયેલી સજા ભોગવવી પડે છે. સત્યા-ગ્રહીઓ પોતાને થયેલી જમે તેવી સખ્ત સજા પણ તમર આનાકાનીએ રાજીખુશીથી લઈ લેવા તઈયાર હોય ત્યાં કોઈએ ચીઠાવાનું કારણ રહેતું જ નથી. સત્યાગ્રહીઓ સમજ-વાની આનાકાની કદી કરે નહિ, કરવી જોઈએ નહિ. કસ્તુત હાખલા મા તો નહિ સમજવાની કંઈ લેવાનો હોય સરકારને શિરે છે.

નાટાક અને ટાંસવાક ઇન્ડિ-અન કેંગ્રેસ કીંદી કોમનું પ્રતી-નીધીત્વ ધરાવતી બંધારણસર સ્થપાયેલી સંસ્થાઓ છે. જેણું પ્રતીનીધીત્વ તે ધરાવે છે તે કોમ ની મંજુરીથી તે સત્યાગ્રહની લડત ચલાવી રહી છે. તેની સાથે મસલતો કરવાને બહોલે સર-કારે તેની અવગણના કરી કહે-વાતી “ઓરગનાઇઝેશન” ની સાથે મસલતો કરી છે. જા સંસ્થાની હસ્તિ સરકારે અને સરકારી પ્રેરસાહન મળતાં અંગ્રેજ અખ-બારોએ આપેલી જાહેરાતને આ-જારી છે. સરકારના માનીતાં બાબકની જેમ તેણું પોષણ થઈ

રહ્યું છે. સરકાર સારી રીતે જાણે છે કે આપણી કોમના યોગક મુદ્દાવાદીઓ, જેઓ પોતાના સ્થા-પિત લાભોનું રક્ષણ કરવા આજે છે અને તેઓની નામહીમની નીતી થી કોમમાં તેઓએ ગુમાવેલી પ્રતિષ્ઠા પાછી મેળવવા ઇનતેજાર છે, તેઓનોજ તેને ટેકો છે. તેઓ ને કરી રહ્યા છે તેને માટે તેઓ ને કોમ તરફથી મંજુરી મળી નથી, સરકારને (વિષે આ પ્રમાણે) ખતાં તેમજ અમારા પોતાના ગેરમાર્ગે દોરવાઈ રહેલા બાઈઓ ની ટીકા કરતાં અમને દુઃખ થાય છે, જા બાઈઓનું સ્થાન કેંગ્રેસ ની અંદર છે બહાર નહીં. નહીં તો તેઓએ કોમનો વિચાર સંપાદન કરેલો છે એવું સિદ્ધ કરી આપણું જોઈએ, કેંગ્રેસની અવગણના કરી ને અને ઓરગનાઇઝેશનને ઉત્તે-જન આપીને સરકાર ચોક્કસમતના સિદ્ધાંતોનો જાંબ કરી રહી છે.

સત્યાગ્રહીઓ ન્યાયને માટે બંજે છે નહીં કે શક્તિ થવા. પરંતુ ‘કેપ આરગસ’ કહે છે તેમ કદાપિ “સુ ટિફ્ટીમાં અથવા લેક-અકસેસમાં તેઓને જવાંબદ” અને શક્તિ ગળવામાં આવે” તો તેમાં તેઓને શરમાવાપણું જરાયે નથી હોય. પોતાની જાતને અને ઇશ્વરને તેઓ વફાદાર રહે. તો બીજાએ તેઓને વિષે શું વિચારે તેની તેઓને કશી ધીરજ ન હોય. તેઓની પ્રમાણિક સેવા અંજ તેઓને બહોલ છે. એથી વધારે તેઓએ આકાંક્ષા રાખવી નહિ જોઈએ, પરંતુ સત્યાગ્રહીઓએ કશું સિદ્ધ નથી કર્યું એ વાત અમે માનવા તઈયાર નથી. રવેન્ચા એ સહેલાં કુઝોથી દક્ષિણ આ-ફ્રિકામાં ગણના થઈ રહી છે તે કરતાં તેઓએ યલ્પજ વધારે સિદ્ધ કર્યું છે એ સ્વયંસિદ્ધ છે. બહોલે

એ સિદ્ધિને લીધેજ તેઓના વિરોધીઓ અસ્વસ્થ બનેલા છે. એ અસ્વસ્થતાને ગુસ્સામાં ફેરવવી નહીં જોઈએ. તેને બહોલે ઉપ-સ્થિત સવાલને વિષે વધારે હઠાપણ થી વિચાર કરવાની એથી પ્રેરણા થવી જોઈએ.

ગોળમેળ પરિપક્વની ક્ષમામાં વાત ઉઠી રહી છે. તેની માગણી અમે તો પ્રથમથીજ અપમાનપરેલો એશીયાટીક કાયદે પસાર થયો તે પહેલાંથી કરતા આપેલા છીએ. પરંતુ યુનીયન સરકારે પોતે લીધેલી સિદ્ધિમાંથી તનુભાર પણ નમતું નહીં મુકવા ની કંઈ પકડી હતી હવે એ એવી પરિપક્વ બરવાણ સ્વીકારવાની તેની લઈપાતે હોય તો કીંદ સરકાર અને કેંગ્રેસ તરફથી અનુકૂળ પ્રત્યુત્તર મળવામાં કશીજ અડચણ નહિ આવે. પરંતુ આ બાબતમાં યુની-યન તરફરની ખરી ઇચ્છા હોય એ લીધે અમને શંકા રહે છે. કેમકે એ હોય તો મસલત કરવાનું ખરે સ્થળ કીંદ સરકાર છે અને કીંદ મોકલવામાં આવનાર રીશન સર-કારના પ્રતિનીધીઓનું બનેલું હોવું જોઈએ નહિ કે કીંદી કોમ માંથી સ્વયં નીમાયેલા અને કોમ ને નાથે બોલવાની કોઈ પણ જાતની સત્તા નહિ ધરાવનારા ધર્મજોડું.

મી. લેરિન્સે આપેલી આશા
કેપહાજની નાંધી રમારક સમીતી ની સભામાં મુદ્દાની પ્રધાન મી. લેરિન્સે આપણું કરતા બજાબું હવે કે શુભેચ્છા ધરાવનારા સમગ્ર ભોક્ષી એવી કાંઈક સમજા છે કે કીંદ અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા એ બન્ને રેશીએ એક બીજા સાથે સુલેક કરી નાખવી જોઈએ, બન્ને પહે માનકાની થવા વીના એ વરદ બની શકે તેમ છે. બન્ને રેશી વચ્ચે વધારે ખીતનાબેરી સંબંધ સ્થાપવાને હ માશે બનતો સંધિ પ્રધાન કરીશ.

‘કેપ આર્ગસ’ નો મુદ્દો

ગાંધીજીનું રમારક

કેપ આર્ગસ’ ફેબ્રુઆરી તા. ૧૦ મીના નીચે પ્રમાણે લખે છે.

રાજ્ય નીરૂદ્ધની હીલચાલોને કામ માં લેવામાં હિંદુત્વા સત્તાની સહાય છે અને સખ્તાઈ વાપરવાનો પણ વખત આવે છે. આપણી જિંદગી અતીત કોલોનિયલ રીજીમને પોતાની પ્રવિધાઈ રજૂ કરવાનો અને સત્તાધીશોના જ્ઞાન પર ભાવનને સમજાવવા વાપરવાનો પથ ભલામી છે. કામદો તોડવાનો કામદો છે નથી. નાટકના હીલોએને ડાંસવાલમાંથી ખાતલ રાખવામાં આવ્યા છે એ નીતિએને કુખરે લાગતું હોય તો તેની સામે વીરોધ કરવાનો તેઓને હક છે, પરંતુ કામદો તોડવાનો હક નથી. પોતાની કામના અમુક વસ્તુના (જમરા કામના તો નહિ) નેતાઓ તેઓને હુકમો રજા હોય અને અન્ય હેલની અમુક હીલચાલની તેઓની સમજા પ્રકારે કોપર રૂપ રીતે અસર પડતી હોય તો યુનીયન સરકારે પથમાં ભેવાનો અને સખ્ત પથમાં ભેવાનો વખત આવી શકે છે.

અત્યાર સુધી સરકાર કહેવાતી સત્તા-મહત્તી હીલચાલની નળજાઇ વ્યવસ્થા થાય તેની રાહ ભેંધ મહાપથથી ખામોસ પડી રહી હતી. જે નળજાઇ તેણે નિઃશ્વક વ્યવસ્થા કરી છે. નાટક પ્રતિબંધ કમિશનની આખી કામતું પરિણામ તેઓના મોંઘાને માટે કંઈ પણ પ્રાપ્ત કરનાર નથી આવ્યું પરંતુ હીલ નેતાઓમાં નીચવાઈ ઉત્પન્ન કરનાર અને વીરોધી સરકારો ઉત્પન્ન કરનાર આવ્યું છે અને જનતાને ઉત્સાહ ખેંચે જીતે જોડા પડવા લાગ્યા છે.

સોવિયેટની વચ વધવા લાગી હોવાથી કમવર્ગ, જે નાટકને બદલે યુનીયનની બહારની કાલોટ્ટુલની પર વધારે બા-

ધાર રાખે છે. તેણે સમાધાની થતી અટકાવવાને તોણ સવાલ ઉભો કર્યો છે. આથી ડાંસવાલની સરકારને ગેર-કાયદે દાખલ થવાનું પગલું ભેગાં છે. હેલના કામદાનો અંગ કરવાનું આ નવું પગલું પોતાના દેશમાં યુએનની નળજા પડી ગયેલો ઉત્સાહ જાગ્રત કરવામાં નીચળ નીચકું છે.

પાંચ સમાધાની મી. સેલેન્સે કહ્યું હતું તેમ, આખી હીલચાલને જનતા નો રહેઠાણો રહે નથી. બધે કહેવાતા અન્યાયની સામે સર્વોચ્ચતી વીરોધ દેવાને બદલે એક લઘુમતીએ મોંઘું અને યુનીયનની બહારના તરફ તરફથી અસરથી રીતે વેગ આપવામાં આવી રહેલું સરકારની સામે એક મુદ્દા કાવતરું છે. હવે આ રિયાત આવેલી હોય એ દેખીતું છે કે ખામોસ અને તમતા વાપરવાથી કોઈ કામદો ભવાનો નથી અને સખ્ત પથમાં ભેવાનો વખત આવી શકે છે. કામતા વળતતા સમજાને રૂપ જાણવી હોવાનું ભેંધે છે કામદાનું ભેડવાથી ઉત્પન્ન કરી નહિ થાય. તેમ જન અટકાવવાને ને આજ કામદાની જરૂર પડી તો પાસોમેન્ટ બેઠેલી જ છે અને જેઓ કામદાને અંગ કરવા માંગતા હોય તેઓને તેનું પરિણામ સહેનું પડે તેની ખાતો કરનારો કામદો કરવો સહેલો થઈ પડશે. તેવા મોંઘા નસુ રિસી બહવા મેક સહેસેમાં અને સહીક કહેવાતા પરંતુ નાટકની સમજા હીલ જનતા તેઓને તોડવાની સામ વીલ કંઈ પણ મળે એ વીધે અમને સહે છે. યુનીયનની અંગે વલતીને વીધે, સરકાર ને સખ્ત પથમાં ભેવા માહતી હોય તો અમારી ખાતો છે કે તેનો સંપૂર્ણ રોક મળશે જ.

ઉપલી ખાતતી થઈ અમારા અમલોમાં કરવામાં આવી છે. -અ.

પોલીસે સત્તામ્રહ ઓરીસની લીધેલી ઝડતી

ચીનીવારે સવારે ઝનનની પોલીસે સેવીસ રીટમાં આવેલી નાટક પ્રતિબંધ કમિશનની એ ઈસવી અને ડો. જી. ભેગ, નાલકરના અને દવાખાના અને હરની ઝડતી લીધી હતી. ઝડતી બાદ ઝનન ની સા આજ. ડી. ના મુખી રેપટન ડી. એ. લેરટરે કહ્યું હતું કે કામદાના મળેલા કહેવાતા અંગે અને અંગે ફેલોક તપાસના પરિણામે અંગે લેરટર કામદા માં આવ્યું હતું અને તેને અંગે પોલીસે ઝડતી લીધી હતી અને લેરટરની રજૂ ફેલોક કહેવાલેને કળને કયા કલા એજ સવારે બેઠાનીસમમાં મારદામ મલેરના કેપટન કુનની સરકારી હેલ ખાસ કુટાએલા રીટકીવાએ ડાંસવાલ પ્રતિબંધ કમિશન અને પોલીસ રીટકીવા

કાલેસીમની ઝડતી લીધી હતી અને ફેલોક કહેવાલેને બધ મળા હતા. એજ વખતે ડાંસવાલ પ્રતિબંધ કમિશન ના પ્રમુખ ડો. યુ. ગ. કાટુના હરની પથ ઝડતી લેવાલ હતી. પ્રતિબંધ ઓરીસની ઝડતી એક એક કલા સુધી ચાર રીટકીવાએ લીધી હતી.

ડાંસવાલ પેલીવ રીટકીવાએ કાલેસીમના જાણવા મુજબ ડો. કાટુના બાલમુની કાલેસીમના કમિશી વચ અને ડાંસવાલમાં દાખલ કમિશી સલા મહીઓની પરેલો કહીતી તરફ જા કરવામાં આવ્યા હતાં. ઝડતી વખતે ડો. કાટુ કાલેસીમ હતા.

સુધારે કલેસી રીટકીવા મા, મહી-લાલ ગાંધીને કાં ધીનીકસ થયા હતા અને તેમના પર સખ્ત પથમાં ભેવા કરી

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના રમારક વીરે પરથી વાતો ચર્ચાની થઈ છે. ફક્ત આઝીઠાના હીલોએ. ભણે છે કે ગાંધીજીએ જ્યારે ફક્ત આઝીઠા નો ધીનારો છેડેલો બારે ધીનીકસ સંસ્થા કામને આપતા થયા હતા. ગાંધીજીની એજ અસાઓ હતી, એજ સવન હતું કે ધીનીકસ સંસ્થાની ૧૦૦ એક જ જમીનમાં ફક્ત આઝીઠાના તેમના યુન યુએલો માટે કાંઈક લેવામાં કામ થાય. તેમના બે ખાસ ઉપયોગી કામ તેમને લીધામાં હતાં તે લેરટર અને ધીનીકસ સંસ્થા. જેનો ઉત્પન્ન તેમના કરનારમાં કામગીરી ધીનીકસ સંસ્થાના ડરટની સરકારમાં થયેલો છે તે કોલેસીમ ભણ માટે અન્ય રજા ઉપવામાં આવ્યો છે. આ તેમનું સવન હતું.

ફક્ત આઝીઠાના વલીઓને આ બનેલી જરૂર છે અને તેમાં ધીનીકસ સંસ્થાની તો થઈ જ રહ્યો છે. ધીનીકસ ની વીસાળ યુની ઉપર બધાં ગાંધીજીએ આઝીઠાનું તપ આપ્યું હતું એ તપો યુનીમાં નિવાસ રૂઢ સાથેનું કન્યા વીલ અમલોનું મુદ્દે થાય. ગાંધીજીએ બી ભલીને આજ કામવાને પોતાની જાન કરવાનું કહેલો જનનું કયું છે. અને તેમની કહેલોની એ આજા હતી કે હીલની નારી આજા આવે, નીલમ, બહાદુર અને. આ જ્ઞાનમાં રાખી એ તેમનું રમારક થાય તો સખરત યુનીયનના મેલોને લાલકાયક થઈ પડે અને ગાંધીજીને આજા જરૂર રહે.

ધીનીકસ સંસ્થા તેમની છે અને તેના તેનો ઉપયોગ જરૂર રહે. તેનો

ઉપયોગ કરતા એટલું જરૂર જ્ઞાનમાં રાખવાનું છે કે લાંબો કાંઈ સંસ્થા માથ તેના કામ ગાંધીજીના રીકીવા પર મળેલા સંસ્થાના નીચેલો વધવાલ રહેલો. ગાંધીજીનું રમારક ગાંધીજીના જીવન આઈસી મુજબ કરવાનું જનતાનું પણ માથલ દોડું ભેંધે અને કહે જ.

ખીને એક સવાલ એ પણ વીચારવાનો છે કે આ વરતુ એવી તરી કે એક માથા મુદ્દેલો પોતે આખી રમ સામટી આખી હેવાની ધમકા કરે અસવા કાળો કરનારોએ એ રીતે નાખા એકા કરવાનો ભાલ રાખે. ગાંધીજીના આ કામમાં મુલ નહીં અને કુલની પાંખડી અપવાની પ્રતેકની ધમકા સવાલોપીક હોમ જ અને એ અપવાની તેઓને તક મળવી નેહલે. એટલે કંઈ ભેંધ કરવાં નવવા માથા ખીમલા પોતેથી રજા કરી આઈસીએ પણ કોલકામ કરતાં એ કામ આનંદ થી-પ્રકાશી-એટલું આપે તે રીકીવાનું અને એક પણ થર એક પણ ડાપક ખાલી ન રહે તેમ કંઈ ઉપવાવનું નેહલે. જેનીથી ભા પાકે-ક સુધી જે કંઈ પણ આપે તે રીકીવાનું. એજ રીતે ગાંધીજીનું ખરે રમારક થશે.

ધીનીકસ વિષે ગાંધીજીની ઈચ્છાઓ

ગાંધીજીની ધીનીકસ ઈચ્છામાં ૧૯૪૫ મા કેરલાક સુધારા થઈ હતા. અને તેમાંના કેરલાક ગાંધીજીના કરનારમાંજ અંગે આપવાનો પ્રકાર રાખ્યા હતા પરંતુ ફેલોક મહીએ એક મનાવવા તરફથી કહેવામાં આવ્યું કે જે કામગીર સખાથુ થઈ છે તે વીળા લેવાથી બેલક પતી સો તેમ નથી. આથી કામગીરને અમારે તેના તરફથી એમના એક આપવો પડે છે. તેમણે જાણવું છે કે:

આ ઈચ્છાની રીકીવા એ રહેલો કે (૧) ખતી રહે ત્યાં સુધી પ્રતિબંધ કમિશન અને એજ અને યુનિયનમાં અને જરૂર જવાબ અને નાખાની અને સાધનાની સમજા દોષ તો અન્ય હીલ અને અતિરિક્ત નાખામાં પણ અપવામાં આવે પરંતુ મેલટી તો નહિ. તેમાંથી જે કાંઈ નહા થાય ન રમ ખાં ખાં જાં મેલટીને આખી લેવામાં આવે.

એજ ખાતુ એજ કામ કરી રહેલો અને મલેર પ્રમુખના જાન અને કિત અંગે ઈચ્છાની પસંદગી મુજબ સાધિલ થઈ રહેશે.

ઈચ્છા ઈચ્છાએ કરેલા નીચેના મુજબ અને જાહેર પ્રમુખે આપેલા મનામથી જાહેર પ્રતિકાલ અને નિલાય રાખી રહેશે. એ સંસ્થાએને મારો સવરેલ પતિ કનુરુપાન નામ આપવામાં આવશે.

ઈચ્છાએ કરેલી ઉપવારની સંસ્થાએ રમારક મહી અને હીલોને નેલિક, સામાજિક, આર્થિક અને આરોગ્ય વિષયક તાલીમ મળી શકે તેવી સળી પ્રતિબંધો મળવી રહેશે.

રાષ્ટ્ર પિતાની ભવ્ય સ્મરણાન યાત્રા

કમલાજી આરેશા હાંદિયા પત્ની પરથી ભાઈના પત્રિકાના કાળકાળે આ કલ્પનપટ્ટી કેવળ કુટુંબીને અને આપ પાત્ર આપને છે

શુ કારે મધરાત પછી આ-
શુક્રે રોડ જલેર પ્રવ
મટે બાંધ કરવામાં આવ્યો
હતો. પાંચના અને નાહાંતોપર હોદા
બરફરી કુકડીઓ ગોળી ફેલામાં આવી
હતી. પરાં કુકડી મધિછની સ્મરણાન
વાતોને કાલેક મરી કાઢવા સર સેના
પત્નીના નીકાલરમાને જુદાં જુદાં ખાતા
જોના અમલદારો વચ્ચે સાંધી મરીપદ
ચાલી હતી મધરાત પછી મધિછના
રેકને જુનના બળથી નવાવવામાં
આવ્યો હતો અને કોપા પર પ્રયોગ
અવાવવામાં આવ્યાં હતાં. મર્યાદા
વધ રહ્યો હતો અને જોવામાં થીનો
કોપક જળનો હતો.

સવારે છ વાગે વીગઢ માનવ મેદ
ની મહાભાજના અંગીત રજૂ કરી
સરે તેથી ખીરલા કાલિજના દવાબ
કિલાવમાં આવ્યાં હતાં. મધરાતથી
કોડા કરીને માટે કિલા હતાં.

ઉમરેશો માનવ મેદરામજી
કિલ્લ વધે જતો હતો... અને ખીરલા
કાલિજ પાસે મેદની વધે જતી હતી.
લોકો રજો કરી શકે તેથી મધિછને
રેક બહાર ગોઠવવામાં આવ્યો હતો.
પોલીસની કોડના તોડીને રોડે અંગીત
રજૂ કરી મારે ખીરલા કાલિજનું તરફ મહત્તા
હતાં. જગત્રદાસને નેકર મધી અવરજ
કરતા હોવામાં હતાં.

મહાભાજને કુશળી રોવા ઉપર
જુલાવવામાં આવ્યાં હતાં, જોરડાની
મધી મારીઓ પ્રદક્ષી મુકવામાં આવી
હતી. મહાભાજના પત્ર અમળ રૂવો
ને દમ રચાયો હતો.

અંગીત રજૂના
મધિછના રેકને પાંચે અંગેર બધ
જાવામાં આવ્યો. ફરી રજાન કરાવી
ફરેક બાદમાં કાઢી ફેલામાં આવ્યો.
જાતીને જામ જુલો રાખવામાં આવ્યો
હતો. જુનની ગોળીથી કલેશા ગળ્યા
માથા જોડ શકાવી હતાં. તેમની
આંખે બંધ હતા. મુખપૂકા પ્રાંતના
કેશાં હોમ તેમ જોડ મળીર
ફેલાવી હતી. તેમના મથામાં કાંધે
કાંધે સુતરની માળા ફેરફારમાં
આવી હતી. દવા બધા રાખવામાં
આવ્યો હતો.

જમાન ઉપર જુલાવની પાંખડીઓ
પાંચી હતી મધિછની આસપાસ
કુકડીઓ અને અલમવાસીઓ નેકા
હતાં.

સવારના અગ્રેવાર વાગે મહા પ્રધાન
મેદે તે જોરડામાં ગમગીન અંગેર

મળવ થતા તેઓ ફેલાઈ સુચના
જો આવી રજા હતાં.

અંગીત વીદાય
જોરડામાંથી મધિછના રેકને તેમના
ગોની, મી, પારેલાકણ અને મુરે
બદાર કાઢી. અને મુખોથી આંધ્રા
કીવ બરફરી સળવાદીના તરફ સુવાડ-
વામાં આવ્યો. તેમના પત્ર આગળ
સરદાર શ્રી દેવદાસ મધી બરફાર
બળદેવ શ્રીક પં. મેદેર આવાપ
કુપલાઈ વી. જોડ હતાં.

મથામાં પોરો રાષ્ટ્ર ચિત્રના પ્રવ
જનો પજી મળી રાષ્ટ્રપત્ર અરવી
કાંડીએ ફેરફારતા કાલર હતા. બધ
ઉપર મળી કાલરામાં મધ્ય કદ
“મધિછ અવર રો.”

સીનીકે અને માનવ સમુદાયથી
ખીરલા કાલિજથી રાજવાડ સુધીનો
કામ પાંચ માલમી રસ્તો ચિત્ર
બરાવો હતો.

ખીરલા કાલિજમાંથી મળ વાદીનીને
૧૧-૪૫ મે કાલરામાં આવી અને
સંધ્યા રહી કિલા. “મહાભા મધી
કાલિજાદ”ના અવાજોએ આકાશને
ભરી મુકાં.

પાંચની પનાંકળી જુન મળો બાદ
જુન વકાન કરવા બરફરી મારીને રાના
નવું માળાજી મેદરાની નકપાર કરવામાં
આવી હતી કે જેથી અવા દરોન કરે.
તેને ચાર ફેરફાર મળ્યા હતાં અને
સીપાસ-અમલદારો અને જનતા બેળવી
હતી. વાદીનીએ મેદરા રંગની ફોનાર
મથાવવામાં આવી હતી. આશ્રમ
વાસીઓ “રામપૂન” અને મધિછના
મિત્ર ગજનો માળા માલજી અમ રજા
હતાં. પાછળ માનવ મેદરામજી બદર
વકાવતો બધ રજો કરતા.

માર્ગમાં જોડે રજૂ કરીને માટે અને
મુખપાંખથી અંગીત મસારો કરતાં હતાં.
રસ્તોની બંને માળુના જોડે માનવ
બાધથી સમી રજાં હતાં.

સ્મરણાના અંગેર અધી બારે
વધીથી રાષ્ટ્રના જાણ મી. રામદાસ
મળીને કાલ આવી ફેરફાર હતાં.

ફેરફાર જોડ પાસે આવતાં-દે ભાં
જોડવાર રાષ્ટ્રપિતા રેક હતા, તેના
જોડે ગભ્ર જોડથી આવી આમણને
મુખોથી ટાક કીધું હતું.

ફેરફાર મેદ પાસે આવતાં આકાશમાં
ફેરફાર વીમાનો મધિછની પ્રદક્ષિણ
કરી મુખોની કુકડી કરી રજાં હતાં.

૪ ર૦ વાગે વાગા રાજવાડ ફેરફારી.
ડો. અનસારીજી પર લા કાગે જ છે
કે ભાં મધિછને ૧૯૪૨ માં જુલાવ
આકાશી હતાં.

વાદીની જોડેના કુમુદાંને પાછળ
મુખ પોલીસના કોડનામાંથી ચિત્રના

રજાં ફેરફારી-મેદની મસારો કરી. વાગા
પાસે મેદની અમ. અનેક રોડો મુકો
વધ થતા હતાં. જોડે બોલ જનતા
ના મુખમાં હતો: “અમને અંગીત
રજો કરવા હો.”

મેદની ચિત્ર ઉપર મધિછના રેક
ને સુવાડના માનવ મેદરામજી મળી
મળો અને રજાં મલ આસુ મારી
રજો. મી, રામદાસ મધિએ અંગી

જુનના કાવતરા ઉપર વધુ પ્રકાશ

ઉલ્લા સમાચાર મુખ્ય આ કાવતરું
ગાંધીમર મહાસભાની કમેટીમાં પહોંચું
હતું. મહાભાજ ઉપર જોડે કાંતાર
મદનભાજ, પજી જુની સાંધે બળો મળે
હતો જોડ તેને પોલીસે ૫૫૫૫ પછી
જાણવું વધુમાં ફેરફાર કાપાંજો
જોડ જુલાને છે કે ફેરફાર કાપાંજો
ગાંધીમર નીવાસીઓને જોડ રાષ્ટ્ર
ફેરફાર સાંધવા જોડ મળું હતું અને
તેઓ જોડ મેલતા હતાં કે કોડીક
વાદમાં ફેરફાર અમુકમાં ભનાવ જનશે
અને તે ફેરફાર સાંધવા, જુનના
સમાચાર બાદ તેઓ જોડ મળી પહેલા
ની નીચતા પજી કરી હતી.

સરદાર ઉપર આરોપ

મુક મળો સરદાર ઉપર જનતાને
જોડે આરોપ છે કે તેઓ મધિછના
મનની રજા કરવા ચાવતા છલાં
કે મીથા. આના જવાબમાં સરદારે
જાણવું હતું કે ફેરફાર જોડમાં કુપો
પોલીસ રાખવામાં આવી હતા અને
મળો જવામાં પજી કા. મુખ પોલીસો
હતાં. મધિછની મનામ જના મધિછ
થી જાણ પામ જોડ મળે હતું. જુની
મળે ૫૫૫૫ ફેલાવ કરતાં કા. અંગેર
અને ૫૫૫૫ રજાં કરવા નિષ્કળ નિવરણ.

મળીર કાવત્રુ

મહાભાજની કલ્પા મારેનું મવન
મકડી પાંખમાં પોલીસ પાંખથી મડી
પડી છે. કદ છે કે ના. રમી જે
ફેરફાર જોડ અને આ હતા વચ્ચે જોડ
માલ છે. જોડે જોડે ફેરફાર તમા
આ અભાગરી ગોડોએ પોલીસ પાસે
જોડાર કમી છે કે મધિછની મન મે.
પાંચ માળોએ લેશ મળી મવન કમી
હતું. કદ છે કે જોડના મનાવ વખતે
પજી આ ગોડો ફેરફાર કાજર હતા
અને મળીર ફેરફાર રજો કરતા.
પજી પછી જે અને જોડ સામોતો
નારા મળ હતા. કાવતરામાં ફેરફાર
પાછા પુનામાં મળી સંતસ કરી હતી
અને જોડે મેદારી મહાભાજનું જુન
કરવામાં નિષ્કળ નીવરણ રોડ તે

કાલ કરતા જ રાષ્ટ્રના માળ મેલોડ
ફેરફાર પાંખ અને ફેરફાર કુકડીઓ
તમા અમળ માળોમાં રડી રજા
હતાં. સરદાર અવાજ મલ જોડ બાવા
ને પાંખમાં બધ કીધો.

જગત્રદાસજી કુકડે કુકડે રડી
પાંખ. મેદારી મહિન્દેન તેમને આંખો
સળ આપતા ઉલા હતા. આમ
ચિત્રાએ રાષ્ટ્રપિતાને રેકને પાંચ મકા
જુનેમા રેજાવી કીધો. અને આપણી
પાસથી સદાને માટે રાષ્ટ્રપિતાને અમ
કીધો.

પ્રચુર

ગાંધીજીના જુન બાદ જોડે અમળો
ફેરફાર કરી તે સરદાર અને મેદર વચ્ચે
જુન મલમેદ છે. આનો જુને
કાંતાર કમી હતો.

કોડ બરમા મધિછના

કોડ બરમા મધિછના જોડ લાખ
રજુથી કિલા કરવા અને તેની પજી
માળુએ જુન આસેખનું અને જોડ
માળુ મળીમાં આસેખની જોડી સુચ-
નાઓ મળ છે.

આજી અસર અમીએ જાણવું
હતું કે “કોડ મધિછ જેવી નિજી
માટે માલક નકોદ રજુ.”

કોડ મહાસભાના પ્રમુખ સ્વામ
મકાલ મુકાલએ મધિછના જુનથી
જના મળ; મળીરથીને લા રાજકીય
જુનમળી કોડ મહાસભાએ કહી જાણું
જોડ જાણવું છે. પોતે માલકમાં
માં રોડો મળે છે તે જોડો જોડ
જાણવું હતું.

માનવામાં આવે છે કે મધિછના
જુનના કાવતરામાં વેળાવોની કલેશીના
મહાભાજ મેદરામાં રોડ તેથી
અનેક મહાસભા વાલોજોના મદની
કમી સાંધે કલેશીની જુની પજી સેવા
હતી.

વીજગમમના મહારાજ કોડેજના
મીનરીપામ મી. સુખમવધા મહાભાજ
મળીના કમી લાવામાં સાંધવા પછી
તેમને માળા પીવાનું જમ કમી હતું.
ખીન કીવસ નાં પાંખ કરવાના
હતા પજી તેમનું કલેશ નાં પડી જતાં
મદમ પાંખા હતાં.

માલમુદરના મધિછના નીચના
અવર સાંધવામાં જોડ માળુસ મરી
મળો હતો. અને મે મળીર રીને બેલાન
મળા હતા.

જોડ મુકમલાન સીપાસ પજી અમર
સાંધવામાં મદમ પાંખો હતો.

હિંદનો પત્ર

(અમારા ખાસ અખબરની તરફથી)

ગુજરાત, તા. ૩૧, ૧૯૪૮.

કાશ્મીરને મોરચે

કાશ્મીરના એક પ્રધાન મીરજા જેએ કહ્યું: 'મને તેમ થાય તેમ કુશભાઈએને કાશ્મીરમાંથી હાંકી કાઢવાનો અમારો નિરધાર છે. કાશ્મીરે હોંદને પાકીસ્તાન જમીને દાખલો નેસાડ્યો છે. હાં પશુ પેંચપશુના છતાં ખર્ચા કરેને આપણારાખી રહે છે, હોંદના મુસ્લીમોને મારી નાંખતાં છે કે તેઓ હોંદની મુનીમનને વફાદાર રહે, અને હોંદના સાચા સરેરી અને.' અરેબર રજવી અન્નાર સુધીમાં કાશ્મીરની આખી લાકડમાં હોંદી લગરના દરે રૈનિસ પાવલ થયા, ને તેમાંના રોક ખરી મથા. કુશભાઈએ પાવલ થયેલા ની સંખ્યા લગલગ આવી હકમથી કરતાં વધારે હશે. તેમ અખબરમાં નુકસાંમાં અખબરે 'કાશ્મીરમાં હોંદ મુસ્લીમ સવાસ છે ન નહોં. સરોપ મનમનસ, જેનો દુ અમુખ હું અને ને કાશ્મીરનો મોઢામાં મોઢો રાખવી વધુ છે, તે ભોંકને હોંદને મુલમમન તરીકે નહોં પણ રાખના નાજીરે તરીકે લીધાર રી છે. કાશ્મીરમાં ઘણાં તે રાજ આપ્યાં રી છે. એજને હોંદ સરકાર તરફથી ને મરદ મળે છે તે ન વળી દોન તે અમારે રાં તે પાકીસ્તાનને સરેરે અડુ પાત અખબા અમારો નાંક ધલ મળ. દુ પાકીસ્તાન હું હું, મિનું કારણ છે કે આ મધી ખુનમગરોને દિંસા પાળળ પાકીસ્તાનનો કામ છે. અમે પાકીસ્તાન ના કુશામ રી જનમના નથી. અમે હીમા અને તરફતન રહે તાંમે થયાના નથી.' મુંચના કુશા નેકરેકે પ્રી. ઓમરોન કુશભાઈએની મારેકા, કુંદ, અપહરણ ને આમનું વર્ણન આપતાં કહ્યું કે પાકીસ્તાન આમનું ૩૦ મુલમ માનોને રાજ વાંકમના લીન મારી નાખવામાં આવ્યા. બધાં જામોમ મુસ્લીમ અને પીન-મુસ્લીમ રુકને મારી નાખવામાં આવ્યા છે. પકાળી મુસ્લીમ મેકરીઓને પણ ઉઠાવી મળ છે. સાપી નાખવા મામલામાં પાકીસ્તાન હોંદી આપણકોને એક પડમાં પુરી પડને માત્ર મમલામાં આપ્યા. 'આ કુશભાઈએ ના કુશભાઈએ એ પાકીસ્તાન એ છે કે તેઓ માર્નિસ રાખ્યા, અરેબ રૂપેકા નાં રહેકા, મરપીતામે, પોલીસ મોઢો મોઢાને મરેકીમાં મમનો ખાલ કરીને પાલ છે.'

હોંદ અને પાકીસ્તાન

અહીંમદની મુસ્લીમ મુનીમસીમાં આપણ કરતાં પંડીત નેકરેકે કહ્યું: 'અમારા પર એવો આરોપ કરવામાં આવે છે કે અમે પાકીસ્તાનને કુશભાઈએની નાખવા મામલે છોએ, તેમજ તેને હોંદ સાથે રી નેકરવાની રજવ પાડવા માગીએ છોએ. એ આરોપ, ખીન પશુ આરોપોની માફક, ભલ અને અમારા વલખુની પુરી રેરમજુની પર રચાયેલો છે. મર્જા કારણકરે દુ માનું હું કે હોંદ અને પાકીસ્તાન એક ખીન સાથે વધુ માદ સંબંધ પાંચવો નેકરે. નહોં તે તેઓ મરદી પડશે. વચ્ચે માર્જ નથી. દુ જરૂર માર્જ હું કે જમના કામના અંજોમાં હોંદ ખીન પશુ પકાળના રેશો સાથે વધુ માદ સંબંધ નિકસાવેલો નેકરે. પડુ આ ખખાનો અર્થ પાકીસ્તાનને કુશભાઈએ નાખવું કે રજવ પાકીસ્તાન એવો નથી થશે. પાકીસ્તાનને જાંગી નાખવાના પ્રમાણથી હોંદને રેરમાજ ન માવ એક છે. ને અમે પાકીસ્તાનને જાંગી નાખવા કુશભાઈએને તે આજે મામલા માં સંભવ રા માટે વધા દેવતાં પ્રતિ-કાષ્ટમાં હોંદ પાકીસ્તાન નથી. અડુ જેનાં નો પાકીસ્તાન સમાવળ અને આપણ રાખ અને એ હોંદના કામમાં છે. કારણકે તે અમે તેની નેકરે માદ મરદીમાં સંબંધી નાંધી સહીએ. એ આજે કાંક પણ કારણકરે હોંદ અને પાકીસ્તાનની રી રેરમાજ અને તેો દુ દેખાતાં કારણકરે જ તેનો ઇનકાર ર. પાકીસ્તાનના મોઢા પ્રમાં મોં આર ઉપાડવા દુ હખતે નથી. મારે શીમાનોજ આર મુરેત છે. આ રેશમાં મોમલાક રીને કહેવાય છે તેનો આપણને પુરેતો અમુખ છે, અને આપણે તેનું કારણ ને રી રાજ આપણું છે. દુ પોતે આ રાખી નાખવા કાંક પણ રચેયે, અને મોઢામાં આપણ તમામ રીકલ મેરમાઓમાં, કુર રહે મેરુ છત્તું હું. મને એક ન મામલો કે તમે અહોં વીરેયોએ છો. તમે ખીન મામલા નેકરમાજ હોંદના છો, અને તમને રેકે હક છે. પણ નેકરે હક મામલા રેકે તેમજ રેરમાજ પણ આપણે નેકરે. અલખત ને રેરમાજ રીતાર રેરમાજ આમે ના હોંદ આપણે જ આપે છે.'

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના ખુનનું હકયદાવક વર્ણન

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીનું ખુન કરવામાં આવ્યું છે. મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીની પીની-નેમની નજીક હતી. તેમને આરોપ વર્ણન કરવા દેવા છે તે અખબરે છે કે, બાપુ પ્રાર્થના પાટના પધવીમાં પર પડ મુકવા દેતા હાં તે મોઢાના રોમાં ગાંધી અમાનક એ ખુની પકી આવ્યા, બાપુનાં બહેન અરજપતે કરેલો ન હોંદ! એવો એવો દેખાવ રાખી, એવો મને મરદો મારી હાંસેલી મુજી અને પછી તરતજ ગાળીએ છોડી. પહેલી જ ગાળી બાપુના પેડમાં તાગી અને બાપુએ કુશભાઈએ કાલપા 'રામ, રે રામ!' આર પાછી પણ ખુનીએ ઉપરા ડાપરી ને ગાળીએ મારી. બાપુ પડી મથા, અમમાં કુશભાઈએ પડમાં, અંધરો, ખજ નીકળી મથા, રેકે પરત ખામથી રજમા અંધરો હોંદી રહેતું હતું. બાપુને તરતજ ઉચકી મોરમાંમાં કાંક મથા પડેલ પાચી તેઓ મેરુખ પડી મથા હતા અને પીસજ મીનીટમાં પ્રાણ છોડ્યા. આમથી રાતજ રાતજ બાપુને આનાકી ન થતી હોંદ તેમ મુલા જતા હતાં આર અખબરે હકય.

'આમનું બાપુ' રીને એ અખત આ તેમાં હશે ક્યાં સુધી આ રમત રમવા ની મારી?'

પછી બાપુએ મેરેલા મરેલીએ કહી કાંક વચવાની પ્રાર્થના મળી તેમનાં મારી થી, બાપુને મોઢાની રીતે અમારે મરવાના અમાનક પડેલ મને આપ્યા. ને સુવેના નિકામ રૂ અમારે જ રી નાખીય.

ખુનીએ ખુન કરતા પહેલાં બાપુની પાસે આવી પૂછ્યું:—'આજ આપ મોઢા સમો છો.' મહાત્માજીએ હસીને જવાબ તાપેલો. 'કા, કાંક! મને મોઢે પડુ છે' તરતજ ખુનીએ સંતોષેલી રીતેતરત કાંક ગાળીએ છોડી ને બાપુને જાંગીમાં, હકયની નીમે અને પેડમાં તાગી અને બાપુ દયા પડ્યા, પડતાં પડતાં બાપુએ કામ લેવા કરી જનમેદનીને ઉચકા નમન કર્યા.

પી. દેવરાજાજી ને ખુની કુશભાઈએ સાફે દેવા તેમજ અખબરે હતું કે પ્રાર્થના સમાપ્ત મોંચ કેકારો આર બાપુ ઉપર અખબર ન મરેલી માં મેળી કામ પુ. બાપુની રજા કરેલો દેખ છે તેમ આજ પણ કરતા દેખ એમ કામનું હતું પુ. બાપુએ ને મોંચ મથ બાપુ મોડી હસી અને કાંક સાથે મમનોની રાંક ગાંધી હતા કાંક રાજિવ તેમનો નાલ રી રહે નહિ, પણ જાંકની ગાળીએ તેમનો નાલ રાંકો

સરદાર સારેખ ગાંધીજીને મળીને જહાર નીકળ્યા ત્યાર પછી મોડીસરે બાપુજી પ્રાર્થના માટે મેદાનમાં આવ્યા અને મોડીસરેમાં જાંકુને અમાનક આવ્યા.

ને માગતી અમાર સુધી હોંદનો માર કેપાડતો હતો ને અખબરે ઉપાડી ને લાવતા હતા.

પુ. બાપુજીના હકયમાંથી રીતેતો મોડી વહોં વહોં કરું સરકાર સહેજ આવ્યા પણ તેમને કાંક કહેવાની માં ની હોંમત ચાલી નહિ.

સરદાર બાપુજીનાં સપાનાના ખાંકેક પર નેચાં મથા પુ બાપુજીને ઉચરો કામ તે ખજ મોનાનો જન આપે તે સરદાર આ ખજુ જોમ મળા હતા. તથા તેો મેકરેકે કહ્યું 'બાપુજી જાંત થક મથા છે' સરદારે કહ્યું કે મરદમમાંની જરૂર નથી. કિમત રાખતો અપણે અમન મીતાના પાંક કરીએ. હાં જવા કરે આમા બાપુજીનાં અપણેની જાંતે વાંક મોવા દેલ તેમ બારણા પામે રજા પણ અપણે આપણી રેક મેનન મિનાનો પડેલો હતો, અપણે રજમેકે થક ને પડી મથા. સરદારે અપણેને બાપુ બોડી મોંધી. હાં રેકરેકેકાંક અપણી પહેલામાં, રેકરેકેકાંક બાપુજીનાં સરેર ઉપર પડી મથા, તે રજમેકે મોડી વહોં રજુ હતું.

સેજાકા (મોડીસર)માં પ્રાર્થના સમાપ્ત

સરદાર તા. ૩૨ મીએ પુ. બાપુજીના રેકની પાંચ અમન રીતેતોમાં પડારાવામાં આવી હાં ને કિવેલો હોંદુ અપણેએ મોનાની કુશભાઈએ અપણી હતી અને સારે પ્રાર્થના સમાપ્ત થયા હતી.

પ્રાર્થના સમાપ્ત થીના-વાચન તથા અખબરેની પ્રાર્થના રાખવામાં આવ્યા હતા. પ્રાર્થના પુરી થયા પાંક થી પાનસમાય પરેલે પુ. બાપુજીને બાપુ થી અંજલી અપાતા અખખાનો આપ્યાં હતા. સારેવાક મથા બાર પ્રાર્થના સમાપ્ત થયા હતા.

કરેકે પ્રાર્થના રીંકે એવા સમાજની હોંદના નિવોરીસરે મરદ

મરદો પ્રાર્થના રીંકે મેક મમાજ ના મેકરેકે કુશભાઈએ નાનક અખબરે છે કે હોંદના નિવોરીસરે મરદ મારે થમેલા કાળાના રા. રેકરેકે-૩૪-૫ સરદાર પાનસમાય પરેલે પર રેકરેકેકાંક મોઢામાં અ.૦.૧. ને પા. રેકરેકે-૨-૫, મી કમેલા રાખા હા.

આમનું હકયમાંથી

ગાંધીજીના અખખબર પાના સુદર અખખરેનો રજમ છે. ૧-૫.

શ્રી આરુણસર

માન મોઢો પડેલોમાં રી કાંક મોઢો નાંકો નાંક મેલની મેલત પા. ૫-૫-૫-૫.

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૧૧૫ x ૧૧૫; ૧૧૫ x ૧૧૫; ૧૧૫ x ૧૧૫; ૧૧૫ x ૧૧૫; ૧૧૫ x ૧૧૫; ૧૧૫ x ૧૧૫;

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| Kurukshetra | 8 " | 2 | 16 | 0 |
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| Sakuntala | 7 " | 2 | 12 | 6 |
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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
1918

No. 9—Vol. XLVI

Friday, 27th February, 1948.

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Indian Opinion

Friday 27th February 1948

The Testing Time

DR. Y. M. DADOO and Dr. G. M. Naicker, leaders of the Satyagraha movement have been snatched away from us. They were charged under the Immigrants Regulations Act, 1913, for wrongfully and unlawfully aiding and abetting certain Asiatic persons in entering the Province of the Transvaal from Natal knowing that the said persons were prohibited under the Act from so entering. This step on the part of the leaders constitutes the second phase of the struggle which is being conducted by the Indian community under the aegis of the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946. It was a deliberate act on their part and the consequences had to be faced. They were both first offenders under the Act and yet the Magistrate deemed it fit to impose on them six months' imprisonment with hard labour, which is the highest penalty prescribed in the Act. This, however, need not shock Satyagrahis who are, and indeed should be, prepared for the worst.

Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker will have the blessings not only of their brothers and sisters in South Africa but of their four hundred million brothers and sisters of India, and above all they are blessed by Almighty God who is always with the innocent sufferers.

Now is our testing time. The Government believes that our movement is carried on only by a few instigators and that if they are put aside it will die out. It is now for us to prove the falsity of that belief. The burden that Drs. Dadoo and Naicker carried has fallen on each and everyone of us. Are we going to allow our leaders to rot in prison or are we going to join them and share with them the sufferings they are undergoing?

Let us not forget them. Let them be in our minds and in our daily prayers and let us not rest until the goal for which they and we are fighting is reached.

If we wish to live as decent and worthy citizens of South Africa and value our self-respect more than life itself, we shall have to be prepared to sacrifice our material pleasures. There are many among us, as there are in all communities who do not know, who do not care to know, what self-respect is. They are satisfied that they get their bread and butter even at the cost of their self-respect. How such people can call themselves human beings is understandable. Congress has taken upon itself the task of raising the community from that degradation. It is a noble task and the weapon of Satyagraha is as noble. No one on earth can take exception to it.

No one can chide it for making use of it. It may cause a physical pain but it will elevate us spiritually. It can cause no injury to others. Let us therefore rise as men to fight for our freedom from all oppression and aggression and in doing so we shall not be fighting for ourselves but for the salvation of all the oppressed people of the world.

NOTES

Breach Of Asiatic Act

Proclamation
ON February 17 in the Union House of Assembly the Minister of the Interior said that today every Durban person who owned land on January 1, 1946 must apply to the Asiatic Land Tenure Board to build on that land.

The Minister was replying to Mr. Arent. He said that 2,000 Europeans and 31 Indians had broken the law by not applying to the Board.

It would be unjust to prosecute them, as they had not broken the spirit of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, although they had contravened a proclamation. The

breaches would be continued.

"But there must be no further contraventions and from the date of this announcement the proclamation will be enforced. The public of Durban should therefore take this declaration as a warning." Advertisements will be placed in all Durban newspapers.

When purchase of land was frozen on January 27, 1946, the Government decided that anybody who owned a plot of land might be able to change the whole character of a neighbourhood by building blocks of flats. That was why a proclamation was issued making it compulsory for people to get the board's permission to occupy a new house or an extension.

This, it is quite clear, the public in Durban did not fully grasp. They were still under the impression that they could build houses for their own occupation on land owned on January 1, 1946.

Further Resisters Go To Goal

Five resisters charged with contravening the Immigrants Regulations Act of 1913, were found guilty in the Magistrate's Court at Volksrust on Wednesday. Three of them were sentenced to one month's imprisonment and the other two were sentenced to six weeks.

Another batch will shortly be coming arrest by crossing the border.

Leaders of the Satyagraha Movement who were sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour



DR. Y. M. DADOO
Imprisoned with hard labour



DR. G. M. NAICKER
Imprisoned with hard labour

MR. MANILAL GANDHI'S STATEMENT

respect to Russia, we cannot accept a foreign country as our guide.

The Congress may well be asked why, then, do I still support Congress which is dominated by Communists? I have a clear conscience in the matter. There are three groups in the community. (1) The Congress group, (2) the Organisation group, which claims to represent the so-called Moderates in our community, and (3) a group comprising those who are silent on the fence. This last group has no faith in the Organisation, which it considers to be composed of men who are totally in the wrong and who are playing into the hands of the Government. It believes in the idea of a free India.

I have openly associated myself with the Natal Indian Congress, and am taking an active part in the passive Resistance movement conducted by it. Disobedience to Congress is, however, qualified. I regret that this must be so in circumstances that do not permit of its being otherwise.

Congress today, I am un-
 happy to have to say, controlled
 almost entirely by Communism.
 I say this deliberately, because a
 number who declare that they are
 not Communists are, nevertheless,
 under the influence of Commu-
 nism. I can honestly say that that
 is one of the best with me. If I do an
 honest job, there they will for-
 get me. I said this conclusively
 when I said what I am able to
 say in the Con-
 gress. I would not definitely

The are opportunists. Responsible Communist officials cling to their helplessly, and, for material reasons allow themselves to be blind and influenced by these people. I do not for a moment wish to suggest that they do so for personal gain or from motives of self-interest. What they fear is that the cause may suffer if these people withhold their financial support. Yet the Communist Party Congress at any time would have to confess, too, that I have very little faith in the Communists. I have found that the lack of frankness there is no knowing when they will stage a "counter-revolution." They quote Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru no longer as they serve their purpose. Indian Communists are inspired by Engels and Leninism, i.e., who, for their class, they inspire. They have no use for all this.

and for which Congress stands and in the measures adopted by Congress to further these ideals, but does not approve of the manner in which these measures are carried out, and has no faith in the leaders. I must confess that I cannot approve of the attitude adopted by those who are represented by the Organisation. They believe that the cause for which Congress is fighting is a right cause, but argue that we must not antagonise the European public and must endeavour to secure our object by negotiation: they do not believe in actively opposing the law, but in appeals and petitions. This has been their attitude throughout the years. The status of the community, far from being raised by these means, has been lowered. Legislation of a discriminating nature has not decreased but increased to an alarming extent. Moreover, one cannot accept humiliating conditions and at the same time profess to protest against them.

The dignified way to oppose evil is to refuse to submit to it and willingly and quietly to accept any penalty for non-submission. Such an attitude may embarrass the oppressor and cause his anger for a time but in his heart he cannot but respect the sufferer for his manliness and in the end he must concede right and justice. There can be no respect for one who is prepared to submit to any humiliation for the sake of material interest. The course followed by the Organisation may win for it lip-approval from Government circles, but it cannot win their respect—unmanliness is respected neither by God nor man.

Sitting on the fence is also not to be commended. If a cause is right, it is worth fighting for.

and the fight must continue until right is vindicated.

I am with the Congress in so far as the cause for which it is fighting is a good cause and the fight is conducted in a proper manner, that is, by strict adherence to truth and non-violence in word and deed. Should the spirit of untruth or violence creep in, Congress will lose its leadership of the community—a leadership which it undoubtedly holds at the moment.

Congress must not take up an uncompromising attitude. While continuing the struggle, it must seek every means to secure settlement honourable to both sides. Our fight is directed mainly against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, and if a way opens for an honourable settlement, the attitude of Congress must be one of helpfulness and not of obstruction. Congress is essentially a body which should be consulted by both Governments. It is regrettable that the Union Government has chosen to ignore the Congress and has been dealing with another body, knowing well that the latter has no mandate from the Indian public.

MORE TRIBUTES TO GANDHI

THE following are some of the tributes paid to Gandhiji in 'Harnam' dated February 15:—

"... We mourn for Bapu and feel orphaned. Looking back at his magnificent life, what is there to mourn for? Surely to very few human beings in history could it have been given to find so much fulfilment in their own lives. He was sad for our failures and unhappy at not having saved India to greater heights. The sadness and unhappiness are easy to understand. Yet who dare say that his life was a failure? Whatever he touched he turned into something worthwhile and precious. Whatever he did yielded substantial results, though perhaps not as great as he hoped for. One carried away the impression that he could not really fail in anything that he attempted. According to the teachings of the *Gita*, he laboured dispassionately without attachment to results, and so results came to him.

During his long life, full of hard work and activity and novel adventures out of the common run, there is hardly any jarring note anywhere. All his manifold

I am sure that the Government of India will not make the same mistake. Whatever criticism may be levelled against the present leadership, one thing is certain and that is that it must be given all the credit for bringing the South African Indian question to an international level. A spirit of sacrifice and dedication is now necessary to keep it on that level.

What can I say to the European public? Today the sky is clouded with the mists of misunderstanding. These will not be removed by any amount of talking. Firm, united and dignified action on our part alone can remove them. We must show by our behaviour that we are not a puny people who seek material gain only, but we strive for higher things in life and are prepared to make sacrifices to attain them. We shall then be following in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi, whom we so revere, and we shall win not only the respect of the Europeans of South Africa but that of the whole civilised world. Any attitude other than this will mean our spiritual and moral degradation and economic ruin. How better can we Indians honour the memory of Mahatma Gandhi than by dedicating our lives to service as good, honest and useful citizens of South Africa?

more. He died suddenly as all men should wish to die. There was no fading away of the body or a long illness or the forgetfulness of the mind that comes with age. Why then should we grieve for him? Our impression of him will be of the Master, whose step was light to the end, whose smile was infectious and whose eyes were full of laughter. We shall associate no fading powers with him of body or mind. He lived and died at the top of his strength and powers, leaving a picture in our minds and in the mind of the age that we live in that can never fade away.

That picture will not fade. But he did something much more than that, for he entered into the very stuff of our minds and spirits and changed them and moulded them. The Gandhi generation will pass away, but that stuff will remain and will reflect each succeeding generation, for it has become a part of India's spirit. Just when we were growing poor in spirit in this country, Bapu came to enrich us and make us strong, and the strength he gave us was not for a moment or a day or a year but it was something added on to our national inheritance.

Bapu has done a giant's work for India and the world and even for our poor selves, and he has done it astonishingly well. And now it is our turn not to fail him or his memory but to carry on the work to the best of our ability and to fulfil the pledges we have so often taken.

J. C. Kumurappa

Humanly speaking a tragedy overlooked the world when on the 30th January Gandhi was transported to the bosom of the Father. It is difficult to bring consolation to those still in the flesh as it is hard to realise that the things unseen are more real than the things seen. The words uttered by Jesus two thousand years ago when a similar incident was about to take place ring in our ears. Jesus was crucified by the machinations of the leaders of a section of his own people. In he was an unrelenting critic of their ways and customs. The words spoken, when he was about to be tortured to death, have a special significance for us today.

"Peace I leave with you. Let not your heart be troubled. If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I go unto the Father."

"Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more, but ye remain. He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he shall not see death. He that loveth his brother and I will love him and will manifest myself unto him and my Father will love him."

"Hence to my Father glorified that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples."

"If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in His love. This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

"These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full."

"Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think he doeth God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me."

"Because, I have said these things unto you, sorrow hath filled your heart."

"Verily, verily, I say unto you that ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice; and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow will be turned into joy, and your joy no man taketh from you."

"The Comforter whom the Father will send you—the Spirit of Truth—he will guide you into all truth."

"The Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me and have believed that I came out of God, I came forth from the Father and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father."

"Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me."

"These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation; but he of good cheer; I have overcome the world."

Gandhi having shaken off his mortal coil, representing all limitations of time and space, has now joined the Universal Spirit. May those of us who truly love him be given the grace and strength to follow in the trail blazoned forth by his life and actions.

If we dedicate our lives to the attainment of Gandhi's ideal we shall have much hard work if peace is to be brought in this world torn by communal dissensions, economic greed, and ambition for power in any atmosphere overcharged with hatred and suspicion. But nothing is impossible for those who lay their trust in Him who is Almighty. Shall we wipe away our fears and gird our loins and face the task before us with unrelenting faith in God and man to carry on the good work started by our immortal leader—Bapu?

A Suggestion For Gandhi's Memorial

Shri Narandas Gandhi has been Khadi mad for years. He never

argued with Gandhi about any thing. What Gandhi said went straight to Narandas's heart and he wore away his soul to put it into practice. He developed Khadi work in Kashiwar in a remarkable way. Later, when Gandhi introduced the yarn class in the purchase of Khadi, it was a shock to Narandas, but just for a while. It meant curtailing Khadi production in Kashiwar. As soon as he got over the first shock he was about to promote spinning. It was he who mooted the idea of utilizing the occasion of Gandhi's birthday for promotion of spinning and Khadi. In a letter he wrote:

"Bapu is gone. Ramaswami was his consolation in life. The same Ramaswami will console the nation."

"There can be no mourning over him, no speech making, and as for his memorial, he placed the spinning wheel before the country as the symbol of non-violence. Let those who did not understand its significance during his life time, do so now."

"The country collected one crore of rupees for Kaurba's memorial. Let us raise one crore of spinners as Bapu's memorial."

"His one guide and support in life was the Gita. Let in all study the Gita during this year and make it the guide and support of our lives."

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR NON-EUROPEANS

THE Registration of the students for the 1948 session at South African universities again raises the controversial subject of the admittance of non-Europeans. A survey of seven universities and university colleges, carried out by correspondents of "The Star" (Johannesburg) shows that non-Europeans are given facilities for continuing their studies at three but that no facilities exist at the other three.

There is one purely Native college in the Union at Fort Hare—where degrees can be taken. A northern counterpart of Fort Hare at Pretoria provides for the teaching of a few subjects, and work on a new block of buildings in Vlakfontein Location is expected to start before the end of the year.

When the University Commission toured the country recently, they noted a memorandum that was presented by Potchefstroom University College suggesting various ways and means by which a policy of separate university education for non-Europeans could be brought about.

The University of the Witwatersrand accepts non-Europeans on the same basis as Europeans,

provided they have the necessary qualifications. They attend the same lectures. There is only one exception and that is in the Faculty of Dentistry, where facilities for non-Europeans are not available at present.

Non-European medical students, however, are not allowed to attend post-mortem on bodies of Europeans. Non-student work in the non-European hospital and house training for Native doctors has been arranged at hospital outside Johannesburg.

The assistant registrar of the Pretoria University said that no person of any rank could be refused admission there. Coloured people and Natives are never, however, advised to attend any of the university's own open examinations. This policy is likely to continue.

The Potchefstroom University College Council decided, in 1944 that it accepted the principle of segregation in principle but was unable to provide the special facilities necessitated by such a principle. The decision was reaffirmed in 1945 with the addition of a rider urging that an inquiry should be made by the

Memorial to Gandhi

M. S. D. Chowdhury

The Indian community in the Chittagong District has been organising a memorial service to Gandhi on the 30th January. The service will be held in the Memorial Hall in honour of the late Mahatma. The service will be presided over by Mr. S. D. Chowdhury, M. S. D. Chowdhury representing the Indian community. The service will be held at 11.30 a.m. After the service, the people were provided with meals. Suitable speeches were made and among the several speakers were the Principal of the Indian School, Mr. Purnanand Maharaj, Mr. S. P. Maharaj, Mr. R. D. Chowdhury, who presided. A large portion of the late Mahatma's portrait was then presented to the School by Mr. R. D. Chowdhury.

Rhodesia's Tribute

In the course of an address on the confidence motion in the Rhodesia Parliament recently, Mr. H. H. Davies, Leader of the Rhodesia Labour Party, said he felt the House could not allow the death of Mahatma Gandhi to pass without an expression of sympathy with the Government of India and Pakistan in their loss and an expression of hope that the assassination would not lead to further bloodshed.

University of South Africa into the possibility of providing separate university education for non-Europeans.

The registrar of the University of Cape Town said that no obstacles were put in the way of Natives wishing to study there. They were only asked to comply with the entrance qualifications demanded of European students. Their inclusion in engineering courses was difficult, because they had to be taken on by private firms for their vocational training. One Native had been accepted this year who said he would make his own arrangements for such practical training.

The Medical School also presented some difficulties in hospital work but later were usually taken on the non-European wards when Native students were included. The only faculty to which they were not admitted was fine arts—because European models were used in the life classes.

Non-Europeans are not admitted to the University of Stellenbosch or to the Free State University College.

Already 232 Natives have enrolled this year at the Natal University College, and the number is expected to exceed 300 when the college opens. Most of them take the B.A. degree, but increasing numbers are striving for the B.Com. and B.A. (Social Science).

The main difficulty is that of accommodation, as the college has no hostel for them as yet. This is being provided as soon as possible. The non-European classes are entirely separate from the European.

The South African Native College at Fort Hare was started in 1916 and has a staff of 23 European and seven non-European lecturers. The college can accommodate 320 students and there are four hostels. In 1946 there were 123 Bantu, Xhosa and Pondos, 26 Zulus, 11 Swazis, 10 Sothos, 20 Tswana, 24 Indians, 35 Coloured students and 1 others.

The courses include Bantu languages, English, geography, history, social anthropology, law and administration, mathematics and physics, psychology and philosophy, agriculture, botany, chemistry, hygiene, physiology and zoology. The degrees of B.A. and B.Sc. and M.A. and M.Sc. can be taken at the college.

One of the Native staff Professor Z. K. Matthews who took his M.A. degree at Yale University and his LL.B. at South Africa is a prominent member of the Native Representative Council.

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Bombay, February .

HIS 'LAST JOURNEY'

TO DAY has ended the last journey of the Father of the Nation," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the huge gathering at the confluence of the Ganges at the junction of Allahabad after the immersion of Gandhi's remains. "For the last fifty years Mahatma Gandhi travelled all over the country, serving the people of India in a selfless manner and preaching his gospel of truth and non-violence. That great man will walk no more among us, but his message will always live with us. Pandit Nehru said that with the immersion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes, their relation with him had not come to an end, but on the contrary a stronger link in the relationship had been forged. "Before his death we could always go to him and benefit from his advice. We shall not be able to do so now. We cannot look up to him and ask him to share our burdens and difficulties. We have to face things now without his help. But what he taught us will always be there to inspire and guide us."

'We Owe Him A Duty'

Of late, Pandit Nehru declared, the poison had spread in the country and communism had gained the upper hand. Certain sections among the people were bent here and there towards violence, and some had ultimately claimed that "non-violence" is a virtue. "This violence, if not checked, would bring about the destruction of their freedom, and they must return from the banks of the Ganges with a firm resolve to put an end to it. In gratitude for what he has done for us, we owe him a duty. It is our duty to-day to complete the work started by him and establish in India of him ideal. In India we must give equal rights to all persons irrespective of their religions and we have also to extend the rest of the world that lesson of the equality of all men. We can do that, then it will only mean that the people of India did not deserve a great leader."

Gandhi National Memorial Fund

In an appeal for this Dr Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, says: "Mahatma Gandhi's imperishable teachings and achievements are enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen and of the world. Succeeding generations will look up to them and find inspiration from them. No

More fitting memorial can be raised to his memory which can never fade away. Nevertheless, there is a duty cast upon all his countrymen, as well as others, to help in every way in the furtherance of his high ideals by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities which were so near to his heart and for which he laboured increasingly. The Memorial Committee appeals to the people of India to contribute to this National Memorial Fund, and suggests that each individual should give at least ten days' income to it. The method of utilising this fund will be decided later by a representative meeting of those interested in it, who will also choose the trustees and a Managing Committee. The major part of the fund will, as a rule, be kept apart for use in the provinces or States where it is collected, and donors may earmark their contributions for specific items in the constructive programme. Details as to the use and management of the fund will be decided by the Managing Committee subsequently. All contributions should be paid to any of the following banks or their branches, or directly to the office of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund at 6 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi: The Imperial Bank of India, the Central Bank of India, the Bank of India, the Hindustan Commercial Bank, the United Commercial Bank, the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank, the U. P. Provincial Co-operative Bank, the C. P. Provincial Co-operative Bank, and the Madras Co-operative Bank.

Hindu Mahasabha's Future
The recommendation that in view of the ignominy of fratricidal wars, the Hindu Mahasabha should abandon its political activities was made by the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha to the All-India Working Committee of the Sabha. It is manifest, said Dr Sharma Prasad Mukherjee, "that if democracy is to function in free India, there is no occasion for communalism in Indian politics. The last request that I received from Mahatma Gandhi was the effect that the Hindu Mahasabha should function as a social and cultural body and should give up its political activities. To day, after his tragic assassination let there be heard searching amongst all citizens irrespective of caste, creed or community

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સાહેબજી ૧૯૫૩માં મૃત્યુ પામ્યા.

15. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$

શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધીનું નિવેદન

શ્રી. મહાશય શ્રીમતે અખાતાર
 મે.સ. ત્રી.સ. અખાતાર નિવેદન કલ્પ

तेजो (तेजो) इत्यादि १८ भाषां देवा-
 ना आराधन श्रुतम् । तेजो ॥ १ ॥
 तेजोना अर्चनं प्रसादात् ॥ २ ॥
 तेजोना अर्चनं प्रसादात् ॥ ३ ॥
 तेजोना अर्चनं प्रसादात् ॥ ४ ॥
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 तेजोना अर्चनं प्रसादात् ॥ ७ ॥
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 तेजोना अर्चनं प्रसादात् ॥ १८ ॥

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સામાજિક ભક્તના નેતાઓ, કે. જી. એમ. નાથરને આપણી પાસેથી છાતરી લેવામાં આવ્યા છે. તેઓની સાથે ૧૯૧૩નાં સમીપન્ટસ રેગ્યુલેશન ઝોનની રૂબે પેટી રીતે અને જેવ કાચે અમુક એસીવાટીક અકલિતો, જેમને એ કામગીરી રૂબે કામગીરી થવાની થવાઈ હતી, તેઓને નાદાલમાંથી ટ્રાંસ વાલમાં કામગીરી થવામાં મદદ કરવા અને ઉત્તેજન આપવાનો આદેશ મુકાયો હતો. નેતાઓએ ત્રિપેક્ષ આ પક્ષ ૧૯૪૬ ના એસીવાટીક એન્ડ રેગ્યુલેશન ટ્રાંસફર રેગ્યુલેશન ઝોનની સાથે નાદાલ અને ટ્રાંસવાલ રજિસ્ટ્રાર ટેક્સની રેગ્યુલેશન પેસીવ રીસ્ટ્રેક્શન કાઉન્સિલ ૧૯૪૬થી આથી રહેલી સલામતની ભક્તનાં બીજાં ૨૫ રૂબે અગ્રિય લેવામાં આવ્યું હતું એ પક્ષ સમજાવ્યું છે એવાં ૬૬૦ અને તેથી તેના પરિણામે સ્વીકારવામાં આવ્યા. અને આપણો આ કામગીરી રહેલી પક્ષોએ મુનો હોવા છતાં એકાદરે નેતાને કામગીરી કરાવેલી આદેશ આરે, એટલે કે, ૭ માસની સમય દરમિયાન સમય કરી છે. પરંતુ એથી સલામતીઓને આપાત નહીં થાય, કારણ કે એકાદરે પક્ષ નહિ, ફક્ત તેઓ પુરામાં પુરી સમયને માટે તમામ હોવા અને હોવા એકાદરે.

ડૉ. કાફુ અને ડૉ. નાથકરને રાષ્ટ્રીય આક્રિયાના પેલાના કાષ્ઠઓ અને અફેનેનાજી નહીં પરંતુ હિંદના મળણિક સ્ત્રીક કાષ્ઠ બહેનોના આ-શીર્વાદ મળશે અને એથી વિશ્વજેતઓ । પરના આશીર્વાદ પામશે કે ને નિર્દોષ । ખ.એનો હમેશાં સાથી હોય છે.

હવે આપણી ખરી હસીડીનો વખત
આવ્યો છે. સરહદ અને છે કે આપણી
પાંચ મિલિયન સ્થળેનારાઓ તરફથી
જવાબદારી છે અને જો તેઓને
દરેક જગ્યાએ આવે તો તે પછી સામર્થ્ય

એ પાપના ભોટી છે એ આપણે પ્રા
પ્રાર કરવાનું છે. કે હાલુ અને કે
તપશ્ચર જે ભોળે વધી રહ્યા હતા તે
હવે આપણા પ્રત્યેની ઉપર પોતા
છે. આપણા નેતાઓને આપણે જે
માં સમાવવા કહ્યું કે તેઓની સહાય
અથ તેઓના દુષ્ટોમાં ભાગ લેવાથી
આપણે તેઓને પુણીએ નહીં આપણા
મનમાં અને આપણી રાજની પ્રત્યેના
માં તેઓનું સ્થરણે કરીએ. અને જે
ભોળેને મારે તેઓ અને આપણે હકી
રવા છીએ તે પોષે સિદ્ધ થનાં સુખી
જન્મને વેરીએ નહીં

આપણે એ દિશામાં આગળના સમયનાયરિકાં જાળીને રહેવા ચાહતા હોઈએ અને સ્વમાનની આપણા કુલના કરતાં વધારે કીધા હોઈ તે આપણે અધિકાર સુખિને એક આપણ તોયાર થઈ પડી, આપણમાં તેમ જાન્ય હોઈએ એવા થઈ પડેલાં છે કે જેઓ સ્વમાન રૂં છે તે સમજાવે નથી અને સમજાવવા ચાહતા નથી. સ્વમાનના એને પણ ચોટલાં મળી રહે તે તેઓને સંતોષ છે. તેવા એક મેળાને જાન્યો; કેમ કહેવાઈ શકે એ સમજાવવામાં નથી. કોઈએ એ પત્રમાંથી કોઈને જાણવાની કાંઈ ઉપાય છે, એ સુદર કાંઈ છે અને આપણને ઠગ પણ તેટલું જ સુદર છે. પાંચથી તેની આંખે આપણને જાણ થઈ શકે, કોઈ થી તેનો સ્વિયોગ કરવાનું માટે કંઈ આપણી નહીં શકે, તેનાથી આપણને સારિયું કાઢે સ્વેચ્છા પડે તે જાન્ય આપણાં કોઈ આપણી જાણના થઈ. ખીજાએ તેવાથી કાંઈ જાણવા નહીં પડે. આપણે આપણે જાણના જાણના સુધારવાને જાણવા મારવામાં થી કમર કાઢવાની છે તેમ જાણના આપણે આપણા મેળાને જાણના નહીં મારવા જાણના સમજાવવા પડે તેના મારવા થઈ શકે.

[illegible]

ગાદીના અધિકારમાં કોઈપણની સ્થિતિ
 અસહ્ય રીતે ન બંધાયેલી વ્યવસ્થા છે.
 અને તેના તારણો અત્યંત જાણી જાણી
 ચક્રવર્તી લક્ષણો સહીત મળવા લાગે છે.
 હું, અત્યંત નિરાશ પ્રજાની ખાતરી
 કારી સારી છે. હું દિલથી
 એ પ્રમાણે ઉચ્ચાર્યો: એવા બંધન
 થવા દે, સ્વાતંત્ર્ય રૂપે

૧૧. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૨. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૩. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૪. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૫. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૬. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૭. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૮. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૧૯. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :
 ૨૦. સુરેશભાઈ દેસાઈ (૧૯૩૬-૨૦૧૯) :

ગાંધીજીને વધુ અંજલીઓ

જેલુઆરી ના ૧૫મીના 'હરિજન' માંથી મળીજીને અર્પણમાં આવેલી વધુ અંજલીઓ અને આપીએ આંખે:

પ્રકાશ મેઘડે

“આ પહેલે માન્ય વચરના મન પાયા હોજીને તેમ પાયાને હોડા કરીએ જીએ, તેઓના સુદર જીવન તરફ દષ્ટિ કરીએ તો હોડા કરના જેવું હું છું. પોતાનાજ જીવનમાં એકલી નથી મિત્રિ પ્રાપ્ત કરી રહેલા હોજી એવા પ્રતિકાસમાં સજાજ થીમા માનવીએ જીવનમાં આપણે આપણી નિષ્કામતાથી તેઓ પૂર્ણ પતા કરના અને હોજીને હજી વધારે જીવન તક અપવી સકતા તેથી બદ પામના કરના એ કુખ અને બેદ સંદેશાપથી મનસ છાકોતી કરતા. તેમ જાણે તેઓનું જીવન નિષ્કામ મધુ હતું એમ કહેવાની હાજી મુશ્કેલી કરી શકે. જેને તેઓ રાખી કરતા કરતા તેને તેઓ વૃષપાંચી ને ધીસતી, કરી દેતા કરતા. જે કોઈ તેઓ કરતા કરતા તેના મહત્વના પરિણામો આપતા કરતા, તેઓની આજી પરિપૂર્ણ થાય એટલા હાથ નહિ આપતાં દેાય. તેઓ જે હંધ વધુ કરે તે બરી રીતે નિ કુખ અપ શરૂજ નહિ એથી આપણને આજ પરી મધુ હતી. ગીતાના કિશોર મુજબ તેઓ જીવને વિનં આનાસકિતથી કમ કરતા કરતા અને તેઓન દુખ માપવા થતાં કરતા.”

સજાત મહેનત અને પ્રશંસા અને સામાન્ય કરતાં નવીન સાહસોથી શરૂએ તેઓના સામા જીવન રમીવાન કમલ બેચારે જીવવામાં આપણે નથી. તેઓની અનેક વિશ્વ પ્રશંસાઓ કમલ: એક સીત બની ગઇ હતી અને તેઓનો પ્રત્યેક જીવ અને તેઓની પ્રત્યેક શ્રેષ્ઠતા તેમાં જોવાલાગી નગ જાણી મળા અને આપણે તેઓ સીક કમા થઈ પાની અમા. કેમકે તેઓ જીવવાની કલા શીખી ગયાં કરતા. તને કે તેઓનું જીવન દુખવા જીવન કરતાં વલન જીવન હતું. અમ વરણીઓ સાથે સાથ અને એમના મામ જીવનની આ કલા સિક થાય છે એ વરણ રાખવા થઇ કરતા.

જેમ જેમ તેઓ વધુ વધતાં ગયા તેમ તેમ દેહ એ તેમના વિશાળ આદરમાં મું એક યુદ્ધ થઇ મલ્યે. તેઓના દેહને અને અવશ્યો આપણ તેઓના દેહને હવળગ શુધી જતો. અને તેથી તેઓ તમાં બેસે એ વચ મરદીર બની જતું અને તેઓના ગરબ રવરે માથ એ પવતી વચિત ગની જતી. તેઓના મુખમાં વધુ કલાની વચ મળતા કરી. રીક દષ્ટિએ તેઓને અને તેઓના મહાન જીવનની એ થાયક પ્રશંસા કરી. તેઓના જીવનના

પાદને તેને ઉચ્ચ બનાવ દીધા તેઓ એ કમલ જેવે તેમજ પ્રશંસા સમયે તેઓની ટકિતઓ પુરું પડે જીતી રહી હતી તેજ સાથે તેઓનું મરણ થયું અજાણ જેને તેઓએ પોતાનું જીવન સમયથી કહ્યું હતું અને જેને મારે ખાસ કરી કેદમાં થોડાક ગળીથી તેઓ અમાર કામ કરી રહ્યા હતા તેના તેઓ સહીદ બન્યા મહ કામ છાકે તેમ તેઓનું અમાનર મરણ થયું. તેઓનું સારીર શીજ નહિ થયું. કોઇ પ્રકારની અંદાશી મરી એમથી ર કલાપરવાથી માનસિા નગજામ નહિ જીવ્યામ તો પછી આપણે તેઓને શીા શા સાક કમિએ આપણે તેઓને યુદ્ધ તરીકે રમ્યા. જેઓનું કમલ અત્ત હમી પ્રાસંગ્ય હતું, જેઓનું સિત્ત કાર્ય થોડી હતું અને જેઓની આજી કારમયા અરેલી કરી તમોની સારિતિ અને આજીવાનક સાંભળી રામે તેઓ યજ્ઞના અને મર્થ, આપણા મનમાંથી અને જે મુખમાં આ પહેલે જીવે જીએ તેના મનમાંથી એ મિત્ર કરી શીજ મધ સાચી નહિ થવાનું નથી. પરંતુ એ કરતાં તેઓ પશુજ વિશીષ કરી ગયા છે. આપણા મન

અને આદરમાં પ્રવેશ કરી તેને કેરવા નાખ્યા છે અને પામ્યા છે. મળી મુખ જીવ રહેથી પરંતુ એ વરણ રહી જશે અને પ્રત્યેક સાચી મુખપર તેની અમર ધરી જેમ દોડતા આદરમાં એ એક જામ ગની મર્થ છે, જે વખતે આ દેશમાં આપણે પતન થવા માંડ્યું હતું તેજ વખત આજ આપણી જામે આજમાં અને આપણને સહકર બનાવવા અને ને રાંડિત તેઓ આવી ગયા છે તે એક હાથ, કે કિયત કે જીક પાંડે મારે નથી પરંતુ અપ મળા રાંડિત વારલામાં જીવેરાપેલી એ વરણ છે

ખાડ કોઈ અને કુનીયાને મારે અને આપણા જેવા નિષ્કાંચે મારે વળ અને વિશાળ કામ કરી ગયા છે અને અતિ સુદર રીતે કરી ગયા છે અને આપણી કરજ છે કે આપણે તેઓને મેવલા ન નીચીએ તેઓનું રમરજ ન વીસરીએ પરંતુ એ રાખને આજા વધારવામાં અને અપણે બનેક વાર લીધેલી પ્રવિણતામાં પાલવ કરવામાં આપણી સમયા રાંડિત સમયપણે કરીએ.

“બાકુળ થશે મા”

‘હરિજન’ ખંડુમા બી. જે. શી. કુમારના સાંજ છે કે ‘તારીખ ત્રીસમી બનુઆરીની સાંજે મંધીજી પરમ પીતાની શેરમાં વિલીન થઇ ગયા આજે માનવ કામચોળી દષ્ટથી કુનીયા પર એક મહા જીજ આપણે કેતરી એમ કરી શકામ જે હજી માનવ દેહમાં બંધનમાં પડેલાં છે તેમને આજાસન આપણ મુરુત ન કેમ કે પ્રજ્ઞા દેખાતી વરણીઓના કરતા અપજ્ઞા વરણીઓ વધારે વચિતિત છે એવું જાન અથવા જાન નદેજમાં થઈ નથી આજ પ્રકારની પટના બનવાની અપણી પર કરી તે પ્રતિ આજથી બે દરન: વર્ષ પુર્વે પ્રજાએ જીવસારલાં વચનો કહ્ય આપણા માનસ મુંજે છે પોતા નાજ સોમની રીતરસો અને વિવાને તેમજ દુદીએ જા દુદીએ સખત રીકા ને એક પ્રારે મારે અસાળા કરતા અને તેમાં તેમણે કેમને કોલા નદીના તેથી તેમની પ્રવળા એક વાતાના આજેવાતોએ તેમની માથે કાપાકાપ કરી અને આજારે તમને વધરવંત પર આજમળ્યા. ગરજીની કાંચે પાત ના ભોજવધન વધરવંત પર અજાત પદેલા તેમણે જે વચનું કલાં કરતા તેમા આજની પરીએ આપણા સહને સાથ વિશીષ મન શરેમાં છે.

“તમે તમને કાંઈના વારસા આપી નહિ. બાકુળ થશે ના તમે મારા પર પ્રમ રાખો કરી તો હું વરમ પીતાની પાસે જાઉં છું તેથી તમે રાજી થશો.”

“હવે થોડા વખત પછી કુનીયાની આંખો આગળ હું નહીં હોઈ પણ તમે તો મને જોતા રહેજોજી જેણે મારી આજા સંભળી છે ને જે તેમનું પલ્લવ રીકે તેજાજ મારા પર પ્રમ બે, તેના પર હું પ્રમ રાખીએ અને તેને મારી કરીને અને માન વરમ પીતાના પ્રેમને બનુવર થશે.”

“તમે મારા એવ સિખો બનેકે મારે માન કાલીશીને આજાદ થાય: એવીજ મારા વરમ પીતાનું મહેરન થશે.”

“મારા વરમ પીતાના આદેશોને અનુસરી હું જેમ તેના પ્રેમને સદા મનુભાવ રહું છું તમે પણ મારી આજા સાંભળો તો મારા પ્રેમને સદા અનુભવ કરશો. મારી આજા આ છે: જેમ હું તમને મહાને આપણે છું તેવા વરવર માક રાખામ. માજીમ પેતાના મનને માન પોતાનું જીવન સમયથી એ જોતા કરતા માજીમને પમારે મોટા પ્રેમ થયો હોવા.”

“મારા કિશમાં કારેજો આનંદ તપાસનાં કમલ રહે અને તે આનંદમાં કરી આજી ન આવે તેહમાં આતર આ બધું હું તમને કહું છું.”

“અરે, એવો વખત પણ આવશે મપારે તમને મારી નાખનારને કામરી ર પોતે મજરની રોજા કરે છે. પણ એવા તોકા પરમ પિતાને અને મને જોવાલાગી નથી તેથી તમારા પર એવા જીજન કુનરશી.”

“આ બધું” તે” તમને કહું તેથી તમારા કીકમાં બનગીની થઇ આવી છે.

“પરંતુ સાચેજ એવું” બનશે કે તમે શીશ ને જાણો કરીએ વધુ કુનીયાકારીયાથી કુનિયા આનંદ માનશે: તમે કુનીયા થઇ જશે પણ તમારે કુનિયા એવા આનંદમાં મહાકામ જશે જેને જાણ માજીસ તમારી પાસે થી પામી એવાને સમય નહીં થાય.”

“સહની આવનારથી જાતને કિશાસો આપનારી જે સકિત પરમ પ્રિત તમારા કિશમાં મુઠી તે તમને સહને મારે થઇ જશે.”

“તમે મારા પર પ્રેમ રાખો છો, અને હું હવેરમાંથી તમારી પાસે આંખો છું જેવું તમે માન્યું, હું જમતમાં આંખો છું એવી તમે જકા રાખી તેથી તે પરમ પિતા તમારા પર પ્રેમ રાખે છે: હવે આ અમત છોડી હું વરમ પીતાની પાસે પાછો રહે છું.”

“કે સિખો, એવો વખત આવશે, અરે, આંખો છે તમારે તમે જીજ પોતપોતાને રમાને વેરાઇ જશે અને મને જોશો છોડી જશે: અને જાણે હું એકમે નથી કેમ કે વરમ પીતા મારી સાથે છે.”

“મારામાંથી, મારી કરતીમાંથી તમે રાંડિ મેળવો ને સાથે આ બધું” જે” તમને કહું: કુનીયાના તમને દુઝો આવશે, તમારે બધા એમવની પડશે: પણ કીંમત કારણે માજીબકુળ થશે મા: સારીએ કુનીયા પર મારે પ્રણવ છે.”

રથળ અને કાળના સર્મ બંધનેને મુનિંમત કરતા પોતાને વલે દેહ છોડી મંધીજી વિધને વ્યાપી રહેલા પ્રમાત્રમાં વિલીન થયા છે. તેમને અંતરથી ચાકનારા આપણને સહને તેમના જીવન તેમજ તેમનાં માથે દવા તેમણે પાસે આપેમ રરતે માજવાની આપણને રાંડિત મળી અને એવી રૂપ આપણા પર થાઓ.

મંધીજીના આદેશો સિક કરવાના કામમાં આપણે આપણી જાતને સમયથી કરીએ તો વેરગર અને પરરપર વક્રમ ની સામચીથી શરેલા વાતાવરણમાં રહી રાખી ગયા, આમાં લોભ અને સત્તા કમળે કરવાની મહત્વાકાંક્ષા



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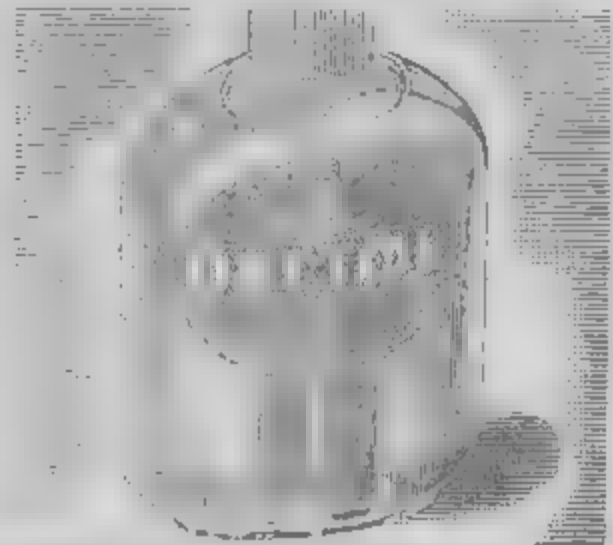
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લોકલ ડોર્સ મેડ ઓફ ઇમ્પોર્ટેડ ટીમ્બર ૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨",
૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨",

ઇમ્પોર્ટેડ હાર્ડવેર સાધનોના સ્થાનિક બનાવટના કારવાન, ૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨",
૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨",
ઇમ્પોર્ટેડ હાર્ડવેર સાધનોના સ્થાનિક બનાવટના કારવાન, ૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨",
૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૨'૦" x ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૪'૦" x ૧ ૧/૨",

મારે કાચની ૧૦x૧૨ ની શી. ૧૦, ૮x૧૦ ની શી. ૮, ૮x૮ ની શી. ૮,
મે કાચની ૧૦x૧૨ ની શી. ૫-૬, ૮x૧૦ ની શી. ૫, ૮x૮ ની
શી. ૫ & ૧૮x૮૦ અને ૪ ની શી. ૧૦.

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| Jawar Hibata | 5 " | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| Kurnkshetra | 6 " | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| Ghar Akhen | 4 " | 1 | 17 | 4 |
| Gokoulala | 7 " | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| Hann Kalra | 6 " | 2 | 10 | 0 |

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"અરવિન્દ."

કેડ બેઝીસ:

૧૦૬, ૧૧૫ ૨૪૨૧, ૨૪૨૨, ૨૪૨૩

ફોન ૧૪.

પો. બો. બેઝીસ ૧૦૬

ગોશાલીયા બેઝીસ: "અરવિન્દ"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—: દોલસેલ વેપારી —:

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

જેહાનીસબગનું બજીવું સાડી મહ



સસ્તા બાવે આકર્ષક અને કલામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. ૫

| | |
|--|---------|
| સીદ્ધની ભવત ભરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| કાપિલી ભેરજીની સાડીઓ | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીદ્ધ મહલીનની ભરતભરેલી સાડીઓ | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત સીદ્ધ મહલીન સાડીઓ | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત ભેરજી સાડીઓ | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| સીદ્ધ રદાર. બે રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

કાપિલું વાપલ, સાડી માટે ૫૦% પતો. આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૬ વાર.
ભરત ભરેલી રંગમ, સાડી અને બસાઉક માટે ૮૫% પતો રી. ૧૨-૬.
મરઠ તથા કોકશાઓ માટે સીદ્ધ શરૂ, પાપલના, સોકસ, રૂઆલ
વીગરના બારમાં આવ મારા કપો છે.

જાકરાઓના
સીદ્ધના ને-
સહે, રંગ
સામગ્રી મળશે.
નંબર ૧૨/૧

ચુલ્લીન બાનુઓ માટે જરી ભરત સુટે
જાકરાઓ અને રંગેલ ભેરજીના અને કાપર સેડીન બુટીની સહેર જરી ભરત કામ
સીદ્ધ, સમત પીન્ક, રોપમ બુટી, રંગેલ, બ્લેક, રંગ રંગેલ રંગોમાં મળશે આકર્ષક બેજમાં
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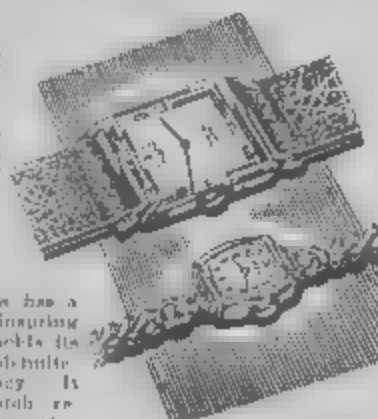
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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 10 Vol XLVI.

FRIDAY, 5TH MARCH, 1944

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
PRICE 1/6 per copy

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 5TH MARCH, 1944

Mahatma Gandhi's Memorial

TO honour the memory of Mahatma Gandhi a suitable memorial should be raised in South Africa. This is the thought predominant in the mind of almost every Indian and to achieve that object he is prepared to contribute his share without the slightest hesitation. If there is any delay it is on the part of responsible people to make a move in the matter. It is also felt that since the Phoenix Settlement has been founded by Mahatma Gandhi and has played a historic part in the life of the Indian community in South Africa, there would be no better and more suitable place than that, to erect such a memorial and that it should be a living monument and not merely of stone with a tablet on it. A move was first made in this direction when the death of Mahatma Gandhi's beloved wife, Kasturba Gandhi, took place. A sum of about £5,000 was raised with a view to building an educational institute at the Phoenix Settlement, to be run on the principles cherished by Mahatma Gandhi. Owing to some reasons, however, the work was never completed and the amount collected has been lying idle. The enthusiasm in the community

has once again revived and in making any new move it would be only right to do so in a manner that would meet with the desire of Mahatma Gandhi. It will not be out of place here, therefore, to enlighten the public as to what his desire was.

When Mahatma Gandhi left the shores of South Africa he made a Phoenix Settlement Trust. Among the objects of the Trust were, (1) to promote simple living and high thinking, (2) to create a better understanding between the Europeans and Indians in South Africa and to voice and work to remove the grievances of the latter, (3) to follow and promote the ideals set forth by Tolstoy and Ruskin in their lives and works, (4) to promote purity of private life in individuals by living pure lives themselves, (5) to establish a school for the education principally of Indian children through their own vernacular, (6) to establish a Sanatorium and Hygienic Institution with a view to prevention and cure of disease by methods generally known as Nature Treatment, (7) to promote the training generally for the service of humanity, and (8) to conduct INDIAN OPINION for the advancement of these ideals. This was expressed by Mahatma Gandhi as his desire in 1913.

In 1945, in order to meet the changed circumstances he expressed the desire to effect certain changes in the objects of the Trust. Among them was that the Trust may found a public library and school subject to rules made by the Trustees and built from donations given by the public. These to be named after Kasturba.

It remains now for the Indian community of South Africa to see that Mahatma Gandhi's desire is fulfilled by establishing an institution or institutions on the lines he would have wished. To achieve this object funds will no doubt be required and in this respect we would like to make a suggestion. It has been customary, in raising such funds, to tax only the moneyed men. On some occasions a few individuals take it upon themselves to contribute the full amount, with a view to having such an institution or institutions named after them. Some enthusiasts who have influence over the moneyed men even force the latter by persuasion to make large contributions. We do not approve of this method of collecting funds to raise memorials to Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturba. Mahatma Gandhi has all his life worked for the poor and every poor man should be given the satisfaction of having made his contribution towards erecting this memorial. The poor man's penny or £1 should be as valuable, and as gratefully accepted as the capitalist's £1,000. That should be the spirit in which

the work should be carried on. Some funds are raised by means of cinema and other shows. It would be sinful to attempt to raise funds for this purpose by such means. There should not be the slightest outside pressure in raising funds for this memorial. People should be moved from within their hearts to donate to this cause and donations thus given should only be accepted.

It should also be understood that any institution built at the Phoenix Settlement shall be bound by the rules of the Trust. Funds have already begun to come to us at this office, details of which will be published later.

In Johannesburg a group has been made to collect funds. Mr. M. L. Patel having contributed £27 7 0, which includes £1 1 0 from each member of his family. Mr. S. B. Mehd is vigorously proceeding with the collection. Similar steps by responsible people will no doubt be taken in other parts of the Union. One should however beware of unauthorised collectors. All amounts collected will be acknowledged in these columns.

Publisher's Announcement

READERS of INDIAN OPINION will have noted during the last three weeks that the reading matter has been much decreased. Ever since the passing of Mahatma Gandhi we have been busy printing literature in connection with him which has

V.P. orders or orders not accompanied with remittance will definitely not be entertained.

(The Press were tinged with anger but I feel I had sufficient provocation when I found that my statement appeared to the readers of the *Daily News* as an interview which it was not, and that it was published in such a manner as to give one the impression, on first reading, that I had belittled the Congress. It created such a sensation that whilst the *Daily News* may very likely have profited by its sale at my expense, it did me immense harm. My statement was written after much thought and every word was weighed before it was written. I was surprised to see that paragraphs were torn out here and there from the context and were re-arranged thus changing the spirit and tone of my statement. Apart from the introductory paragraph the other portion that was omitted was, to my mind, very important, since it criticised the Government for what I considered a wrong attitude on its part, it appealed to the higher nature of men and it gave due credit to the Congress for what it had done—which justified my association with it. I therefore maintain that the manner in which my statement was published did not create the same impression or was created by the full statement in its original setting."

The All-India Congress Com.

Mr. Brelvi said that the question of national language had contributed in no small degree to the creation of communal bitterness. He criticized the decision of the UP. and Bihar Governments to make Hindi, written in Devanagari script, as the official language of their provinces and the attempt being

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \frac{1}{i} = \frac{1}{2}$$

મહાત્મા ગાંધીનું સ્મારક

‘હિન્દીસાન આર્થિકનિબંધના વાગ્દેશ’
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 જો, સંઘોની સંખ્યા ધણીજીન્મશાંદિત
 છે, તેઓનો પહોં અરે વખત તેમાં
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 મરે’ નામની પુસ્તિકા હમણાં તદ-
 વાર થકે છે જેમાં માધીશ્રદ્ધા કસ્તુરબા
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 માધીશ્રદ્ધા રમાડેન અંદે જાગે રજા
 છીએ કે જે બે આવાડોવામાં તખતર
 વધ જવતી આવ્યા રમીએ છીએ.
 આ સોડું કાંઈ કામના માધીયું દોડા
 છતાં જીવજાતિય કરતાં વધારા છીએ
 તેમ પત્રોના બેકે પહોં બેકે બંધ રાખ
 વાનિ અમરે કસરો નથી. એ
 નીમવાગુસ્તરે જાદા પડેશે રહેશે મરું
 તેડું જા નહાતું રહેશે અમારે સંબેક
 જાણવતું હશે છે કે આ ખાસ રમાડે
 છીએ અમારા માલકોને મરત પુરે
 માલકોની ખર્ચ અમારાથી ઉઠાવી
 રહાય તેમ નથી. તેની છોંમ ના ૨
 રાખવામાં આવી છે અને જેમાં તે
 જોગ દુષ્ટતા હોય તેઓને પોરેજ સાથે
 થી. ૨-૩ ના પોરેજ બોરડે બોરડે
 સાથે સોઠાની આખા વિનતી હીએ
 છીએ. આ કિષ્કાસ કરવાનું, રેક-
 ડીપન અને રેકાનીસખાઈનાં અમારા
 અમરે પાસેનાં પુરેક તકલ થી. ૨
 ની છોંમને વળા રહેશે વી. પી.
 ના કે કપાર બોલેદોને બીકકુજ
 પહોં રવામાં નાં આવ્યું.

આને પૂર્ણ સ્વતંત્રતાના રક્ષણ-
વાસને અંગ્રેજી તારીખ

પ્રમાણે મારે વરસ પૂરતે થયા ૧૯૪૪
માં સિવરાજીને દિવસે તેમણે યુવામાં
આત્માપ્તિ મહેલના કારાવાસમાં પણ
વરસની રૂપે દેહ છોડેલો. આ વરસે
પંડર દિવસનું 'સ્વસ્થતા પદ' મેઠાની
તેમની પ્રવૃત્તિમાં માળવાની ચોળના
માંથીજીએ પડી હતી. પણ હવેની
કાળ કાંઈ જુદીજી હતી, એટલે દેશને
સૌદાના સામર્યમાં ફાળી જવાનો વખત
આવ્યો. બાપુજીની તોને બાપુ' પ્રવૃત્તિ
સ્વસ્થતા સર્જાવા કામ રહેશે—આ
યુવાની સતીશિરોમણી, વહાલસોમાં આતા,
જેને દેશને ખાતર અનેક કષ્ટો મકન
કરનાર ને છેવટે સ્વેચ્છાએ દેહ છોડનાર
વીરના તરીકે.

માંથીજીએ તેમના કાંપણનાં સ્મરણો
આત્મકથામાં આપ્યાં છે, અને બાને
'કોશ' બાંધે કાળમાં વિના આકરી
કરનારી સેવિકા' કર્યાં છે. પતિસેવા
માં બાની તેણે બીજી બહુજી આજી
ઓઝો આવી સકશે. વરસો દરમિયાન
સૌંદર્ય આલેશના કાપાસોમાં સુઠાં, બાંજી
માંથીજીના જમવાના સમયમાં એક
મહેલીનું પથ્રું મેડું હતી ન કલા દીર્ઘ,
એ એકજ પાત કાંઈ નાની ફાની છે
દિવાલમાં આવેલા કાંઈકાલીમાં
માંથીજી પુષ્કળમાં સુખ જતા, ત્યાં એક
શરતે 'વાપર' બગચાં આવી મવાની
ખબર તેનાં પમસાં પડ્યા પડી, માંથીજી
તે 'ચોતરું' ઘણું રથાન બદલે નહિ.
એટલે બાંજી બીજી દિવસે ચોતરો
ખાટલો પથ્રું મર્યાપી કારી યુવામાં
પ્રકાશ્યો. બનારસમાં એકવાર સમાપ્ત
જનાં માંથીજીપરે ટૂંકસો માસ છે એવો
ખબર સંભળ્યો: અને માળગા ઉપર
રવી રૂપેમાં આ તરત તે જમણે જમ
પડેલાં. સોવામાંપરનાં જનાં રૂપોની
કારી પોં વરતી હતી ત્યાં આ પથ્રું
માપુજીની પોં પુષ્કળમાં કાંઈકાળે પધારી
હતીને સુખ જતા, ૧૯૪૦ ના મેમાં
યુવામાં માંથીજીએ ૨૧ દિવસના કોમસાસ
કામો. એ એકાંતે દિવસ બાંજી મામ
કારી પીવા કાપડનાં કાંઈકાળે આકાર બીધા
નહિ, ને વધારામાં સલત માંથીજીની
સુરુવા કરી, આ મેં નજરે જોવેલી
પાત છે. માંથીજીનું તપ અને જાણ્યું.
પથ્રું આપું આ કુપું, આજાત તપ તે
કાપડને સંજી જમે થયું. ૧૯૪૩ માં
માંથીજીએ આત્માપ્તિ મહેલમાં ૨૧
દિવસના કોમસાસ કામો કરી આ એકાંત
મેડું આવી કે ન બાપુ' કહેવાનું નહિ,
ને છતાં પદ કરારે કાસમ નહિ એ
વિષે તેઓ મળ્યા મોસાં એક બહેનને
કહે, 'હું મેં ન બાપુ' તે આંખે ને
બહેન: હું ન બાપુ'એ કહી કે એવો
છે: એટલે આંખેમાં મારે નહુકે બાપુ
પડે છે.'

મા જીવનકાર બાપુજીની ડાંબની
પોં તેમનાં જોડે જોડે ગાલ્યા. બાપુજીએ
મળિયું: 'મને કમને, વાતની અઘાનથી,

બાને શ્રદ્ધાંજલિ

[તા. ૨૨-૨-૧૯૪૮ ને દોલ ખોદરા રેલિંગ રોડના પર્યા આવેલું બાપુજી
ખોદરા રેલિંગ રોડના રોજ-મધ્યમાં.]

લેખક: અદર્શકર પ્રાપ્તકર ચુકલ

મારી પાછળ સાક્ષાત્ તેણે ચોતાના
જીવનની સાચીતા માની છે, અને
૨૨મ્મ જીવન માળવાના મમનમાં
મને કહી રોક્યો નથી. આથી, નો
કે અમારી પ્રવૃત્તિમાં થયું અંતર
છે. છતાં અમારું જીવન સતીશી,
સુખી અને સૌંદર્યમાં ને એમ મને
આપું છે. જેમ જેમ વરસો વધતાં
મયાં તેમ તેમ બાપુજીને વિશેષ
સાંપડ્યું આંખરનાં મધ્ય, 'નમજીવન'
અને 'દરિદ્ર-નમજી'માં બાપુજીનાં
લખાણો આપનાં તે માંથીજીનાં બા
કહી સુઠાં નહીં. બાપુજી વિશેની
તેમની પદા નિરંતર વપતીજી તા.
સાક્ષાત્કારી કાળમાં સૌંદર્યને કોઈ
જીવનાં દાખલો આપેલ ૧૯૪૩ માં
મેલકાલો. આત્માપ્તિ મહેલમાં એક
રાતે કાંઈ આકાશમાંથી તેમની
દાંથીજીની સુદી નહાવા. આ જીવ
બાપુજી મામ જતા. પોતિયે મારે
વધવાની પ્રાપ્તિ પછી તરત બાપુજી
પાસે જઈ તેમને અસ્થિર કરી પડે
લાગ્યા, ને કહ્યું: 'મને બાપુ' સુઠાં
કાળમાં આવીને આવે.' સુખ
મારી રવાનામાં આંખીકો બાને રજા,
અને પતિ પદેલાંજી સંસ્કારમાંથી
વિદાય લેવાની દેવ આપે' સુઠાં ને
અબીજામાં કામ છે તે સંજીની સુખ
સલ. પતિને બીજો બાપુ' રોકીને રોક
કાંઈકાળે સુઠાંજી બાંજી થીથી ૧૯૪૩
માં માંથીજીએ બાને કહેલું: 'હું ને ન
માં પડી જાવસ તે જમણાની, જેમ
હું તને પુછ્યું.' તેઓ બહેનને જમ
દાંજી તરીકે પુછ્યા. પતિના નામ
મા ને તે પથ્રું કાંઈકાળે, રજાંજી
ના સંકલિત તરીકે મરવાતું વાગ્યું
જમણામાં બીજી કાલ જીને મળ્યું.

બાપુજીનાં કવનાર પથ્રું માંથીજીને
બાની લીખત નોંધ નવાસ બામની,
બા વખત આપે બાપુજીને મનની
વાત કહી દેતાં. એકવાર સામર્યની
માં બાજીના નરતા વિષે બાંજી
બાપુજીએ ટોર કરી, ને તેમને રજા
આપવાનું કહ્યું. બા કહે: 'કામજી
કાંઈકાળે સતીવ વધવાનો વખત છે.
હવે જાની પાં રોકાં, પણ નાનપથ્રું
માં નમને મોકીયા ને એવું બાપુ' ને.
બાપુ' કહે ને તમે આ તાર કાપવાના
આટલા બધા પેલા અંગ્રેજના કાંઈકાળે
માં બાજી છે, તેના કરતાં તે નરતા
દું મરમ જોઈજી થાય છે.' રજીજી
આંખમાં એવાર આ કહે: 'મેલા,
જેમકા, હવે મેસો! દર રજીકારે મારી
પાસે પુરુષોવાળા જવામાંની સાત આઠ
કાપડી જનાર તપજી કે બાપુ' માં

આટલે હવે સાધુ બન્યા. કાંઈકાળે
કાંઈકાળે મોકીયા આ આપી તેમાં પથ્રું
વિચારાએ સંભળાવવાનું.' ૧૯૪૩
માં વધોમાં એકવાર માંથીજી જમ્યા
પછી રસીકાનાં મેડાં વામજી માંજા
વારા પ્રમાણે થીકા. તોડે કુમારજી
કામીકારે કતા. બાને જમ્યા કુમા
કમને વામજી માંજા માવના. બાને
એ વાતની ખબર પડી, એટલે આ
આપી આંખ મધ્યની કહેવા કાંઈકાળે:
'આ તે મળાં કામ છે! તો પછી
બીજાં સુ કહેશે કોઈ, જાઓ અહીંથી.'
કહેવાંકને વરત તેમના કામમાંથી વામજી
પુરુષો થીકા. માંથીજી ને સકા મધ
મામ, ને પછી કહી પડ્યા. કુમારજી
ને કહે: 'તમારા પર કુકમ ગાવા-
નાર આં નથી ને તમે કેના સુપી
કો! મારે કાંઈકાળે કાંઈકાળે નથી.
દને 'મા તમને સામ આપશે.'

પથ્રું આવી પાછળ સદવાન દોલ,
એટલે એ પ્રમાણે મળીને છતાં વિના
જોવા બાની જતા. એનો વિચાર પણ
બા કહેલો કરતાં. ૧૯૪૬ માં બાપુજી
ની 'અત્મસંકષ્ટ' આંખરથી આંખરથી
લખાવી. તેમાં 'પથ્રુંપથ્રું' નામનું
પ્રકરણ આપ્યું. તે વાંચીને બા પાસે
મેડાં બાપુજીને કહે: 'એકવાર તમે
મને કુકાઈ મારેશો તે તો આમાં
લખ્યું નથી.' ૧૯૪૭ માં વરસકા
જમ્યા બાપુજીએ કામી નિર્ણય સામે
લેવામાં આંખર બા સામર્યની જેસ
માં કતા કાપી કાંઈકાળે એમને વરસકે
લાલી. બા જેસમાં આત્મા વેત બાપુજી
ને કહે: 'આ સુ દેગ માંજા છે
પાછા.' ૧૯૪૭ની ફિલ્મ માંજાની
માંથીજીની મુસાફરીમાં મને તેમની સાંધ
કવનાની તક મળી. એક સગારે
નાંતોર પદેલાંજી કાં માંથીજી મોકી
દેમ કારીને જકરીનું કુક લખ આંખ
બા દેગ સમને કહે: 'મળાંજી બાપુ'
કુક' મેલાંજી કહે: 'માવાજી, અમે
તો અહીં મે બકરી બાંધી છે!' બા
કમતા કહતા કહે: 'તમે માંજીએ
સું એમ મારો છે કે મળાંજી
આંખર દિવસ કુકજી પી પી કરતા
કહે ને બાંજી કહે કામજી નહીં કરતા
કોપર' સંવાસમાં એકવાર નાનપુર
ના ચોકાક દરિયાને મેડાં કાંઈકાળે
કરતા આંખર. એમને કાં રજાવત
એ કાંઈકાળે વધ માંજી, બાપુજી બાને
કહે. 'તારી એકરી બાંધી કરી આપ'
બા કહે: 'તમે કરી આપો એકરી
બાંધી, તમારા કાંઈકાળે બાંજીને'
બાપુજી કહતા કહતા કહે 'તારા
પથ્રું કાંઈકાળે કાં નથી તે' અને

બાંજી ચોતાના એકરીમાં ચોલાંજીને
મળે જમ્યા કરી આપી

બાંજી કલકા પ્રમાણે પથ્રું કાંઈકાળે
આવતા. આંખરમાં કેવળ બાંજી
મારને વામજીનાં અમકારમાં માંજીએ
બાની કાંઈકાળે નહીં કુકાલી પથ્રું કાંઈકાળે
કરતાં. ૧૯૪૬ માં એકવાર બાપુજી
મને મળીને સંભળવા કતા ત્યાં બાંજી
આપી કુકાંજી આ કાંઈકાળે વામ કાંઈકાળે,
ને આંખર માંજીમાં. બાપુજીએ તેમનું
સંભળનું કહ્યું. બા પ્રત્યે 'બાપુજીને જે
સંભળતા કાં તેના વર્ણન' એક
જીવે પ્રકરણ થાય. બાની આપી
નાની નિર્ણય કુકાંજીને તેઓ કાં વિચાર
ન કરતા. અંજા મળ્યાની એ મળીકાંજી
કારીને તપ અને પરિસ્થિતી કહેલ
વાપુ' કહ્યું જોની એમને તો અંજા
કાં. બાપુ' કાંજી તેઓ બાંજી થાક થાક
રાખીને કરતા કે કાંજી, બાંજી
જીવનમાં કહેલા બાપુ' દેશમાં કહે
જોના વિચાર કરી જોવા જોવા છે.
બાંજી કાંજી કાંજીને વિચાર કહે,
કાં જોવા વરત તેમણે કાંજી થાક
નહીંજી. સોફીકાની મળી એવોપી,
આંખર કાંજીની પતી મેરી રોક,
અને કાંજીકાળે પતી સોલીકાના
કાપડાં ને બાંજી મુકાળે કરી
ચુકે, એટલે એ કાંજીને મળીકાળે વરત
સંભળશે. માંજી બાપુજીને જીવનની તા
પાનાર અને પતિના સંભળની આંજી
કાં ન બાંજીનાં સો જીવતા.

ચોતે કાપડા નહિ જોના વરસકા
બાંજી થાકે મળીકાળે મળે તેમાં બાંજી
બાંજીનાં મળે થાક બાંજીમાં અંજા
કરતાં. એકવાર કહે: 'હું ના કારી
ને મળી દેશ તે નમે બધાં કરે
તો એવા માંજા કાંજીનાં મળે બાપુજી
ને હું પણ કરી કરતા ને.' બાપુજી
આ વાત બાંજીનાં રજામાં કહે: 'તાર
આ બધાં જોઈ કરીકાળે કરવી છે કે
કાંજી' બાપુજીએ એકવાર જો કામજી
મા કાંજી: 'પ્રવૃત્તિ નિહાસને મળીકાળે
છે, પણ કાંજીનાં વિચારને કાંજી મળીકાળે
નથી' જોવા વિચાર કાંજીને કાંજી,
ગાંજી ન કાંજીકાળે બા કાંજીનાં માંજીનાં
પરિચાર માં થાક સંજી, ને તેમનાં
મેળ અને આકાર સંજીનાં કરી સંજી.

બાના રજામાં બાંજી બાંજી બાંજી
એક વરત ન એમની બાંજીનાં જોવી
સંજીનાં કાંજી. કાંજીકાળે એમના
મળે રજાંજી નરવા નહીંજી. ચોતાની
મેડાંજીનાં બાંજી નહીંજી અંજા મામ,
કુકાંજી ને બાંજી વરત વિષે તેમને
રજામાંથી અંજાનાં કતા. એકવાર
કાંજીમાં ને તેમને બાંજી વિચાર વામ
કારી મળી નહીંજી. કારે તો એમને
બાંજી કાંજી માંજી નહીં, પણ આંજી
આ વાંજી લખતા થાય છે કે એમને
નવકા રોકી કરી: કાંજીકાળે કાંજીનાં વામ
સા રીતે કાંજી કરી કાંજી જમળવા
કે: પ્રમાણે કાંજી વિષે એમને એવા
જ અંજાનાં કતા.

ખાણુએ ૧૯૨૧ માં થયેલ 'મારી' અને પ્રત્યેક મારી બાપ કું વધુની છાત્રે' તો હોય મારી પ્રત્યેક મારી બાપ વધુની છાત્રે' મારી અને મારી અંતરને જે રીતે હથેલે છે તે રીતે ફરીથી ખાણુ માં આ દબાવી રહે એમ નથી.' આના અર્થવાગ થઈ એક વિરેલી મીઠાના હીલાલાના જવાબમાં તેણે લખ્યું: 'આને રેક મરમીજીત પદ મેં છે. પણ ના [મારી એટલે] છે.' (I'm with me though her body is conjoined to the hammer.)

સર શ્રીજીરાજ મહેતાએ ૧૯૧૨ માં કહેલું: 'આમાં સુધી આપણી ખાલે માંથીજ જેવા હોઈ પુરે: ને માંમાંથી માંથી જેવી હોઈ મહિલાઓ છે આં છુપી આપણે આપણા ફેરને માટે નિરાશ થવાની જગ્યાએ જરૂર નથી. તેમજે ખાતાની આપણે છે કે થોડા પ્રમથે ને જેમ જેમ પ્રસંગે જાણ મરી તેમ તેમ તેને પદોના વળાવને જે હાંમલ, છુટાવના, સહનમાંલતા ને ૧૯૨૬ સહનના ઉચ્ચમાં જવા ગુણે એટલે તે હોઈ-ઓખા છે.'

૧૯૧૨ માં તેમજે કથું ને વાગ વાગા વળાવી ખરેખર કાજે છે તે હું નમને કહું છું. મધેરીજીનાં પત્નીએ મધેરીજીની સાથે સહાનુભૂતી મહત્ત્વમાં અંધારામાં તે પદેસાં તેમના પત્નીની સાથે તેમને જે વળાવીને મધેરી તેના હરતાં હરકને વધારે હસાવનાર પ્રસંગ આ મહત્ત્વના આખા મહિલાસમાજ બીજે એકે ખતો નથી... છુટાપારે ઓઝોને તકતની કામગીરી વેકા મોઝાપી એ ફરી સત્ત્વની ઓટી માંથીજે ખજાર હતી. પણ તેમના સમયવલના ખતાં એ નિર્માય મહિલાએ તે મહત્ત્વમાં હોઈ રહેલા પ્રમથેની સાથેજ મહત્ત્વમાં જંખ-લાવવાનો નિયમ મેં. કલિદાસ પછી પીરમિતમોના પીરમિતોની મોંધ લોપી છે, અને મને સાથે છે કે મીઠાની અંધો આખા જમતની મોટામાં મોટી નીચમનાઓમાંની એક તરીકે કલિદાસ માં રહના પામશે.'

[તા. ૮-૨-૪૮ ના મહાધીવસંતે છે. તે દિને ખાલી મુદતનીયી છે. આ.પ.એ.પ.]

કુંક ખખરો

વોરસીયાના નેતાની માંથી સખા-વાલ

મહાત્મા ગાંધીનાં રમરજીવે નવ-સારીના થી. કાલાવાલ મહત્ત્વ મરે-હીઆએ સાંવા પ્રમુખી પદનાં નીમાવ માટે રૂપિયા પચાસ હજાર અને ખીજ પચાસ હજાર એ પદની સાથે બાંધ્યા માટે આરોગ્યશુદ્ધિ ખાંધવાનો આપ્યા છે. નવસારીમાં એમની આચારી સર્વા-નરો ખમ્મ શ્રીમંત મહારાજ તરફથી એમને દાનરો આદ મળેલ છે.

શ્રી માધવંત એસોસીએશન

શ્રી માધવંત એસોસીએશનની વાર્ષિક મહેર સભા તા. ૮-૨-૪૮ ને રોજ શીખત એસ. એસ. મહીલાની અધ્યક્ષ-પણા હેરાળ. એસોસીએશનના હોલમાં, ખળા હતી. મત મધેની દેવલો પ્રમુખ રમાનેથી તેમજ મંત્રી તરફથી રજુ કરવા માં આપ્યા હતા. કાર બાદ બાહુ મધ માટે અધીકારીઓની મુદતથી નીચે મુજબ થયું હતી: માનદ મંત્રી: માનદ એસ. દાગરમા; ખાખનથી: એ. હીનદસી છુનર; કાંધેવાલ હામી: નરેશમજીભા નામા, રમીકાજાલ હીરા, જાણ પરીસીતમ, પેગાલાલે જોવાળ, મુજલજાલ પાણા, નામુજાલ મલા, બી. એ. પરમાર, એસ. એલ. મહીરા, મહાજાલ પીરા, પરસુરજી કામજા માં કાંધેવાલના સમો, જેઓએ કાજરી આપી હતી, તેઓને મંત્રી મારફતે આખાર વાંતવામાં આવ્યો હતો, અને કાન્ટીપીક પાલ સભા વિચારેન ૧૭

હતી. તા. ૧૭-૨-૪૮ ના રોજ કમીરી મીટીંગ મળા હતી અને પ્રમુખ, શ્રી એસ. એસ. મહીરાને મુદવામાં આપ્યા હતા.

શ્રી હિંદુ આવંજનિક સભા ઇન્કારને

મજુર સરજાની મનરેક સભા તા. ૭ ફેબ્રુઆરી સને ૧૯૪૮ ના તમા કામગીરીઓની નીમજુકે માટે શીવાન રોક વસરામદાસ કાનજીના પ્રમુખપદે, સંસ્થાનાં હોલમાં મળી હતી. તેમાં નીચે મુજબ કામગીરીઓ ચુકાવા હતા:

પ્રમુખ: શીખત માનેહર જેડા એન્ડ હરમલિલ, સેક્રેટરી: કામરગદ હરમલે, ઉપ-સેક્રેટરી: વેળીમાલ નીકલ દાસ, કાંધેવાલ મંત્રી: પ્રમુખ: શીખત વેલે દેવમંદ એન્ડ ઇરમલિલ ઉપપ્રમુખ: ફેરજી કાનજી, મંત્રી: હીરમંદ કાનજી એન્ડ હરમલિલ, ઉપ-મંત્રી: પરમાણ્વ દલદા, ખાખનથી: ધરમગી મુજલ કા. ઉપખાખનથી: હરમલે જેડા (ફેરેર), સહાકાર: રમેહર મંત્રીજી, ઉપસહાકાર: મારમલદાસ કાંમદાસ, ઓડીટર ડી. ડી. પ્રમુખ: હરીદાસ નરસીક, સેક્રેટરી: મોલીમંદ સામજી, ઉપસેક્રેટરી: કુખ-ચંદ દેવમંદ. પ્રમુખ થી. વસરામલે કાનજીએ સંસ્થા પ્રતે પ્રમીતી સત્ત્વ મળી મળી રોક કાંધે વસાકાથી કરવા તેમજ સંસ્થાની લેવા ખાખવવા નમતામુજકે ખધને વિનંતી કરી હતી.

પરસુરજી

—કેપટાલિંગના ઝા. કમતલાઈ નરેશમ કસના પુત્ર થી. મોતીરામની સમ સેરીજીયાના થી. મહત્ત્વમાં છુટાપાર ના પુત્રી શ્રીમતી લક્ષ્મીબેન અમે તા. ૧૭-૨-૧૯૪૮ નાં સેરીજીયા મુકા કામે મમા હતાં થી. ઇ. પરમાર જેઓએ આવીપદ આપ્યા ને સર્વે મીઠાનો અત્ત પત્ત કાસ આવાર માને છે.

—શ્રીરેશીયાની મારસામા વિખાતની દરખાસ્ત ઉપર કાપણ કરતા મજુર પસના આગેવાન થી. એલ. એલ. રેવીસે કહ્યું કે મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના નરજી વીધી કાંઈની અને ખાખરનાતની સરકાર પ્રતે દાસસોજી બપત કમી વિના આપણી સરકાર રહેશે નહિ' અને જોખ આઠા જજાવશે કે તેમના પુત્રથી વધારે કોઈ વધેશે નહિ.

—વીચા કપનીઓ, મેં. તમા ધીર-વાર કરનાર મંત્રીઓ આસહકારે માંમણીઓને ઘડને ખાહીસતા સરકારે આર મોના (પેસા વખાને લેવાનો બદલ-બરવ) કોળી કરવાને નીમજ કમી છે જે લોને જુદા જુદા સમયે પાકશે (બરી દેવામાં આવશે) આમાં સુધી સર-કાર ભોનો બારવાનો સમય ખંધ નહીં કરે લા સુધી તેની મુદત છુટી રહેશે. આ મોનેની રકમ મુજબતે કરી નીકાસ ને માટે તમા તેવાંજ કાવંને માટે ઉપ-યોજમાં લેવાશે.

—શ્રીગેરીવન કાસાન મહા કલરે કાપીઓએ પાંચ વિવર સુધી માંમીટ માટે પ્રાધનાઓ કરી હતી. અને તેમના રીવાળે મુજબ મરજી કાંધા એ કરી હતી.

દરેકાનટીન મહેરસા પ્રસલામીયા

કારેકાલ સરજા માટે અરબી, ૩૨૬, કુખકાલ પદામી સને આમાં એક કિલોગ્રામી ૧૨૭૭. પચાસ વા. ૧૫-૭-૨ 'મારી'ન બેલ હોલંગ મહત્ત આપવામાં આવશે, ૨૪ વરસે માપમાં મુજબ થી ૨-૭-૭ પદાના મરવામાં આવવા.

સભા નમવા ની: TURFONTEIN MADRESSA ISLAMIA. 76 Hay Street. TURFONTEIN.

મહેર મખર

શ્રી. કાસવાલ પ્રમથપતિ એસોસીએ-શનનાં સને ૧૯૪૮ નાં વાર્ષિક સંમેલન તા. ૨૬-૨-૪૮ ને રવીવારે ખપેરે ૧-૧૫ કાંધે ૫૦ ફેરસ રહોલ ૭૫૨ આરેકા માંથી હોલમાં થી. અમરામ કાંધે નરેશમકાપવા પ્રમુખપદે મળશે. વિમવિધ્યારીથી સમાવી તા. ૨૭-૨-૪૮ ને રવીવારે સંજે સાત કાંધે મેકા-નીસમમાં ૭૩ વેરટ રહોલ ઉપર આરેકા મારનાર મેન્ટ-કમ મળશે. તે પદેમાં સભ્યો તરફથી આવનાર કાનેની મેમ્બર કરખાસ મંત્રીને મળા થઈ એટલે.

એસોસીએશનના તમામ સભ્યોને એ ખન્ને પ્રસંગે વેળાસર પધારવા બિનંતી છે. સહ કાંધ વાંતવનેએ સંમેલનમાં કાખરે રહેવા ડખા કરવી.

સંમેલન કામકાજ:—(૧) મીટીંગ તમા મંત્રીને રીપોર્ટ, (૨) હીસાબની રજુઆત, (૩) કાંધે, (૪) સુરેષી, (૫) પરસુરજી.

ફ. ક. મીઆ મંત્રા થી. ડા. પ્ર. એસોસીએશન બેકાવીસમથ

“આપુના બાને પમે”

ખહાર પડેલી નવી પુસ્તિકા મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ કસ્ટુરે બાને લખેલા ફેરકાલે પચાને આ પુસ્તિકામાં સંમલ છે. ગાંધીજી સંસારથી વિરહત છતાં ફેરકા સંસારી હતા અને તેઓના જમ ફેરકા નિર્મલ હતા તેની આ પચાપરથી કાંખી થાય છે અને તે સાથે ને અતિ મિલકાવટ છે. આ પુસ્તિકા આ આદીસંધી મળશે.

ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે કીંમત રૂ-૩.

નોંધ: વી. પી. કે ઉધાર એડરેને ધ્યાન દેવામાં નહિ આવે.

INDIAN OPINION. PHOENIX-NATAL.

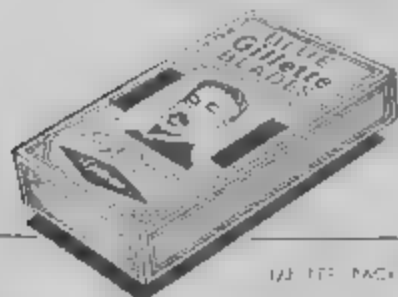
| અકવાઈક પંચાંગ | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------|--------|
| વાર | ખ્રીસ્તી ૧૯૪૮ માં | દીડ માર્ગ પ્રમથ | મુસલમાન ૧૩૬૭ ૨ે અખર | ખરતી ૧૩૧૫ ૨ે. ૬૬મા | મુખરમ ૬ મા. ૬ મા. | સં. મા. | સ. મા. |
| ચુક | ૧ | ૧૨ી ૧૦ | ૧૬ | ૨ | ૫-૫૦ | ૧-૨૧ | |
| સોમ | ૨ | ૧૩ ૧૧ | ૧૭ | ૩ | ૫-૫૧ | ૨-૨૧ | |
| રવિ | ૩ | ૧૪ ૧૨ | ૧૮ | ૪ | ૫-૫૨ | ૩-૨૪ | |
| સોમ | ૪ | ૧૫ ૧૩ | ૧૯ | ૫ | ૫-૫૩ | ૪-૨૬ | |
| મંગલ | ૫ | ૧૬ ૧૪ | ૨૦ | ૬ | ૫-૫૪ | ૫-૨૭ | |
| બુધ | ૬ | ૧૭ ૧૫ | ૨૧ | ૭ | ૫-૫૫ | ૬-૨૯ | |
| ગુરુ | ૭ | ૧૮ ૧૬ | ૨૨ | ૮ | ૫-૫૬ | ૭-૨૯ | |

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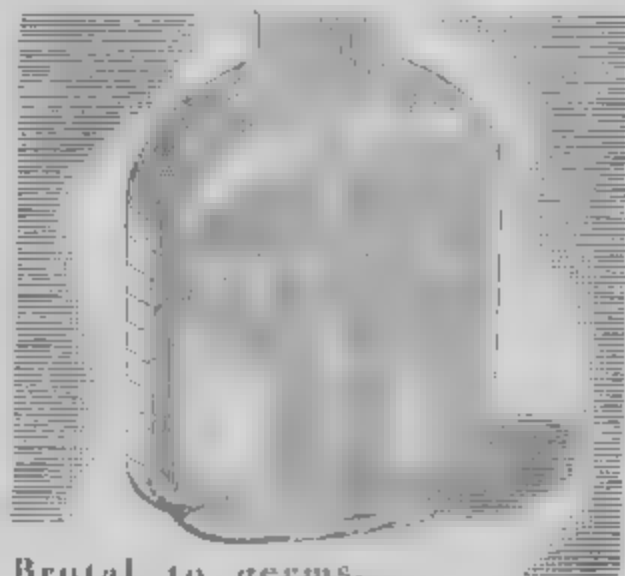
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| | | | E. | S. | A. |
|------------|-----------|---|----|----|----|
| Zoonat | 5 records | 2 | 10 | 0 | |
| Kamat | 5 " | 2 | 10 | 0 | |
| Iwar Shata | 5 " | 2 | 0 | 5 | |
| Karukeshm | 5 " | 2 | 10 | 0 | |
| Ohar Akhen | 4 " | 1 | 17 | 1 | |
| Sakuntala | 7 " | 2 | 12 | 6 | |
| Rani Rajya | 5 " | 2 | 10 | 0 | |

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JUTHIKA RAY N 16710, 16728, 16743

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ટેલીગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ: "અરવિન્દ."

કેડ કોલસેલ.

૫૫૫, ૫૫૫૫ રજીસ્ટ્રેશન, ૫૫૫૫૫૫૫૫.

ફોન ૫૫.

પો. બો. નંબર ૧૦૮.

ટેલીગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—કોલસેલ વેપારી—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ଶ୍ରୀ ଜୟାମ୍ବର—

જોડાનીસખગંધુ' જાણીતું સાધી મહ

સરસ્તા બાવે આકર્ષક અને કળામય સાડીઓ પા. શી. ૧

| | | | |
|---|----|----|---|
| સીદ્ધાન્તી ભરત ભરણી સાહિત્યો નવીન હિસાબન | ૫ | ૧૦ | ૦ |
| કાવ્યેશી ભરણેશી સાહિત્યો | ૭ | ૧૦ | ૦ |
| સીદ્ધ મહાશીતની ભરતભરણી સાહિત્યો | ૮ | ૮ | ૦ |
| નવી ભરત સીદ્ધ મહાશીત સાહિત્યો | ૧૩ | ૧૦ | ૦ |
| નવ્ય ભરત ભરણેશી સાહિત્યો | ૧૫ | ૦ | ૭ |
| હિદમ તદા, બે રંગી રાહિત્યો, રંગીન નવીન હિસાબન | ૧૧ | ૦ | ૦ |

છાપેલું' વાવણ, જાડી મારે ૫૦^મ પત્રો. અ.ક.પંકે રંગોમાં, રી. ૬ વાર.
ભરણ ખરેલું રંગમાં, જાડી અને પડાકેટલ મારે ૮૫^મ પત્રો રી. ૧૨-૬
મરદ તપા છાપેલોએ મારે રી. ૬૬ રાઈ, પાવળમાં, કોકણ, રૂઆલ
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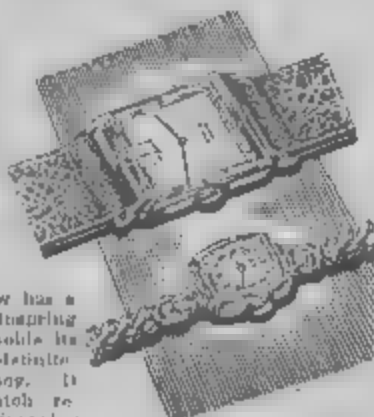
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NOTICE

To the delegates and members of Branches.
The terms of Clause (a) and (c) of the Natal Indian Congress Constitution, 1934 are hereby notified that the Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress will be held in Durban on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, the 27th, 28th and 29th of May, 1948.

Delegates of Branches to send the details of time, place and agenda and be forwarded to the delegates and Branch Secretaries direct N. I. C. Office, 10, Church St. Durban (S.A.) and (b) and Rules of the constitution.
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 12TH MARCH, 1948

The American Journalists

A PARTY of twenty American editors and publishers arrived in the Union last week, and after a high-speed seven-day tour of South Africa, they left for their home. Mr. Frank Murphy, publisher of 'The Times,' Hartford, Connecticut, told the Press that:

what they had seen in South Africa had given the lie to all the accusations made at the United Nations about the Union's ill-treatment of her non-European population. "And in saying this," he added, "I feel I speak for nearly all my colleagues on the trip."

"Much of what was said at Lake Success received wide publicity in the United States and I have already set out to correct that impression by cabling the facts of the situation in articles to my paper."

"In the time available here, I have not only listened to experts on racial questions but I have been into the Native and Indian sections of your cities. What I have seen has convinced me that those stories of oppression which we heard at U.N. were distorted and greatly exaggerated."

"I now realise that it would be utterly impossible to give the Native the vote in his present state. He is, in fact, only just emerging into civilisation."

"Ahead of you, as you know better than we, there is a vast task. The Native will have to be educated and it may be two or three generations before this has been achieved."

"In my view your most pressing problem is the necessity of increasing the white population by every conceivable means."

If Mr. Frank Murphy has spoken as he says he has,

for nearly all his colleagues, and there is little doubt that he has, since none have repudiated it, it speaks little of their sense of responsibility. We are not so much pained about their views on the treatment of South Africa's non-European population. They are entitled to their views. What we take exception to is the fact that they should have considered themselves competent enough to express their considered judgment on such a big and complicated question within a seven-day flight over the country. One cannot resist the conclusion that they did so in the intoxication of the grand reception given them by the authorities. We venture to suggest that they have misused the hospitality they have received from the country and that their view will not carry the weight they expect it to carry among the thinking people either of their own country or of the outside world. If the statesmen of the Union believe that their case will succeed by such propaganda we fear they are living in a fool's paradise. This is the type of propaganda that was carried on by Britain by the use of Miss Mayo, to bolster up its case against India but, in the end, it did not succeed. So

will it not succeed in the case of South Africa. However much we may try to persuade ourselves to do otherwise, we cannot help thinking that an entirely wrong approach is being made in solving the question of the non-Europeans and the world will have to suffer the consequences of the blunders of the so-called wise men. The time has come to think, not in terms of the past, but of the future. We should look not half-a-century backward but half-a-century forward. White South Africa, in our humble opinion, should rather try to undergo a little introspection and take steps to correct their ways by bringing relief to the non-Europeans, who have admittedly a just case, than having their glory broadcast by means of inspired flying visits of journalists of the type we have had and others from Europe. We are in complete agreement that the remedy lies here in this country and no outside interference should be brooked—but, provided the rulers of the Union act more sanely.

We do not agree with Mr. Frank Murphy, that the "most pressing problem is the necessity of increasing the white population by every conceivable means." We believe the most pressing problem is the necessity of improving the lot of the sons of the soil and of making good and proper

use of the God-given manpower within the country. That, in our mind, is the only sane way. Any other is wrought with grave danger for the future not only of South Africa but of the world.

A Repudiation By Mr. Manilal Gandhi

THE following report appearing in the 'Sunday Express' was brought to my notice by a slip from the paper sent to me from Johannesburg: "Manilal Gandhi, son of the late Mahatma Gandhi, will lead a mass demonstration march of Natal Indians over the Transvaal border on Sunday, March 21. This will be known as the Gandhi Memorial March."

I do not know the source of this information, but the paper that published it should at least have approached me for confirmation before giving it publicity and thus saved me from having to repudiate it.

I am contemplating courting arrest in the near future but no plans have been made by me as to what form it would take. The public and the proper quarters will be informed before I do take any such action.

Men of culture are the true apostles of equality.—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

A man may build himself a throne of bayonets, but he cannot sit on it.—DRAN INGE

PANDIT NEHRU ACCUSES U.K. PRESS

COLONIAL OFFICE GIVES VERY LITTLE HELP ON QUESTION OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

—SAYS PANDIT NEHRU.

BRITAIN was employing Indians guilty of anti-Indian propaganda in her information services in America Pandit Nehru told the Indian Parliament on March 8.

Speaking in a foreign affairs debate, Pandit Nehru said "One of the main functions of the British publicity organisation in America some years ago was to do anti-Indian propaganda."

"The same people function there now, so that when they have to do any propaganda they are biased even if they do not want to be so."

Pandit Nehru said that Pakistan's publicity in the United States had been undertaken by the British Information Services.

"A certain section of the Press in the United Kingdom deliberately and often

sively misrepresents us. It is time the Government of India dealt with this matter more firmly."

On the future of India, Pandit Nehru said:—

"Whatever the final decision of the Constituent Assembly, it is quite certain that I believe India should be a completely independent and sovereign republic or commonwealth or State—call it whatever you like."

There remained, he said, the problem of what India's relations would be with the British Commonwealth.

He was sorry to say the Government of India did not get much help from the British Colonial Office over the difficulties of Indians overseas.

"Not only do we not get much help, but the delays of the British Colonial Office astonish me," he said.—*Simba-Reuter*

HAJ PILGRIMS

The Government of India has made the following announcement relating to arrangements including passages for Haj pilgrims for the ensuing season:

The Government of India requests that arrangements for passages should be made direct with the shipping companies engaged in the pilgrim traffic. The following companies are at present so engaged:—

1. Messrs. Turner Morrison and Co. Ltd., 111 Bank Street, Bombay.

2. Messrs. Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd., Scindia House, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

Under the existing law no deck pilgrim shall be received on board any pilgrim ship at any port in India unless he is in possession of a return ticket or has deposited with the executive officer of the Port Haj Committee of the port concerned the

prescribed amount for the purpose of defraying the cost of a return ticket. Return passages for pilgrims to India are arranged by the Indian Vice Consul, Jeddah, according to the "First come, first served" system i.e. the date of the pilgrim's return to Jeddah from Mecca and Medina. Pilgrims are therefore requested to contact the representative of the Government of India at Jeddah for return passages.

Fares for the ensuing season have not yet been fixed, but if I receive any further communication relating to these I shall pass it on. Requests for information about the availability of ships from India to Jeddah, sailing dates etc., should be addressed directly to the shipping companies mentioned.

The Government of India stress that persons to whom the Reciprocity (South Africa) Rules,

1944, apply should approach the Immigration Commissioner concerned for transit permits immediately on arrival in India.

Improvement In Haj Shipping

The Government of India have been considering the future policy to be followed regarding Haj arrangements. The suspension of sailings during the year 1942-43 led to the accumulation of a large number of persons desiring to proceed on pilgrimage. When sailings were resumed in 1944 it was found that the booking of the passages and preparation of sailing programmes required an elaborate organisation. The Government of India thereupon assumed responsibility for all sailing and booking arrangements.

With the improvement in shipping facilities, it is now felt that the present elaborate arrangements need not continue. In the coming season, the Government of India will divert itself for responsibility for booking arrangements but will endeavour to ensure that adequate shipping is available. Intending pilgrims should therefore submit their applications for passages direct to the shipping companies concerned.

Refund To Haj Applicants

Intending pilgrims who deposited advance passage money with the Haj Booking Office, New Delhi, in connection with Haj pilgrimage in 1947 but were not successful in securing passages should submit their claims to the Booking Office, Connaught Circus, New Delhi, for refund of their deposits at an early date. The following details in respect of their remittances should be furnished in the application for refund:—

Name of pilgrim, Permanent address as given in the application for passage, Amount remitted, Number and date of money order, Name of the Post-Office from which remitted, Whether the Pilgrim applied for passage in pre-Ramzan or post-Ramzan sailings, Cash serial number noted on the receipt obtained from the Haj Booking Office, Present Address.

The reservation card, if any, should be surrendered with the application for refund.

Matriculation Classes For Dundee

The Natal Education Department has approved of the opening of Standard IX class at the Dundee Government Indian Secondary School immediately and Standard X classes in 1948. Besides Sattri College, Indian Girls' High School, Durban, and Woodlands High School, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee is the only other centre in Natal with these facilities. With the establishment of these classes, a long-felt want has been fulfilled for those students desirous of taking the Matriculation in Northern Natal. Classes have already begun, and applications are invited from those students desirous of availing themselves of this opportunity. All communications should be addressed to the Principal, P. O. Box 107 Dundee, in respect of accommodation, boarding and lodging facilities.

Mr. Ismail Meer has obtained the Bachelor of Law degree at the Witwatersrand University in the examination results just published. He is the only non-European student at the Wit to qualify 1947.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER

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ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન.

પ્રકાશન મંપીલના હસ્તે
સને ૧૯૦૧થી પ્રકાશ્યું.

પુસ્તાક ક્રમ નં—૨૫૩૧

શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૨ માર્ચ, ૧૯૪૮.

પ્રકાશન કલકત્તા ૪ પૈની

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૨ માર્ચ, ૧૯૪૮

અમેરીકાના પત્રકારો

અમેરીકાના લીસ ત્રીજા અને પ્રકાશકો ગયે અઠવાડિયે લીડને સાંઘિય આંદોલન આવ્યા અને સાત દિવસની કેડલી મુદ્દા-લત લઈ પોતાને વતન વિદાય થઈ પા. હાઈકોર્ટ, હનેકીટના ડાયરેક્ટર પત્રના પ્રકાશક મી. કે મરફીએ સાંઘિય આંદોલનના ત્રેને જણાવ્યું કે :

“સાંઘિય આંદોલનમાં તેઓએ જે ભૂલ તે પછી તેઓએ જે તિર્ણપ પર આવ્યા છે તે જીન-જોરી પ્રશ્નની તરફ ધુનીવનમાં ગેરવત્સલ્ય પતાવવા છે, જેવા રાષ્ટ્રપ્રધાન જે આશોપા મુદ્દાના કતા, તે બોલા કતા. મી. મરફીએ કહ્યું કે “આમ કહેવામાં બને માટે છે કે હું મારા વ્યક્તિય સ્વયંના સાંધીઓની વળી બોલી રહ્યો છું. એક સંસ્થામાં કહેવામાં આવેલી થઈ પરી પર-ઓને સુન્યાપરેક રૂઝમતી ગોળા પ્રસિદ્ધિ આપવામાં આવી હતી અને જે ત્રણ સ્થાપનાને કે ત્રણ પત્રનાં જેઓ દ્વારા ત્રણથી બીજી રીતે મેંથી રહ્યો છું. આદિ મહેલો વખતમાં મેં જાતિભેદના સવારોપર નિષ્ણાતોને જાણવ્યા છે, એટલુંજ નહિ પરંતુ તમારા સહેલાની મેંથી અને હાઈ વસ્તીઓવાળા જાગીમાં પણ મેંથી છું. મેં જે ભૂલ છે તે પછી અને જાગી થઈ છે કે રાષ્ટ્રપ્રધાનમાં જામે સાંધાઓની કમનની થાતો જાગી થઈ અને પછીજ અતિરુપેક્ષિતભરેલી હતી. કે કંઈ સમજી કમો છું કે મેંથીને કાલની રિપ્તિના અતિરુપેક્ષિત આવેલા પીઠ-ક્રમ અસહ્ય છે. કાળીકામાં કહ્યું તો તે સુધારકમાં માં પ્રવેશ કરી રહ્યો છે. તમારી સમજ, મહાન હશે” મેંથી છે જે અમારા કરતાં

તમે વધારે સારી રીતે સમજો છો. મેંથીને જાણથી આપણી પાસે અને જે કિંદુલતા બે કે ત્રણ પેઢીઓ થશે.

મારા મત પ્રમાણે સંધી અસહ્ય તો સવાર જાનની કંઈક રીતે જોડી વસતી રખાવાની જરૂરનો છે...

મી. હરેક મરફી, પોતે કહે છે તેમ, જે પોતાના કમન સમજના સાંધીઓની વતિ બોલ્યા હોય, અને તેમાંના કાંઈએ પ્રકાર નથી કર્યો જે જોતાં જે વિષે કરી રાંધાને સ્થાન નથી રહેતું, તો તેઓની જવાબદારીનાં જાનની તે પછી જાહેર કદર થઈ શકતી નથી. અમે અપવાદ લઈએ છીએ તે જે કહીકેતને વિષે છે, આવા કોઈ મોટા અને ગુરુત્વપૂર્ણભરેલાં પ્રશ્ન પર પોતાનો વિચારપુરુષા મુકાદો આપી દેવાને સાત દિવસની કેડલી મુદ્દાકરીપછી તેઓની કાયદાત તેઓએ માની લીધી. સુનીયન સરકાર વરફી તેઓને બોલેલા બંધ્ય સરકારના નિશામાં તેઓએ આ પ્રમાણે બોલી ગાળ્યું એવો તેઓ વિષેનો અભિપ્રાય અમે દોહી શકતા નથી. અમે સુચવીએ છીએ કે આ દેશે તેઓના કરેલા અતિથિ સરકારનો તેઓએ કુરુપ-શોગ કર્યો છે અને તેઓના મત પૂર્વજન પોતાના દેશના કે બહારની દુનીયાના વિચારવત્ત બોલેમાં તેઓએ ધારેલું કર્યું તેટલું નહિ થયે. સુનીયનના સુલહિઓ જે કોલું માનતા હોય કે આવી જાતના પ્રચારથી તેઓનો કેસ સફળ થશે તો અમને બચ છે કે તેઓ અંદરે સુલહ કરે છે.

આ જાતનો પ્રચાર બીજી સરકારે મીમ મેરો દ્વારા હાઈ સામેનો પોતાનો કેસ દકાવવાને કર્યો હતો પરંતુ અતે એથી કશું વળી શક્યું નહોતું અને સાંધા આંદોલને વિષે પણ કોલું થયે. જુદો વિચાર કરવાને અમારાં મનને અમે ગમે તેટલું મનાવવા મથીએ તોય જે વિચારને અમે રોડી નથી શકતા કે બીન-જોરાઓના પ્રશ્નના કેડલને માટે તકન બોલી રીત આભાર કરવામાં આવી રહી છે અને કહેવાતા જાનીઓની કુલોલું પરિણામ દુનીયાને સહેલું પડશે. હવે જે વખત આવેલો છે કે અમારે અપણું જુલકાળની દ્રષ્ટિએ નહિ પરંતુ અવિધ્યા કાળની દ્રષ્ટિએ વિચાર કરવો જોઈએ, પચાસ વર્ષ પાછળ નહિ પરંતુ પચાસ વર્ષ આગળ કોલું જોઈએ. અમારા નમ્ર મત પ્રમાણે જોરા સાંધિય આંદોલન અંતરંગીય કરવાની અને હમણાં આવી ગયા તેવા પત્રકારોને અને સુરોપથી બીજાઓને આદિ આવવા પ્રેરિને પોતાની કીર્તિશ્રી ગાન દુનીયા સમક્ષ ગવડાવવાના કરતાં બીન-જોરા, કે જેઓને કેસ સર્વમાન્ય રીતે ન્યાયી છે, તેઓને સહન આપી પોતાની રીતો સુધારવાની જરૂર છે. જે મતની સાથે અમે પુર્ણપણે સખતા થઈએ છીએ કે ઇલાજ આ દેશમાં રહ્યો છે અને બહારની હાથગીરી સહન કરવામાં નહિ આવવી જોઈએ—પરંતુ જે સરતે કે સુનીયન વધારે કહાપણથી વર્તે.

“બીજી વ્યક્તિનો સવાલ જોડી વસ્તીમાં મને તે રીતે વધારો કરવાની જરૂરનો છે,” જે મી. કેક મરફીના મનને અમે તળતા નથી ચતા. અમે જાનીએ છીએ કે બીજી વ્યક્તિનો સવાલ આ દેશના

જોડાની રિપ્તિ સુધારવાની જરૂરનો છે અને આ દેશનેજ ધર્મદે આપેલાં માનવધાનો સાથે અને યોગ્ય ઉપયોગ કરવાની જરૂરનો છે. જેજ અમારા મત પ્રમાણે કહાપણરહેલો માર્ગ ગણાય. બીજો કાંઈ પણ દુનીયાના સવિધ્યને ગંભીર જોખમમાં તાળનારો થઈ પડશે.

મારે વિષે પ્રસિદ્ધ પત્રોના બોલા અમર

લેખાનીસળગઈથી ‘સનડે એકસ પ્રેસ’ની મારા પર મોહકવામાં આવેલી કાપલી પરથી મારા જાણવા માં આવ્યું કે “ગાંધીજીના પુત્ર મળીલાલ ગાંધી માર્ચ તા. ૨૧ મીના નાટકના રીડીઓના મોટા સંસ્કરને લઈ ટુંકાવાળી સરકાર માં કુચ કરવાના છે અને આ કુચ ગાંધી રમારક કુચ તરીકે જાળખાશે.”

આ અમર કથાથી આવ્યા જે હું જાણતો નથી પરંતુ જે મને તે જાણ્યા તે છાપવા અગાઉ અને પુછી નહીં કરું જોઈએ હતું. કુલ સુલહમાં હું પકાવા બહાર પડવાની તથાકરી કરી રહ્યો છું પરંતુ તે કશું સ્વરૂપ લેશે તેની કરી જોજના મેં થઈ નથી. કંઈ પણ પત્રકાર લઈને તેની અંદર ને અને લાગતા મળતાઓને અગાઉથી જાણ કરીશ.

મળીલાલ ગાંધી

મહાત્મા ગાંધી રમારક ફૂન

મહાત્મા ગાંધી રમારક ફૂનની નેકાનીસળગઈથી મી. એસ. બી. મેર તરફથી રાજાની રકમ ૫૦૦ સુધી આવી થઈ છે. મહાત્મા ગાંધી રમારક અંદાજ કાપમાં થઈજ રાજાજ પત્રોથી લેવામાં અમે જે રાજાની રીપ પ્રસિદ્ધ કરી સંધા નથી. આવતા અંદાજીયામાં પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવાની અગાઉ અપીએ છીએ.

બ્રિટનના પત્ર પર પ્રતિત નેહરુએ મુકેલો

ભાગ્ય

“પરિવેશમાં વસતા હિંદીઓના સ્વામીના કોલોનીયલ ઓફીસ બહુ મરડા પડી ગયો.” નેહરુ.

હિંદી સાલોગેન્ટમાં આવે તો : મીના મોલતા જડીત નેહરુએ કહ્યું હતું કે બ્રિટન અમેરીકાના જે હોદ્દાઓ હિંદી વીરક અળવવા કરનામ હતા તેઓને મોતાના ખમર ખાતામાં રાખી રહ્યું છે. તેમને કહ્યું કે કેટલાક વર્ષો પર બ્રિટીશના ખમર ખાતાનું મુખ્ય કામ અમેરીકાના હોંદ વિરક મચાર કરવાનું હતું. આજે એવ બેઠા હાં કામ કરી રહ્યા છે એટલે અમારે તેઓ ને કંઈ અચાર કરવો હોય આરે તેઓ ન હવજતા હોય તો પણ પક્ષપાતી થઈ જાયો હોરવામ.

જડીત નેહરુએ કહ્યું કે યુનાઇટેડ રેટલમાં પાકીસતાનને માટે ખમરો ફેલાવવાનું કામ બ્રિટીશ ખમર ખાતાં ને હોયેલું છે.

બ્રિટનમાં મનોના અધૂક વચે અધી કરતે અને અપમાનકરેલી રીતે આપણે બીંદ બોલી ખમરો ફેલાવે છે. આ ખાખતમાં હવે હોરે સખત પગલાં લેવાની જરૂર છે.

લોર્ડ માઉન બેટનનો રહેમનને સંદેશો

હિંદના ગવર્નર જનરલ લોર્ડ માઉનબેટને અમેરીકાના પ્રેસીડન્ટ રહેમન ઉપર નીચેની મતલબનો સંદેશો મોકલ્યો હતો :

“સહારમાં ગાંધીજીના કુખક કહ્યું અવસાન પ્રસંગે આપે દીલ-સોહાનો જે રાહિયો મોકલ્યો તે બદલ મારી સરકાર અને હું આપનો આભાર માનીએ છીએ. હું આરા તરફથી તેમ સમસ્ત હિંદની પ્રજા તરફથી આપનો અહિશાન માનુ છું.”

યસુના ઘાટ ઉપરથી હું હમણી જ પાછો ફર્યો છું—હે જે ઘાટ ઉપર અરુણીની સાથે આંખોએ જે મહાન વિઠુદીના અંતિમ સંસ્કાર નીલાવ્યા હતાઃ જે પુરવાર કરે છે કે ગાંધીજીની પ્રજા ઉપર કેટલી મોટી-અગાધ આગવગ અને અસર પડેલી છે.

ગાંધીજીને એટલે ફનીયાને કંઈ સરીએ સુધી આગવગ મળી શકશે. આ કુખ અને શોકના સમય માં અમારે સાટે ફીલસોલ હોવા હાથક એકજ વાત છે અને તે એજ કે સભ, સહિષ્ણતા અને

હિંદના માનિપર મોલતા પ્રતિત નેહરુએ કહ્યું કે બંધારણ સજાનો હેવડનો નિર્ણય મમે તે આરે પરંતુ એટલું મોકલ છે કે હારિ સંપૂર્ણ સત્તા પરાવર્તી પ્રવચનમાં રાજ્ય બુનુ નેહરુએ મળી નામ અને મમે તે અપાવ હોય. એવી મારી માનવતા છે.

સવામ એ રહેશે કે હિંદનો બ્રિટીશ ક્રામનવેશમાં આવે કેવો સંખે રહેશે.

મને કહેતાં બેટ માય છે કે હોંદ સરકારને પરદેસ વસતા હોદ્દાઓની સુલીનવોના સંખમાં બ્રિટીશ કોલોનીયલ ઓફીસ તરફથી બહુ મરડ મળવી નથી.

બહુ મરડ મળવી નથી એટલેજ નથી જંગ બ્રિટીશ કોલોનીયલ ઓફીસ તરફથી દીલ કરવામાં આવે છે એ એજ મને તાજુબી માન છે.

પરચુરણ

—આ મહિનામાં સંચાલનમાં ખાખુજ ના તજજના કાયદોઓનું સમેલન કરવાનું નકો ચલુ છે. હવે પછાતી નવી પ્રવતિ અને ગાંધીજીના કામોની મોકવણ કરવાનું તેમાં વિચારારી.

—ગાંધીજીના મલીકનથી ખાખુજ આલેવવરનો પ્રમ મકારાજમાં વધુ કમ પ્રયો છે.

—સ્કીમર અમરામાં રહેલ અચેલા પોરેમલીઆપેવના કાલ અખાલાક અમલક મંબાવાથી મમે છે કે પ. માપુ માટે હામરના ચેસેજરો અન ઓરીપરામ પ્રાચનાઓ કરી હા અને અંજલી અર્પો હતી. જાન વિસજન બાદ પણ પ્રાચના મધ હતી અને ઉજરાણું કરવાં રહ હવે વધા હતાં જે મુખમના મવનરને આપવામાં આવશે.

ભા. રત મી ફેજબારીએ બ્રિટીશ મવરતી પછી ફરડી મુખમથી કોપરી હતી. બસો મવનના રાજ પછી હોંદ નો ફીનારો તેઓએ છોડ્યો હતો.

—સાથે (વચીનું અમેરીકન આખવાર) ગાંધીજીને અંજલી આપતા અખુને છે કે ગાંધીજી રકત મહાપુરુષ નહિ બહુ વીખમાન્ય સાધુપુરુષ હતા હજુ કાંઈ અમાનાઓ સુધી પશિમ ને વિવચ નહિ હા. માટે એવી મહાવીરુતી ગાંધીજી હતા.

—પાકીસતાને બે ક્રાંતકારવીંમ કામ માટેશે અમેરીકાથી ખરીદમાં છે એજ કરાચી માટે અને બીજો કહરામાર માટે.

—હિંદમાં આવેલા હોજરતી નીરાખીતે માંથી હિંદ સરકારે ૩૦૦ નીરાખિત યીસકોને ફેજવણી ખતામાં રોડા લીધા છે. પ્રાંતીક સરકારને પણ અખાવવામાં આવ્યું છે કે તેમણે હોજરતી નીરાખીત યીસકોને પહેલી પસંદગી આપવી.

ફૂક ખખરો

વેરલખમાં રીયમંદીર

કરમન “હારી કાજિલ”ના બી. મોકન કાલ પાજેય વેરલખમાં મેપાલકાલ મંદીર પાસે ગાંધીજીનું મંદીર બનાવી આપ્યું છે. જેનું ઉદ્ઘાટન કીમતી મોકનકાલ પાજેયે તા. ૮ માર્ચના કહ્યું હતું. તા. ૨૧ માર્ચના મંદીર માં બહેરને માર મોકન સમારકાં મેજવમાં આવ્યાં છે.

ક્રાંતવાલ ઇન્ડિઅન ફેંસિસનો મુજો

ક્રાંતવાલ ઇન્ડિઅન ફેંસિસના જે મુજોથી બી. કાજલીયા અને નાના રીતા, જેઓ ઇંગ્લેન્ડને માટે ભેડા ફેંડ ઉપરાવવા ચલા હતા, તેઓને મેરાની જનતાએ પા. ૩૬૬-૫૦૦ રામ આપ્યાં છે. રેકોગિઝાએમાં હાઅ

તા. ૧૫-૨-૧૯૪૮ ના રવિવારને વિવેકે હોરેન્સો માકસની મારત સમાજ ના લેલમાં બી. મરનક બાલકાઇના પુત્ર નરેતમકાઇ અને મી. મેપાર-માઇ સુખામાઇની પુત્રી મહેત મખી.

બહેનનાં મગન જોહાનીસખમાં રનાતા બી. વિનવચંડનાં મુખકરતે વધારી વિધિથી કરવામાં આવ્યા હતાં. હવ બાદ દીપાદેને તમારકાં બી. મેપાઇ વાઇ સુખામાઇ તરફથી મેજવમાં આવ્યાં હતા. તે મુખ પ્રસંગે બ મેપાઇક સુખામાઇ તરફથી અને બી મરનક બાલકાઇ તરફથી સુદી બુદી સંરેશાઓને કામની રકમે આપવામાં આવી હતી.

ફિલીશ આપાને રેશવરો

અખતલેની ખખરમાં અખાવવામાં આવે છે કે સંયુક્ત પ્રાંતોની સરકારે કુકમ કાઢ્યો છે કે તા. ૧ એપ્રીલ ૧૯૪૮ થી સંયુક્ત પ્રાંતમાં મામમની કે સહેરની પા તાજુકાની કાઇ પણ જર-કારી કચેરીમાં ઉચ્છેદ આપાં ચાવરવા નું સહતર બંધ કરવામાં આવશે બધાજ અવકાર હિંદીમાં વચે-કારક હિંદો એ સંયુક્ત પ્રાંતની રાજ્ઠ આપા માન્ય મધ મુજી છે.

અહેર ખખર

બી. ક્રાંતવાલ પ્રમવતિ એસોસીએ કનનુ અને ૧૯૪૮ રૂ વાપરે સંમેલન તા. ૨૮-૩-૪૮ ને રવીવારે મુજો ૧-૧૫ કલાકે ૫૦ હોક્સ રહીક ઉપઃ આવેલા ગાંધી હોલમાં થી. અમરા બાઇ નરેતમકાઇના પ્રમુખપદે મળે વિવેકવિમારીથી સમીતી તા. ૨૭-૩-૪૮ ને કનીવારે સાંજે સાન કલાકે બેક નીસખમાં ૩૩ વેસ્ટ રહીક ઉપ આવેલા મારતર મેન્સ-સમાં મળે તે પહેલાં મકોડી તરફથી આવનાં રોશેલી મેળાન દરખાસ મંજો મળી બધી જોકરી.

એસોસીએકનના તમામ સભ્યોને કે જાને પ્રસંગે મેળાસર મધારવ બીનતી છે સહી કાલ આતિજાને સંમેલનમાં કાજર રહેવા કુપા કરે સંમેલન કાખકાજઃ—(૧) મી. તજા અંજીતે રીપોર્ટ, (૨) હીસાખ રજુઆત, (૩) રામો, (૪) મુદ્દલ (૫) પરચુરણ.

કુ. બ. મીસી મંબી બી. ડા. પ્ર. એસોસીએજ બેકાનીસખ

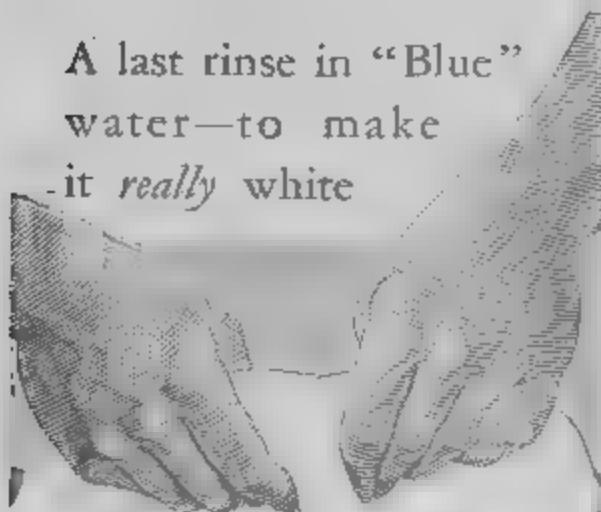
| અઠવાડીક પંચાંગ | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|---------|-------|--------|--------|----|
| મંચ | મંચ | દી | મુલકમાન | વારસી | સુવેના | સુવેના | |
| ૧૯૪૮ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૧૯૪૮ | ૧૯૪૮ | |
| માર્ચ | માર્ચ | માર્ચ | માર્ચ | માર્ચ | માર્ચ | માર્ચ | |
| ૧ | ૨ | ૩ | ૪ | ૫ | ૬ | ૭ | ૮ |
| ૯ | ૧૦ | ૧૧ | ૧૨ | ૧૩ | ૧૪ | ૧૫ | ૧૬ |
| ૧૭ | ૧૮ | ૧૯ | ૨૦ | ૨૧ | ૨૨ | ૨૩ | ૨૪ |
| ૨૫ | ૨૬ | ૨૭ | ૨૮ | ૨૯ | ૩૦ | ૩૧ | ૩૨ |
| ૩૩ | ૩૪ | ૩૫ | ૩૬ | ૩૭ | ૩૮ | ૩૯ | ૪૦ |



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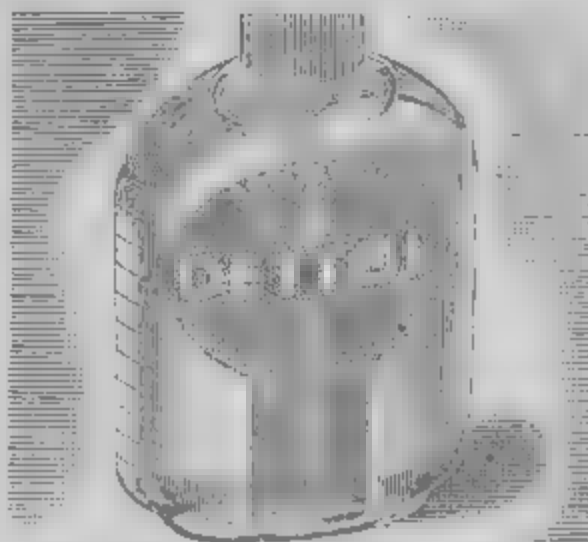
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|-------------|-----------|----|----|----|
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| Iwar Hlala | 5 " | 2 | 6 | 4 |
| Kurukubetra | 6 " | 2 | 14 | 0 |
| Olar Akhen | 4 " | 1 | 17 | 4 |
| Sakuntala | 7 " | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| Hani Haja | 6 " | 2 | 16 | 0 |

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ફોન 64. પો. બો. જોડા 106.
ટેલીગ્રાફી એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—ફેલેસેલ વેપારી—

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43, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

જેહાનીસજાગંતુ નજીતુ સાડી મહ

સરતા આવે આકર્ષક અને કળામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. ૧



| | |
|---|---------|
| સીલકની ભરત ભરલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જાપેલી જોરજોડની સાડીઓ | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીલક મજલીનની ભરતભરલી સાડીઓ | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત જોરજોડ સાડીઓ | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| ફીલમ રસાય. બે રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

જાપેતુ વાવણ, સાડી માટે ૫૦% પનો, આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૬ વાર. ભરત ભરેલું ફેશન, સાડી અને જહાડિયું માટે ૪૫% પનો રી. ૧૨-૬. મરદ તથા બાલકો માટે સીલક શર્ટ, પાવબના, સેકસ, રજાસ વીગેરેના વાવણો આપે બહાર કાઢે છે.

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ટેક ૩૩ મા. ૨૪-૨-૦.

મુસલામાન ત્રીસી: ખા. ૨-૫-૦. રેપીડવલ ખા. ૧૦-૧૫-૦.

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1948
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 provincial congress at
 the Durban Convention
 Centre on the 19th and
 20th March 1948.
 The programme of
 business for the two
 days is as follows:
 19th March 1948
 10.00 a.m. Registration
 11.00 a.m. Opening
 12.00 noon Lunch
 2.00 p.m. Session
 4.00 p.m. Session
 6.00 p.m. Dinner
 7.00 p.m. Entertainment
 20th March 1948
 10.00 a.m. Session
 12.00 noon Lunch
 2.00 p.m. Session
 4.00 p.m. Session
 6.00 p.m. Dinner
 7.00 p.m. Entertainment

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 दत्ता तेनी अने पत्रोपरी आणी
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 भाषावरील हो. या पुस्तिका
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Foreword by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1904

①、②、③、④、⑤、⑥、⑦、⑧、⑨、⑩、⑪、⑫、⑬、⑭、⑮、⑯、⑰、⑱、⑲、⑳、㉑、㉒、㉓、㉔、㉕、㉖、㉗、㉘、㉙、㉚、㉛、㉜、㉝、㉞、㉟、㊱、㊲、㊳、㊴、㊵、㊶、㊷、㊸、㊹、㊺、㊻、㊼、㊽、㊾、㊿

FRIDAY, 1940. MARCH, 1948.

EAST-WEST REPORT
THE ISSUE WE
produce a report
which appeared in 'Indian
Opinion' in October 1913,
nearly thirty-five years ago,
relating to the passive
resistance movement led
by Gandhiji. Whilst our
struggle is at its lowest
ebb and elements desir-
ous to see it collapse,
are at work there is
much that we can profit
from the past. The report
is heartening in that the
setback suffered by us
was not an exception, for
even a great personality
like Gandhiji suffered set-
backs such as we are suf-
fering, and none of us can
claim to have the high
qualities that Gandhiji had.
In fact he stood above all
men and yet he was faced
with the same difficulties
that we are faced with.
That can at least enable
us to keep our heads up
and save our hearts from
sinking.

We cannot boast that our struggle is as bright as it should be. The response from the people is lukewarm whereas it should be most enthusiastic. That does not, however, mean that they have lost faith in passive resistance. They are lacking the strength to sacrifice to the extent that the circumstance demand it.

For the struggle to be successful Gandhiji laid particular stress on the purity of the passive resisters.

It is quality that counts, not quantity. "So long as there is one passive resister left, the points we are now fighting for, will be granted," said Gandhiji. "not because of the strength of such a solitary passive resister but because of the invincible strength of the truth for which he will be fighting." This applies equally to our present struggle. Gandhiji further said, "I hold that the points at issue are of the community of such vital importance that passive resistance is the only remedy, petitions having failed." That too equally applies to us in the present case. And this is the most important thing Gandhiji has said

"The movement does not necessarily depend upon financial help. Indeed my view of passive resistance is that it is impure so long as it has to depend upon any pecuniary assistance whatsoever. It is essentially a religious force, but I do not claim for the movement in which I am a humble participator that it has reached the purest stage. When it does, it will be independent of any public demonstrations or the shape of public meetings, resolutions or appeals to even England and India. Our ideal is that truth, in

order to assert itself, needs no such props. We are striving to reach it, and we can but die to the old ego.

We must be honest and sincere in our purpose, moderate in our speech and firm in our action. If we follow the direction given by Gandhiji in that spirit our struggle is bound to succeed whatever others may say or do.

Materialism Menace

To World

Unless man's moral and spiritual development measured up to the tremendous progress made during the war on the scientific side, then humanity would be doomed, said the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. B. Hofmeyr, at a luncheon given by the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. in Capetown last Monday. Mr. Hofmeyr said the idealism evoked during the war had been routed by materialism. The high expectations of the war had been transmuted to disillusionment, with the result that today the world needed Christianity as it never did before. Today the people of the world were living on reserves of principle and character which had been built up in the days when Christianity had greater influence; but those reserves were dwindling, and unless the position was restored the world faced disaster. The war had developed man scientifically but had blunted his moral susceptibility and reduced to insignificance the essential human values. A great deal of the present frustration felt in the world today, Mr. Hofmeyr said, was due to the failure to realize that a better world depended on better men and better women.

The world was passing through one of the stormiest passages in history and mankind was almost dazed by what was happening and General Smuts last week when he unveiled in Port Elizabeth the Grey High School. We must erect it in Old Greys which has been here in the South of Africa since the end of World War.

General events and deeds of valour which had been done before might lie ahead of the world again and spoke of warning signals and dark forces on the move—and men who thought they could impose their will on others.

"We are passing through an age of history such as the world has not seen before," added the Prime Minister. "We are almost dumb by what is happening. It is beyond us," said General Smuts.

Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in a statement to Parliament last Monday in New Delhi, withdrew the allegations he made a week ago that Britain was employing Indians guilty of anti-Indian propaganda in her information services in America. "The British propaganda services in America have contradicted my statement. They have clearly stated that they are not engaged in any propaganda or publicity for the Pakistan Government and that they have not employed any Indian on their staff. I must accept that denial and I express my regret for having made a statement which was not factually true. I do not wish to enter into an argument. But apart from being factually untrue, even if it is possible to point out errors there-in which document simply because they have been on going for a long time past. It is difficult to get out of the old set" (The Hindustan Times, 11/11/47).

[We reproduce below a report which appeared in 'Indian Opinion' dated 15th October 1913 relating to the Passive Resistance movement then conducted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. We do so because it has bearing with the present situation. We refer to it in our leading article—Editor J. O.]

"No Money For Martyrs"

UNLIKE the above heading, with the addition of the sub-headings, "Passive Resistance in a Pickle," "Indian Merchants against the Campaign," "Support very scanty," the *Transvaal Leader* published the following report in its issue of the 30th October—

The Indian passive resistance campaign is threatened with collapse. While Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Cachalia are proclaiming the opening of hostilities and urging their compatriots to fill the gaols, there are growls and curses from the rank and file, open defiance, and frank avowals of contentment with the present order of things. The passive resistance movement of a few years back culminated in the gaols of the country being flooded with Indians, there being in all 3,000 convictions. On this occasion Mr. Gandhi himself does not expect that more than 150 persons will go to prison in the cause, and a leading Indian merchant declares that if Mr. Gandhi finds 50 people in Johannesburg to support him to the extent of risking their liberty he will be fortunate. The Indian merchants throughout the Transvaal have dissociated themselves from the movement, and have withdrawn from Mr. Gandhi's call for revenue without, within the campaign must fail. Enquiries amongst Indians in town revealed astonishing apathy to the agitation. More than that, there are heard in many quarters expressions of grave dissatisfaction at the numbers in which the leaders are handling the situation, and there are not wanting signs of absolute distrust in their methods. It would not be surprising if, therefore, the politics of our Indian community developed in this manner. That a strong and influential organisation will be formed to advance the interests of India on legal lines, and that Mr. Gandhi and his followers will form a left wing, meant if provided being supplied by the Labour Party and the Syndical.

Calls Unreasonable

A *Leader* representative yesterday began his enquiries with a Pretoria merchant to whom he in-

the last Indian struggle sustained heavy losses.

"Are you going to join the passive resistance this time?" he was asked.

"No. We can't do anything. I might as well run my head against a brick wall. Trade is not good, and we suffered much in the past. The time is not convenient to go to prison."

Mr. Gandhi was next sought. He discussed the situation fully and frankly. He considers that the people of the Transvaal are all with the Indians in their demand for fuller rights. Every one he spoke to, he said, was sympathetic.

"Then you do not consider that Parliament truly reflects the feeling of the country?"

"No, there you have professional men."

Mr. Gandhi said that the Indians were as steadfast and loyal to the cause as ever. Numerically they would not be as strong, but they were quite as earnest as before. The trouble, he said, had arisen to purify them. Asked why the number of arrests would be smaller, he stated that many who had experienced the discomforts of Transvaal prisons had no wish to return.

"Some merchants, too, are not joining your ranks?"

"They may not go to prison, but they will help us with money."

"Are you as well off in a financial way as on the occasion of the last campaign?"

"No, we are not."

He went on to say that it was not a question of 3,000 convictions this time. A different procedure will be followed. Instead of a large number of men being in prison for short periods, a hundred or so would bear the brunt of the attack, and, as the Government seemed disposed to inflict the maximum penalty, they would spend a long period in gaol, even if they were only arrested three or four times. They would be assisted by their compatriots in the other Provinces.

Straight Speaking

Enquiries were next carried into Indian business circles. One of the wealthiest Indians in the town, a Muhammedan who takes a very live interest in the social welfare of his people, made no bones about his disapproval of the passive resistance campaign. "What have we got as the fruits of this sort of thing?" he exclaimed. "Nothing at all. The Government have been lenient to us. They have treated us with more justice. I have faith in our Empire. Full justice will come,

and must come, without these methods. I am all about this agitation. White men, British-born, tried far more violent means than we have ventured on to improve their position, and you know what they have gained, and what they hoped to gain. They have not dealt reasonably with the Government."

This Indian went into the relevances enumerated by Mr. Gandhi one by one, and then volunteered his own view that there was very little ground for complaint and protest. No justification for the passive resistance campaign.

Merchants Meet

That this is not an isolated case, and that the influential section of our Indian population are becoming tired of Mr. Gandhi is shown by the following facts. On a recent Sunday a conference of delegates from several Indian communities was held at Krugetersdorp, under the auspices of the British Indian Protection Society. The Muhammedan merchants at Krugetersdorp, Klerksdorp, Pretoria and many country towns were represented. The Chairman was Haji Ibrahim Dindas of Klerksdorp; the secretary was Yusuf Patel of the same town; and the delegates present numbered over 100. They decided to take final advice as to their position under the Township Act and the Gold Law which contains the real points troubling Indian merchants. They also decided to look after their own money themselves. A sum of £850 was subscribed on the spot, there being three donations of £150. But it was resolved that this money should not go to the passive resistance. Formerly lump sums were handed over to Mr. Gandhi, but now he will have to give sufficient reasons to justify disbursements as his favour.

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

Immediately on seeing the report the committee met, and Mr. Gandhi addressed the following letter to the *Leader* which, together with letters from Messrs. Hitch and Kellenbos and a communication signed by the leading Indian merchants, strongly supporting the struggle, appeared next day:

I trust that you will allow me to correct the many misrepresentations made by your report as with reference to the passive resistance movement. No doubt they are not all consciously made, but he certainly has seen the instrument through which

they have been made. "The Indian passive resistance campaign," you have reported, "is threatened with collapse." This statement will prove to be untrue even if there is one passive resister earnest enough to carry it on, and I shall prophesy that so long as there is one passive resister left to fight, the points we are now fighting for will be granted, not because of the strength of such solitary passive resister, but because of the invincible strength of the truth for which he will be fighting. That our demands are just you have admitted in your leading article, only you have asked us not to revive passive resistance, but to be patient and to petition. Which course is the better is a matter of opinion, I hold that the points at issue are to the community of such vital importance that passive resistance is the only remedy, petitions having failed.

Now for the facts. Your report states—

"The Indian merchants throughout the Transvaal have dissociated themselves from the movement, and have withdrawn from Mr. Gandhi's sources of revenue without which the campaign must fail." The fact is that the great mass meeting of Sunday was attended by almost all the Indian merchants of Johannesburg, and telegrams in support of the objects of the meeting were received from all the principal towns of the Transvaal, sent by the Indian merchants of those places, and delegates attended from the towns which could send them within 24 hours' notice.

I do not know who the influential Muhammedan merchants are who gave your reporter the information that there is very little ground for complaint, and that those who attended the Gold Law Conference were against passive resistance. Your reporter is free to see the names in my possession of the principal merchants in the Transvaal who have expressed themselves heart and soul with the movement. It is true that they have not all offered to go to gaol, but they have certainly offered to help with their purses. But I need not carry any further the refutation of the misrepresentation contained in your report, for the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and time will show whether the movement collapses either for want of men or of

—२२ करट सोनाना हागीना—

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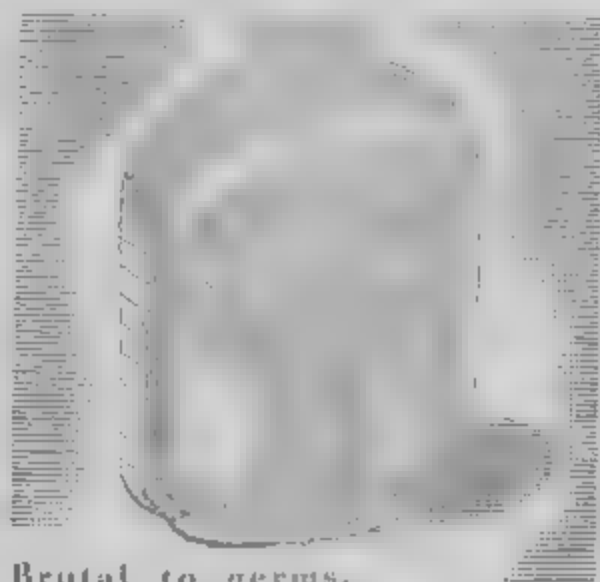
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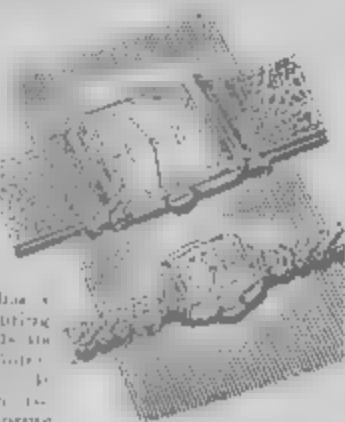
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FRIDAY, 2ND APRIL 1948

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FRIDAY, 2ND APRIL, 1948

Mr. Manilal Gandhi's Statement

WE publish elsewhere in this issue Mr. Manilal Gandhi's statement. The step he now proposes to take would have been taken by him long before now had he not taken the responsibility of publishing Mahatma Gandhi's Memorial Number 'Indian Opinion' can ill-afford to lose his services even now for he would be of great help in the work of establishing the proposed Mahatma Gandhi's Memorial at Phoenix, a fund for which has been opened by the Phoenix Settlement Trust. This is an important task which should be accomplished with the least possible delay. Mr. Manilal Gandhi has, however, given first preference to actively participating in the struggle owing, to some extent, we are not too happy to have to admit, to the apathy of the community. It is not in the interest of any campaign in which the key-men have been sacrificed at the beginning stage. The key-men cannot, however, afford to remain out if the people are not prepared to sacrifice. They must plunge into the fire and set an example. If they are burnt to ashes in the performance they will have become martyrs to the cause which they held sacred and will have thus set a noble example to the present and future generations. They will have won the battle for themselves and left a rich legacy to those left behind. It will not mean a defeat so long as there are left even a handful of true Passive Resisters prepared to stand up till the last breath. We are, however, not going to be so pessimistic. This is only a passing phase in which the struggle is at its lowest ebb. The people will not so readily let down the banner

in prison. Let us hope they will rise as never before and give a good account of themselves.

Notwithstanding the distractions caused by some of our misguided brethren let them realise that this and no other is the safest and the best path for their salvation and one to which no one can take any exception. Self-imposed suffering for a good cause can do no harm to the sufferer nor to the cause and who can deny that the cause we are fighting for is a good cause. The weapon they are employing is the only weapon Mahatma Gandhi made use of until the last breath of his life and left it not only to us but to the world if the world has eyes to see—for the peaceful settlement of its problems. If we ignore it or spurn it, we shall do so at our peril—at the peril of the world.

The fight has passed the stage when it was a fight between the Indian community of South Africa and the South African Government. The fight is now between India and South Africa. We are soldiers of India fighting for the honour of India. Our generals are not in South Africa but in India. Orders to lay down our arms will be issued at the proper time from India. So long as they have not been issued our fight must go on. There can be no rest for us while a single Passive Resister is in prison, and until the cause we are fighting for is vindicated. We therefore appeal to our brethren to shake off their lethargy and to wake up and be doing.

That will be our best memorial to Mahatma Gandhi. Any other without it will be futile

and an instrument to produce only more but slaves.

This however does not mean that the work of the Memorial to be erected at Phoenix should be given up. It must go on. Mr. S. B. Mehd, on behalf of the Phoenix Settlement, has dedicated his life to carrying it on. He is collecting funds in the Transvaal and with it necessary in the whole of the Union and Rhodesia. The Memorial will send their contribution direct to 'Indian Opinion.' Phoenix should do so, or, through Mr. S. B. Mehd who is the only person so authorised to collect funds at the name of Mahatma Gandhi's Memorial at Phoenix Settlement. All contributions received direct should be acknowledged in 'Indian Opinion.'

Nationalist Party

THERE is nothing new in the non-European policy of the Nationalist Party as outlined by Dr. D. F. Malan. It does not differ much from that of the United Party, presently in power, excepting that this is usually frank and open whereas the policy of General Smuts is subtle and ambiguous; both Parties aim at achieving the same end by different means. An open policy is better than one disguised in a saintly garb. The policies of both the Parties are worthy of condemnation as they are unjust and quite contrary to the Christian principle of justice. The very idea of separation based on race and colour is against fundamental Christian principles. The White race cannot seek to protect itself by keeping the other races down-trodden, which is the aim of the Nationalist Party and it is no Christian.

Any policy of oppression and its exploitation of non-Europeans by Europeans as being in conflict with the Christian basis of our national life," says Dr. Malan. Yet the Party would disown any of his God-given rights. "In their areas, the non-European racial groups will have full opportunity for development in every sphere." It would be correct to say, "they are left to 'stew in their own juice'."

The Party wishes all non-Europeans to be strongly encouraged to make the Christian religion the basis of their lives. The Christian religion will have to be re-viewed in the light of the Nationalist Party, applicable to non-Europeans. We can go on criticising any aspect of the policy but it would serve no purpose. In short had there not been that grim seriousness and treachery to mankind behind the whole policy would be treated as a huge joke. One dreads to conjecture what all this is going to lead. The called men of the world seem to be going mad.

Attitude Of Dominions Towards India

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI

Iyer, the former Premier of Tanjavore, who is on a lecture tour of the United States, complained in Washington that although India had attained independence as part of the British Commonwealth, the other Dominions had failed to adopt the reciprocal attitude that might have been expected. He particularly censured their attitude towards immigration. What South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada wanted Indians. Australia particularly was lightly populated and offered a splendid field for immigration, he said.

MY DECISION

BY MANILAL GANDHI

It is now over a month since Dr. Bhaboo and Dr. Mahadeo went to prison and the whole law have followed him. The day they were being tried the Court was full packed by our people and a great ovation was given when they were sentenced and taken away. But since then every thing seems to have subsided.

One wonders what the my of this great demonstration was. Was it merely out of curiosity - said out of genuine sympathy for those who had gone out to suffer for human rights which Indian in South Africa are denied. From what has been estimated within the last month one would reach the conclusion that it was out of curiosity and nothing more. If it is so the community has very little reason to be proud. For only goes to prove that it deserves a worse fate than which it now suffers. A community devoid of self-respect has a right to live.

But they have no faith in the... p. it is argued... no ideal leaders in our community. So anywhere as I leaders are difficult to find. Whatever faults the present Congress leaders may have, whatever dissonant motives they may have, they have done no harm to the community in things that matter. People have had to go through physical sufferings, they may have suffered some material loss too, but those are amply rewarded by the gains they have achieved. The... know of the... subjected to... had come... their aid. If they would have submitted to the... without... no one would have known or cared to know what was happening to... have shown...

the world...

... achieved without suffering. Think of the sufferings... people had to undergo when Mahatma Gandhi whom we all love and revere so much, was in South Africa and was leading the... He deliberately made them to... the untold hardships. He made the people of India to go through... is indeed and did so himself not without a purpose. He did so to make men of us. He was watching our move... with real anxiety before he was taken away from us. He tried to now watching us. Are we going to lose courage and prove false to him?

After all, the present Congress leaders were duly elected by the people and are carrying out the mandate given them by the people. So our leaders must... to show them out... the faith of the people.

inside (therefore to square) over the leadership whom we should really concentrate on the cause.

The South African Indian Congress condemned the Asiatic Land Tenure Act - a considerable term and it is with its authority that the Passive Resistance movement to oppose the Act was launched. That authority still stands. Because a few self-interested people in our community, who are more concerned about safeguarding their vested interests, have not the courage to sacrifice for their rights, they have flouted the authority of the South African Indian Congress and are misbehaving with the influence of the Government. They have then, to establish a rival organisation and are attempting to represent the community. This is an unrighteous move on their part which will result in confusing the minds of the people of India, whose moral and material support we are seeking. If the community is going to be led by those people it may perhaps gain materially to a certain extent, but the price will have to pay will be degradation to the status of Indians, which is... under the 'Ghetto Act'. If they are prepared to submit to that with whom face as they call themselves sons and daughters of India and seek her aid in their hour of distress. If the leaders have lacked honesty and straightforwardness they can be expelled and new ones elected. It is not wise to allow the cause to suffer for their sake and thus to play in the hands of the enemy.

If there ever was time for Indians in South Africa to be prepared for the greatest sacrifice, without doubt it is the present. Our misguided brethren referred to above are more anxious than the South African Government, for round table conference between the two Governments to settle the Indian question. A deputation, it is learnt, is soon to leave for India to persuade the Government to make a move in the matter. This has a hand attitude ill-befits any self-respecting community. There is not the least doubt that they will be cold-shouldered by the Government. India's leaders ever ready to settle the dispute on an honourable basis. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, has made it quite clear. The two Governments are competent enough to communicate with one another. They surely do not require an intermediary and to say the least, it is preposterous on our part to require

that role. Would that, even at this eleventh hour, better counsels would prevail upon them and that they would desist from taking that unwise step.

Nobody is against an honourable compromise if it is at all possible. But that is for the Government concerned to seek. There is not the least justification for us to retract from the step we have taken of opposing the 'Ghetto Act'. Those who cannot fight may keep out of the struggle.

If they are weak enough to submit to the Act nobody can prevent them doing so in their individual capacity. Black sheep there are in all communities and the Indian community is no exception. But it does not behave such people to attempt to drag the community into the mire, because they themselves have fallen into it.

If the community has sunk to such a low depth of degradation as to compromise with the Government on any terms the thing is quite simple and the Government, I have no the least doubt, will be found accommodating. In that case the Indian Government does not come into the picture at all. It cannot do so with any pretence of upholding the national honour of India. Nor could the Indian community of South Africa lay claim to be called nationals of India. India would quite manifestly be ashamed to accept them as such.

We must take things more seriously than we are doing. The only way to gain the respect of the Europeans in South Africa is to show by our action that we value self-respect above everything else. If we are despoiled by them it is because we are prepared to sell our souls for a quest of postage. Passive resistance must therefore go on and go on vigorously. It will be to our shame if it does not.

There are friends who are trying to dissuade me from taking an active part in the struggle and from 'associating with Communism'. They are persuading me that I should concentrate on Mahatma Gandhi's Memorial proposed to be erected at Phoenix. I am also warned that 'Indian Opinion' would not go on if I went to prison and that I could render better service by remaining outside. This has, however, not moved me. By actively participating in the struggle I do not associate with Communism or, for that matter, with anybody. I fight for the cause which I am convinced is

just cause and which must be fought for by every self-respecting person.

I am wedded to the cause and not to any particular person or set of persons. 'Indian Opinion' is subordinate to the cause; not the cause to 'Indian Opinion'. The cause cannot be made to suffer for 'Indian Opinion'. If the community were awake and did its duty I could afford to remain out and render service through 'Indian Opinion'. If, however, the community is not awake, as it would appear, I can only awaken it by setting an example by going to prison myself. My voice from behind the prison walls will be better heard than through 'Indian Opinion'. Mahatma Gandhi never desired to erect a lifeless memorial of atone. The best memorial he could ever wish from Indians in South Africa would be to do what would please him and nothing would please him more than to enter and to die for the oppressed people even as he did. I have faith that neither Indian Opinion nor the work of erecting a Memorial at Phoenix will suffer by my going to prison. I leave it entirely in the hands of God. I propose to court arrest on Sunday, April 11, by crossing the Natal-Transvaal border and I invite as many of my brethren as desire to do so to accompany me. If no one wishes to accompany me I shall not be discouraged. I shall launch out all alone.

Order Against Officials Of S.A.I.C. Upheld By Appeal Court

The appeal, put in Bloemfontein on March 24, deposed that the Indian Congress, the Cape Indian Congress, the Cape Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress, which appeared before the Division of the Supreme Court, which ordered that the appeal be dismissed and that the officials of the South African Indian Congress should be removed from holding any office, were not allowed to appear.

On appeal it was contended that the delegates in question were not constitutionally elected, and that the councillors of the Transvaal Indian Congress elected on December 16, 1945, still held office.

Dismissing the appeal, with costs, the Appeal Court came to the conclusion that the delegates of the Transvaal Indian Congress elected on December 16, 1945, were properly elected.

NATIONALIST PARTY'S POLICY OF SEPARATION

THE Nationalist Party's policy of "apartheid" or the separation of the European and non-European races, as outlined in a statement issued last Sunday by Dr. D. F. Malan, leader of the party.

The statement, which is a summary of the report of the party's commission on the colour question, is in two parts. The first is a general review of the party's policy with regard to natives, coloureds and Indians.

The second part, which deals with the party's policy towards the coloured community in particular, will be released for publication later.

The first part of the statement says, "there are two schools of thought in South Africa with regard to the policy affecting the non-European community."

"On the one hand, there is the policy of equality, which advocates equal rights within the same political structure for all civilised and educated persons, irrespective of race or colour, and the gradual granting of the franchise to non-Europeans as they become qualified to make use of democratic rights."

"On the other hand, there is the policy of separation (apartheid) which has grown from the experience of the established European population of the country, and is based on the Christian principles of justice and reasonableness."

Dual Aim

"Its aim is the maintenance and protection of the European population as a pure white race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities with prospects of developing into self-supporting communities within their own areas, and the maintenance of national pride, self-respect and mutual respect among the various races."

"We can act in only one of two directions. Either we must follow the course of equality, which must eventually mean national suicide for the white race, or we must take the course of separation—"apartheid"—through which the character and future of every race will be protected and safeguarded with full opportunities for development and self-maintenance in their own areas, without the interests of the one clashing with the interests of the other, and without the one regarding the development of the other as undermining, or a threat to himself."

"The party accepts the highest task and calling of the State the promotion of the welfare of South Africa and the happiness and salvation of its population, European and non-European; it considers that this aim can best

be attained by the maintenance and protection of the white race and accepts this as a fundamental basis of its policy."

No exploitation

"The party, therefore, undertakes to protect the white race properly and effectively against any policy, doctrine or attack which might result in the destruction of its civilisation. At the same time, the party rejects any policy of oppression and the exploitation of non-Europeans by Europeans as being in conflict with the Christian basis of our civilisation, and irreconcilable with its policy."

"The party, therefore, advocates a policy of separation (apartheid) between the white races and the non-white racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation, also in the case of the non-white racial groups, is the only basis on which the character and the future of each race can be protected and safeguarded, and through which each race can be guided so as to develop its own national character, aptitude and calling."

"All marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans will be prohibited."

"In their areas the non-European racial groups will have full opportunity for development in every sphere, and will be able to develop their own institutions and social services whereby the forces of progressive non-Europeans can be harnessed for their own national development."

"The policy of the country must be so planned that it will eventually promote the ideal of complete separation in a natural way. A permanent advisory body of experts on non-European affairs will be established."

"The State will exercise complete supervision over the upbringing of youth. The party will not tolerate interference from without or destructive propaganda by the outside world with regard to the racial problems of South Africa."

"The party wishes all non-Europeans to be strongly encouraged to make the Christian religion the basis of their lives and will assist the churches in this task in every possible way. Churches and societies which undermine the policy of 'apartheid' and propagate doctrines foreign to the nation will be checked."

"The coloured community takes a middle position between Europeans and natives. A policy of separation between Europeans and coloureds, and between natives and coloureds will be applied in the social, residential, and

political spheres. Arrangements between Europeans and coloureds will be permitted."

"Coloureds will be protected against competition from natives in which they are not qualified."

Representation

"The coloured community will be represented in the Senate by representatives to be elected by the Government by reason of their knowledge of coloured life."

"The present unhealthful system which allows coloureds to vote in the Cape to be registered on the same voters' roll as European and to vote for the same candidate as Europeans will be abolished. Coloureds will be represented in the House of Assembly by three European representatives."

"These Coloureds' Representatives will be elected by a Coloured Representative Council. They will not vote on (1) Votes on confidence in the Government, (2) A Declaration of war and (3) A change in the policy of the State towards the non-European. A State Department of Coloured Affairs will be established."

"The coloured community will be represented in the Cape Provincial Council by three Europeans elected by the Coloured Representative Council."

Appointment Of Coloured Council

"A Coloured Representative Council will be established in the Cape Province, and its representatives elected by the coloured community divided into constituencies with present franchise qualifications. The Head of the Department of Coloured Affairs and representatives nominated by the Government."

"In their own areas the coloured community will have full control over their own public services which will be managed by themselves within the framework of the existing constitution with higher authority."

"Attention will be given to the provision of social, medical and welfare services to which the efforts of the coloured themselves can be harnessed, and in which they will be taught as far as possible to be self-sufficient."

"A system of education will be designed as far as possible, to teach the principal ethnological differences of the races in which every group will be able to develop and self-sufficient."

Territorial Segregation

"The principle of territorial segregation between races and classes is hereby affirmed."

"Further land under the 1936 Act will be allotted individually after thorough investigation, at the same time a vigorous policy of soil reclamation and a campaign against the exhaustion of land will be conducted in which the co-operation of the native himself will be entailed."

"A body of experts will be established for the judicious use of the land in the native reserves."

"The native reserves must be made the true fatherland of the native. Educational institutions for natives must be made available in the reserves in contradistinction to the present policy which provides these services in urban localities."

Prestige For The Native

"Prestige and status must be accorded to natives in every sphere in the reserves so that they will be able to take a leading role and act as the spokesmen of the State."

"A greater variety of economic activities will gradually be introduced to bring about greater productivity and stability in the services, for which purposes committees will be established."

"The party realises the danger of the drift of the natives to the urban areas, and undertakes to maintain the European character of the urban areas and to take steps in a vigorous and effective manner for the safety, peace, as well as property in the full life of the urban areas."

"The natives will be placed in separate residential areas, and their concentration in the urban areas must be curbed. The policy in the urban areas must be regarded as a 'war' in which every effort must be made to any political or racial social rights with Europeans in European areas."

Influx To Be Strictly Controlled

"The number of unskilled natives must be strictly controlled after the influx of a crisis in the urban areas and their regular departure will be taken under control by the State on a country-wide basis, in a uniform manner."

"The natives will be placed under a strict administrative control, and the urban areas must be kept free of all unskilled natives. All unskilled natives must be placed in a reserve from which they are recruited."

"No further influx from the rural areas and reserves will be allowed to the urban areas except as temporary workers, and must return to their homes regularly on an equal basis of their own contribution. A disciplined

system of identification and effective control will be applied.

European Workers

"The interests and opportunities for employment of the European workers in European areas will be safeguarded and protected. The principle of separation will be carried out in the industries and workshops so far as is practically possible.

"The party is opposed to the organisation of natives into unions, and advocates a system whereby the State guardians will take care of native interests.

"A national system of labour organisation and labour control will be established, with a Central Labour Bureau and an effective network over the entire country to enable employment to be distributed as far as possible, and to ensure a fair wage for labour.

"A proper survey of manpower and labour requirements will be made, and an effective system of division of labour between agriculture, industry, the mines and the cities will be introduced. An expert inquiry will be made into all aspects of labour, including migratory labour.

Native Education

"The native education must be strictly Christian National and must take into account the requirements and the state of development of the masses of the natives. It must build character, anchor the native to his way of life. (Voldsewundahle).

"The State must exercise proper supervision in this regard through a separate division of the Department of Native Affairs.

"The financing of native education must be calculated on the basis of the cultural level of the native, his social capacity and requirements, and must be more in keeping with contribution to the State than in the case of the European.

"The native must eventually provide for the expenditure and control of native education under the supervision of European officials.

"The native must be enabled to build up his own social, medical and welfare services in the areas in which his own efforts will be employed.

Political Representation

"Over and above those European Senators appointed by the Government in terms of the Africa Act, by virtue of special knowledge of the affairs of the native, the natives will be represented in the Senate by four European Senators elected by the various native councils, and these four Senators will form a special Permanent Committee on Native Affairs.

"The native representatives will

not be able to vote on (1) Votes of censure on the Government, (2) A declaration of war, and (3) A change in the political rights of the Europeans. The representatives of the natives in the House of Assembly or Provincial Councils will be appointed.

"An Affairs Committee will be constituted by a commission of experts on native affairs. An efficient ethnological institute will be established.

Own System Of Administration

"The party advocates a system of own local administration, more or less on the basis of the present Budget system under which the native chiefs will be fully included and with, at the same time, afford the educated native the opportunity to participate in his own national service.

"Such a council will be established for each native reserve, and it will be possible for such councils to develop into separate governing councils for the different ethnological groups or sub-groups.

"Initially, these councils will come under the leadership of European officials and will have limited legislative and administrative powers, but in accordance with the responsibility they show to govern themselves in their own areas and always under the supervision of the Government.

The Native Representative Council will be established. In urban locations, however, will never be allowed to develop into independent bodies.

"Under this system the native will ultimately find expression for his political aspirations in the reserves, instead of political rights in the European areas, as is advocated by the United Party.

"The Department of Native Affairs must be reformed immediately to enable it to answer the double calling of educational guidance and objective administration.

Indians Regarded As Foreigners

"The party holds the view that Indians are a foreign and undesirable element in the country, which is undesirable. They can never become part of the country, and must therefore be treated as an immigrant community.

The party accepts as a basis its policy of repatriation of the Indians. It is possible, and proper, to encourage the repatriation of such Indians on a large scale in connection with India and other countries.

In view of the seriousness of the problem South Africa must be willing to co-operate, to make

great financial sacrifices for the achievement of this aim.

"No Indian immigrants will be allowed to enter the country.

"So long as there are still Indians in the country, a definite policy of separation (apartheid) will be applied as far as possible between Europeans and Indians in every sphere, as well as between Indians and other indigenous non-European groups.

Restriction On Indians Planned

"The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1944 will immediately be revised and:

"(A) No representation will be given to Indians in the legislative bodies of the country.

"(B) Indians will be established in separate areas, and will not be allowed to reside on or own fixed property in European areas.

"(C) Europeans will not be allowed to reside on or to trade on or own fixed property in Indian areas.

"(D) So far as possible the policy of separation (apartheid)

will be applied with regard to the Indians and the indigenous natives.

"(E) Proper compensation will be paid for properties which are expropriated in European or Indian areas.

"(F) Facilities for trading outside their own areas, specially in European areas, will be drastically curtailed.

"(G) Indian traders in native areas or locations will gradually disappear. This right must be safeguarded for the natives themselves.

"(H) The inter-provincial movement of Indians must be effectively prevented. The protection which the Orange Free State enjoys must be maintained.

"The Cape province must be properly protected against penetration by Indians, especially in the ownership of fixed property and trade. Family allowances for Indians must be abolished.

"The party will take drastic action against Indians who unite the non-European races against Europeans."

SPARE THE EDUCATED NATIVES UNNECESSARY INDIGNITIES

A retired Magistrate writes in *The Star Johannesburg*.

THERE are quite a fair number of Natives to-day who have taken university degrees, a fairly large number who have taken the Junior Certificate and so may be called educated men. They are Christians and they live in much the same way as Europeans. They dress well and are sober, law-abiding citizens, each doing his daily task and contributing to the wealth and stability of the nation.

Yet they must carry passes if they wish to travel or be out after certain hours in certain areas; they may not obtain even a glass of wine or beer with permit; no hotel keeper will put them up if he can help it and he cannot be compelled to do so. They may live on own property only in certain areas.

Is it to be wondered at that many of them demand a change?

But what change can be made that will not imperil European political superiority? For the Native who can fulfil certain qualifications, even high qualifications, on the common roll or on special voters' roll and within 50 years he may outnumber the Europeans. Give him more representation and it is possible that he may hold the balance of power if the Opposition party is

nearly equal in numbers to the Government party.

What can be done is to abolish many of the restrictions on those who qualify up to a given standard. Give not only individuals but unions more scope in their own affairs; allow Natives to become tradesmen in their own areas and for their own purposes anywhere; employ more of them even in the higher ranks of the Government services; to deal with their own people give them more and better chances of becoming educated above the very elementary stages; raise their wages to accord with the value of the services rendered; open up new avenues of employment and production such as suitable factories in the Native areas to be worked as far as possible later by Natives only.

Then, if it is alleged that South Africa oppresses her Natives, we can at least point to what is being done to assist them to a higher level. We must realise, and act on the realisation, that our Natives are not all savages today. There are professional men and women among them, educated business men, clerks, teachers, preachers—and they must be spared unnecessary indignities.

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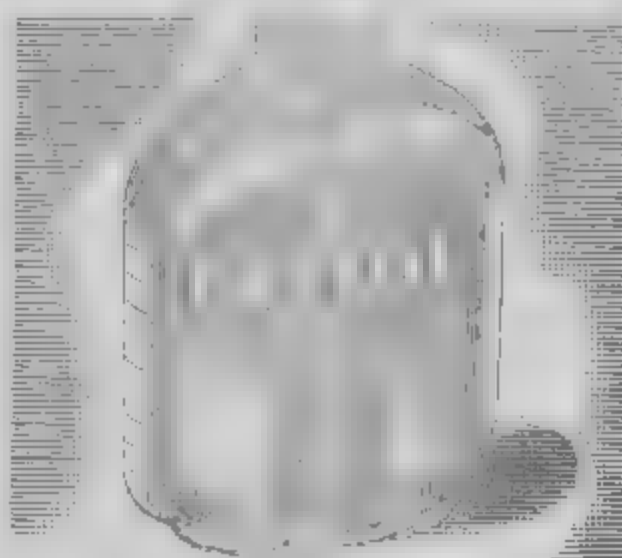


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1 1/2, 216'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 217'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 217'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 218'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 218'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 219'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 219'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 220'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 220'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 221'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 221'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 222'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 222'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 223'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 223'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 224'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 224'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 225'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 225'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 226'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 226'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 227'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 227'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 228'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 228'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 229'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 229'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 230'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 230'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 231'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 231'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 232'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 232'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 233'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 233'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 234'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 234'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 235'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 235'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 236'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 236'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 237'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 237'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 238'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 238'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 239'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 239'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 240'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 240'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 241'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 241'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 242'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 242'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 243'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 243'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 244'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 244'6" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 245'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2, 245'6

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બોક્સ ૪૮૮૫

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હેડ ઓફીસ :

૪૦૯, ૧૨૫૧ સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રીચાર્ટ
ફોન ૬૪ બો. બોક્સ ૧૦૬
ટેલીબોક્સ એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—: ફોલસેલ વેપારી ::—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, એડવાન્સિસમર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

બેલાનીસબર્ગનું બજારું સાડી માટે



સસ્તા ભાવે આકર્ષક અને કળામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. ૫

| | |
|---|---------|
| સીલકની ભરત ભરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડિઝાઇન | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| છાપેલી જીરજીરેલી સાડીઓ | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીલક મજલીનની ભરતભરેલી સાડીઓ | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી ભરત જીરજીરેલી સાડીઓ | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| ફીલ્ડ રશર. બે રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડિઝાઇન | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

છાપેલું વાવડ, સાડી માટે ૫૦" પતો. આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૧ વાર. ભરત ભરેલું રેશમ, સાડી અને બ્લાન્ક માટે ૫૫" પતો રી. ૧૨-૬. મુશ્કેલી તથા છાપાઓ માટે સીલક શરૂ, પાવળના, સોલેસ, રૂમાલ કીચરના ભાવમાં ખાસ મહાડા કર્યો છે.

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કરેલ, રેશ
સાઇમમાં મળશે.
તેજ સી ૧૨/૬

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પીન્ક, મમન પીન્ક, રાખમ બ્લુ, રશમ, બ્લેક, રેડ સિંગર રંગોમાં મળશે આકર્ષક બોક્સમાં
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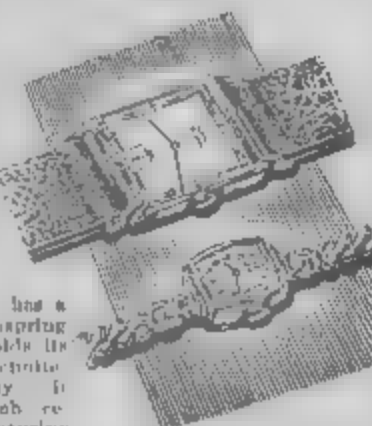
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રૂક ૩૨ ૧૧ પા. ૧૪-૨-૦.

જુસલાખન વીરો: પા. ૪-૫-૦. રપેરવલ પા. ૧૦-૧૫-૦.

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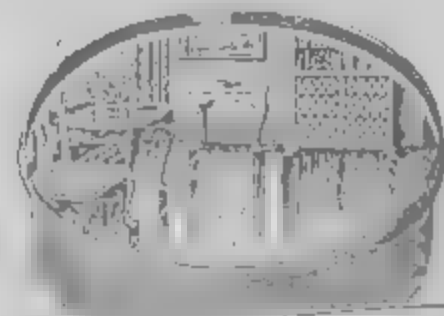
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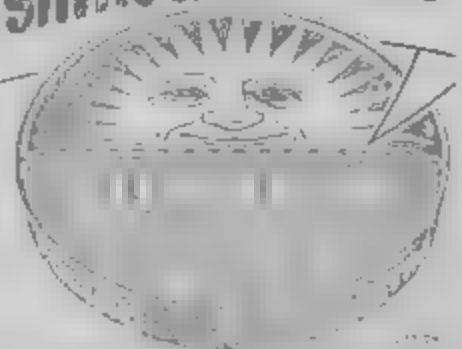
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 9TH APRIL, 1948

Religion In Politics

If we were to seek the aid of the scriptures in all our acts and were to try sincerely to abide by them the world would not go wrong. But there comes a time when Satan gets the better of us and then we throw the scriptures aside and allow Satan to rule over us. That stage in the history of mankind seems to have now come. In fact history is repeating itself, for this has happened in the past when people have become powerful. When they do so they destroy themselves and all around them. Hitler is gone but his spirit has come to stay and is playing havoc. It seems as though it is intent on seeing the world destroyed. It is a healthy sign, however, that surrounded, as we are, by darkness, there is still an inclination to take recourse to the Bible.

The Nationalist Party has come out with its policy of separation (apartheid) in regard to non-Europeans. It was sought to establish that such a policy had scriptural sanction. A Synodical Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church had been set up for the purpose. "It is emphasised," says

the Commission's report, "that the policy of the Church is based on the principles of apartheid and co-ordination is stated in the Bible. A number of Biblical texts are taken by the Commission as proof that the existence of separate races is natural. The New Testament also recognises the separate existence of races and encourages sound nationalism and racial pride, according to the report. There is no evidence that either Christ or the Apostles wished to destroy the boundaries between peoples and to substitute world-citizenship.

The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church which met in Pretoria, has rejected the report and has referred the matter back for reconsideration. The Church's Assessor, the Rev. P. J. Viljoen, said the report attempted to establish from the Scriptures something which could not be established. To prove that the policy of "apartheid" was correct, it was necessary to establish that "apartheid" was essential for the continuance of God's Kingdom in Africa. Without "apartheid," it must be proved

that the land must be handed back to the heathen. Another speaker declared the Christian Church had never established "apartheid" from the Scriptures. Christians in other lands could not understand the South African view of "apartheid" by reference to the Scriptures. They could only understand it in relation to special problems prevailing in South Africa.

This incident reminds us of Mahatma Gandhi's epic fast of 1931 in Yerwada Central Prison on the question of the separation of Harijans (untouchables), when orthodox Hindu priests had gathered round him claiming that the separation of Harijans in Hindu society was sanctioned by the Hindu scriptures. They however, failed to prove their case and today the question of Harijans in India has been settled once for all.

A similar situation exists in South Africa between Europeans and non-Europeans, and the scriptures are being referred to. But unless there is a sincere desire to gain true knowledge and to abide by it it is worthless consulting the scriptures. There are gems in the Bible but we treat them as though they were there only to adorn the book, not to build our character. The Bible really sanctions neither the type of separa-

tion advocated by the Nationalists nor the one practised by the United Party. Those of the United Party who criticise the Nationalist Party have therefore no reason to be self-satisfied over their own deeds. All have reason to be ashamed of themselves, to be humbled and to try to amend their ways.

Here are a few gems from the Bible we would do well to ponder over.

"There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."—St. Paul

"Be kindly affectioned to one another with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another."—Romans.

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."—St. Matthew

"But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you."—St. Matthew.

"What kind of a South Africa would it be for example if the hundreds of people observed with great strictness these Biblical exhortations." asks the *Ram Daily Mail*. What a happy and peaceful world it would be to live in we would begin to see.

Fountain of Wisdom

There must be, not a battle of power, but a community of power, not organised rivalry, but an organised common peace.

—Woodrow Wilson

RELIGION HAS NOT FAILED

We will be following very thoughtful and thought-provoking letter by Muriel Horcel from *The Star* (Johannesburg).—

Sir,—The "man-in-the-street"—you and I—are dreadfully concerned about world affairs. We cry: "What can we do to prevent another war?" Yet we are the only people who can. No political leader can advance far beyond the wishes of those he represents. But we can advance as far and as quickly as we like. In the end, it is public opinion that determines a government's policy.

You must dislike rule by force and prefer freedom of choice. On the other hand, we dislike ruthless selfishness and prefer decent consideration for our fellow-man. We want to find a road between the extreme Right and the extreme Left. In other words, we feel that the teachings of Christ and of Moses and Mohammed and Confucius and Buddha are fundamentally sounder than those of modern extremists.

The only way we can avoid war is by knocking the ground from under the feet of extremists on both sides. And the only people who can do it are the common men and women—you and I—working as a leaven; determined to see that good men and women represent us in Parliament; determined to see that, once elected, our representatives continue to uphold our fundamental principles; determined to protest against what is bad and uphold what is good. We must select the best from the Left and the Right. We must hold firm against compulsion and renounce selfish opportunism.

Perhaps this means that we should be content with a smaller profit. Perhaps it means that we must forget our race-prejudice. Perhaps it means that we should voluntarily accept that black men, and white men and white men are equal in God's eyes, and that one's "position in life" depends on one's inherent capabilities, and not on one's ancestry or one's colour. No doubt, all this will be difficult; but not as difficult as being forced to realise it through being slung into a concentration camp and seeing one's sons and daughters killed or maimed by atomic bombs and other wonderful modern inventions.

People say religion has failed. It has not! Perhaps we come now to an shining hour, the opportunity for its adherents to line up behind the things which, though perhaps not convenient, are fundamentally and eternally sound.

DEATH OF MR. V. Sirkari Naidoo

THE tragic and untimely death of Mr. V. Sirkari Naidoo B.A., B.Com., lecturer at the Natal University College, took place at Grey's Hospital, Johannesburg, on Thursday April 4. He was injured in a motor accident when an N.U.C. car in which he was travelling overturned near Camperdown.

Mr. Naidoo was a self-made man. He had reached his brilliant academic career by strenuous self-help with hardly any means, for he did not had from the well-to-do section of the community. Mr. Naidoo devoted the best years of his life to research work in the educational, social and historical field. For a number of years he was lecturer at Sasik College and the Indian Technical Classes. Some three years ago he came under the notice of Professor Burrows, who made him the head of his Indian Research Department at the Natal University. In this capacity Mr. Naidoo did a tremendous amount of work.

He was the first Indian to deliver a series of lectures at the Rhodes University and was among the few Indians in Durban who

had addressed the Rotary Club.

He had just finished his contribution to an authoritative book on South Africa, being published in London by the London Institute of International Affairs. His chapters deal with the Indian position.

More than 2,000 people attended the funeral in Durban on Friday.

Sympathisers who attended the funeral from all parts of South Africa included Mr. Maurice Webb, who flew down from Johannesburg.

Tributes at the cremation were paid by Mr. D. M. Narbeth, Professor H. R. Burrows, Mr. Maurice Webb, Mr. Selby Ngeobu, Mr. Ashwin Chowdhry, Advocate A. Christopher and Dr. Cedat, on behalf of the Indian medical fraternity.

Professor Burrows paid this tribute to Mr. Naidoo.

"In the tragic death of V. Sirkari Naidoo, we of the Natal University College and, indeed, the whole of the social research in South Africa, have suffered a grievous blow.

Originally a high school teacher, who also lectured in accounting

commerce and mercantile law at the Indian Technical Institute Sirkari Naidoo held not only two South African degrees, but also a diploma in commerce and a teacher's certificate.

"In his all too short career as a scholar, Mr. Naidoo contributed informative articles to the S. A. Journal of Economics and publication of the S. A. Institute of Race Relations on the executive

"YE ARE MEMBERS, ONE OF ANOTHER"

"WE may repeat many times the old, old hymn of excluding God omnipotent from the affairs of His world. And we shall go on reaping the appropriate harvest, a foretaste of which we have witnessed and are still witnessing.

But the final issue is not in doubt. Abundant as it may sound, with the thundering of an ancient jungle disharmony in our ears, that God made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth, we shall learn the hard way that this purpose is being pursued.

Ridiculous as it may seem, with policies based upon a supposedly unbridgeable gulf fixed between colours, creeds and creeds, and upon separatism, we shall find ourselves turning aside to consider what this strange doctrine means. "Ye are members, one of another, and the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee, nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you."

Impracticable as it may be regarded now to live upon any basis save that of expediency and self-interest, the day will come when our children's children will marvel that we were so blind as not to realise that righteousness alone exalts a nation while sin is a reproach to any people.

—Rev. J. E. Webb.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Opinion On Nationalist Party's Separation Policy

The discriminatory non-European policy of the Union must eventually force the partition of the country into separate white and black sovereign States, said Rev. M. R. Mahabane, chairman of the Non-European Unity Committee, when he opened the national non-European unity conference at the Rondebosch Town Hall.

Partition would be inevitable, he said, unless there was a complete change in the attitude to the non-European section of the population.

This the Europeans attempted to attain by "total disarmament of the blacks: military, industrial, economic, civil, social and even spiritual."

The colour bar was harsh, brutal, terroristic Hitlerian and un-Christian. It was undemocratic, short sighted and thoughtless. Only this "cruel disease of prejudice" was to be blamed for the unrest among non-Europeans.

Non-European representation in Parliament was "a sham system" and non-Europeans could not be expected to support the "mock elections" involved by a democracy restricted to Europeans.

Third Party Risk Insurance

The Secretary for Transport, in a statement, reminds owners of motor vehicles that compulsory third party risk insurance on private cars and vehicles not used for conveyance of people or goods for reward, must be renewed before May 1. The current insurance period of 12 months expires on April 30, and the motorist on the owner to renew with an insurance company registered under the Act. As from May 1, the driving of an uninsured motor vehicle to which the insurance period from May 1, 1940, to April 30, 1941, applies, will be illegal and a punishable offence.

of which he served with distinction. Further proof of his ability and vision was given by his lucid addresses to the Durban Rotary Club, Rhodes University College Summer School and meetings of the Institute of Race Relations. He also served on the Council of the M. Sultan Technical College and the N.U.C. Non-European Studies Advisory Committee.

EVACUATION FROM SIND

New Delhi, March 12

EVACUATION from Sind is proceeding slowly but steadily. This is partly due to the permit system introduced by the Sind Government. Evacuees are now required to produce certificates from Income-tax authorities, talukdars, municipalities and other civil authorities that no dues public or private are outstanding. Sureties are also demanded that no debt either of a bank or a private individual is outstanding and that no ornaments of Mrs. Iqbal are pawned with them. There are also various difficulties in the way of disposal of property. Incoming evacuees therefore take time to be ready to leave.

It is estimated that there are about seven lakh of non-Muslims in Sind, including about 10,000 to 12,000 Sikhs who are stranded in various pockets of the province. Of these the number of those expected to be able to leave during March is estimated to be from 1,00,000 to 1,22,000.

The Sikhs in particular are reported to be in considerable distress. They are unable to ply their trades and are on the verge of destitution. As they cannot leave without special protection and evacuation facilities, representations have been made to the Pakistan authorities to make such arrangements and their reply is awaited.

(a) Five ships, with a capacity of 11,000 passengers per week, with a capacity of 4,000 passengers are plying between Karachi and the Kathiawar Ports. Evacuation by sea can, therefore, cover about 60,000 to 70,000 persons per month.

(b) The British General of Evacuation, Government of India, has arranged for the evacuation of special train from Hyderabad to Miranpur to Marwar Junction and Patna. Train camps have been set up for reception. This route can carry 10,000 to 15,000 persons, but actually only about 50,000 to 60,000 refugees per month are available for evacuation by this route.

Bhawalpur

The British Government has allowed only four British State and other did not permit non-Muslims to leave. The British Navy and Mr. Leslie, the British High Commissioner in Bhawalpur, have been asked to leave to do so. Movement of refugees by rail from Bhawalpur to India has been stopped.

Recovery Of Abducted Women

Her excellency Lady Mountbatten in her capacity as Chairman of the United Council of Relief and Welfare, has taken over the work of recovery of abducted women from States acceded to India and Pakistan. Representatives of the Government of India, Pakistan and various States concerned recently met in New Delhi under the chairmanship of Lady Mountbatten. Assistance was given of maximum help and facilities in the recovery of such persons. Officials of one Dominion, assisted by social workers, may be deputed to work in the other Dominion and vice versa.

Local social workers will also help in this work.

Sind Refugees Sent To Various Kathiawar States

One of about 35,000 Sind refugees who are already in Kathiawar, the Government of India have decided to send 15,000 to Junagadh State, 10,000 to Bhavnagar State, and the remaining to Gondal and other States of Kathiawar.

Each State recently offered to Sind refugees 15,000 acres of land for resettlement along with some other concessions at the port at Daman. This land was acquired with the aid of Mahatma Gandhi. The Sindhis have named their new refugee town "Gandhigram" in memory of Mahatmaji.

INDIA'S AMBASSADOR IN EGYPT

New Delhi, March 14

WITH dignified and colourful ceremonial and evidence of public goodwill India's First Ambassador to Egypt Dr. Syed Hussain on March 3 presented his credentials to the Egyptian Monarch H. M. Farouk the First. The Ambassador drove to the Abdin Palace in a glass-sided coach drawn by four horses which was escorted by one hundred cavalry men of the Royal Guard in magnificent blue and crimson uniforms with drawn swords. Conducting the Ambassador was the First Chamberlain of the Royal Palace. In a separate coach rode members of the Embassy and the Counsellor Mr. S. N. Haskar, and the secretary Mr. Avtar Singh. Hats were doffed and a wave of clapping from spectators lining the route followed the glittering cavalcade as it proceeded slowly down the broad boulevard to the Palace.

On his arrival at the Palace as also on his departure the Ambassador was saluted by a full guard of honour. Having received the Ambassador's Credentials in the throne room His Majesty then welcomed him in a private room. He expressed the hope that the relations between the two countries would grow in friendship and that his sojourn there would be happy. His Majesty also remarked that the arrival of Free India's first Ambassador to Egypt was a historic event. The Ambassador thanked His Majesty for his gracious words of welcome

and said that India fully reciprocated the sentiments which His Majesty had expressed and for his part he fully realised the historic significance of his Mission. The Ambassador conveyed to His Majesty the personal greetings with which he had been charged by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a Prime Minister of India and by Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of India.

The Ambassador also told His Majesty that his most sympathetic message of condolences on the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi had evoked warm response in India. The Ambassador added that during the last conversation he had with Mahatma Gandhi shortly before his death the Mahatma had expressed keen interest in Egypt and in his forthcoming Mission. The Ambassador had hoped to bring a personal message from Mahatma Gandhi to His Majesty but that alas had remained unwritten. His Majesty replied "We all here feel that Mahatma Gandhi's death was not only a loss to India but to the whole world." Members of Cairo's small Indian colony gathered to see and applaud their country's representative and Egyptians cordially congratulated them on this formal opening of relations between the two countries. For the Indian residents it was a great occasion as one of them said "We have waited a long while for this day and now that it has come we are certainly very glad."

KING ABDULLAH'S TRIBUTE TO INDIA

"OUR coming to the capital of your great country to fulfil this duty is a proof that the East, after a new awakening and the need for closer co-operation, has begun to feel conscious of a common goal," said His Excellency Mohammed Pasha Al Sharaqi, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister of State of Transjordan, greeting the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in New Delhi early last month.

His Majesty King Abdullah in his message for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wished all best wishes for the welfare and happiness of "Great India" and the sincere feelings of cordiality between all Nations of the East and in particular "dear India which is the shining pride of the East."

Conveying this message the Ambassador Extraordinary said on "With the object of expressing these feelings and appreciation, we have come to you. The passing clouds have not been able to cover the horizon of our hopes and faith in the freedom of East and its progressive message which was nursed with patience and sacrifice by this Immortal Leader of India, Mahatma Gandhi. That Great Man who made the world listen even in his deep silence, the voice of an absolute faith in the human brotherhood showed them the reality of life which never vanishes. It, laying out rebukes in the memory of the Great Leader who is more with us and to the great message in the East, we are only pointing to that light which has led by the tears and blood of human beings in order to shed light on the right path and on human beauty illuminated by different standards when in fact are the same. Under the light, the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan heartily offers its blessings on the declaration of India as an "Independent State" taking her significant place amongst the nations of the world for the maintenance of peace, and in the service of civilisation and progress."

"Please my King to convey to you and to the people of the East and friendly States and also let me express again the best wishes of His Hashemite Majesty, our most respected King, for the happiness and welfare of India and her dear people."

OUR INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Baroda, March 20, 1948.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

REPLYING to questions in the Indian Parliament, the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru said that the Government of India were aware of the Saryagaha campaign renewed by Indians in South Africa. They were watching very carefully the developments in South Africa, and would consider at the appropriate time what action they would take. He said the post of the Indian High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa was still vacant and there was no intention for filling it for the present. South Africa had not proposed the appointment of a High Commissioner in India. There was no restriction on the entry into India of British subjects other than those domiciled in South Africa. Under the Reciprocity (South Africa) Rules, 1944, generally speaking, a person not being of Indian origin who had domiciled in South Africa, had been declared a 'prohibited immigrant.'

Gandhiji's Effigy On Notes

The Finance Minister of India, Shri S. Chetty, said in the Dominion Parliament that he had in mind proposal that as an immediate step the Government might print the effigy of Mahatma Gandhi on one-rupee currency notes.

Popular Government In Kashmir

A fully popular Government, with eight Ministers of whom Sheikh M. Abdullah is the Premier, was sworn in in Jammu and Jammu. Of the 8 Ministers 5 are Muslims, 2 Hindus and 1 Sikh. In the same ceremony at Jammu, the Quaid-e-Azam was used in inaugurating the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah said: "The United Provinces has got caught in a maze of confusion, but I am confident that with your help and co-operation which has all ways been extended to us, we shall be able to tide this storm triumphantly." The Indian army in Kashmir has captured Shanghar. The Indian forces who achieved this victory are commanded by Brigadier M. Uman.

Sikh Panthick Party Disbanded

The Sikh Panthick Party in the East Punjab Assembly and the Dominion Parliament has been disbanded, and members of the Party have been advised to join the Congress Party. The Akali Shromani Dal, after the cessation of its parliamentary activities, might continue as a non-political organisation for the purpose of safeguarding the cultural, religious and civic rights of the Sikhs.

Terror In Hyderabad

There have been repeated in Hyderabad of Muslim troops and

Razakars into Indian territory. The Nizam's Government has promised to do its best to prevent these border incidents, and they know that there is a limit to the patience of the Government of India in this matter. Steps have already been taken to arm the police in these areas, and the Government will consider the question of arming the nationals also if the situation becomes very serious. The announcement was made by the Government in the Dominion Parliament. A memorandum signed by 500 businessmen in Hyderabad and Secunderabad, submitted to the Prime Minister of the State, made the gravest complaint against Razakars of the Muslim Volunteer Corps, and the merchants observed a three-days' hartal. A report from Bezawada said that 800 Razakars and 200 members of the Nizam's police burnt out 7 villages on March 14 and 15. Congress sympathisers were burnt alive, 200 cordies of paddy were reduced to ashes, and property worth 20,00,000 was either looted or destroyed.

Constructive Workers' Meeting

The resolutions of the Constructive Workers' meeting, which was held at Warisla and was attended among others by Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, passed resolutions to the following effect: (1) Expression of sorrow at Gandhiji's death and an appeal to the people who revere Gandhiji and work according to his principles that "in their grief they should take counsel together to determine how they should carry on the work started by him and fulfil his mission." (2) Establishment of an organisation to be known as the Sarvodaya Samaj, to strive towards a society based on truth and non-violence. The means to be the various forms of the constructive programme. (3) Unification of the existing constructive organisations. (4) Recommendation to establish cell centres at various places to carry on constructive work. (5) Strong appeal to every Indian to make it his primary duty to fight the cancer of communalism. (6) Establishment of a non-communal organisation in the form of a peace army (Shanti Seva Dal) which should strive to create an atmosphere of harmony in the country, give relief to the suffer-

ers, help refugees and organise anti-racial parties in both towns and villages.

His Future Work

"My main task was accomplished on August 15 when my country became free from British domination. But another job, viz., Pakistan's rejuvenation, remains to be fulfilled, for which I will continue my work till the last breath of my life, in co-operation with the Government of Pakistan," said Dr. Khan Sahib in the Frontier Legislative Assembly.

He asked the Government to make a departure from the practice of the Britishers and "bravely acknowledge misdeeds and acts of omission and reform themselves." He, however, assured his Party's conscientious co-operation with the Government in the larger interests of the country. "A slave nation, when it becomes independent, may get drunk with power. Let the Government not commit mistakes by creating a wall between themselves and the people. We organisationally differ from the League, but that does not mean we are against Pakistan. Let all misunderstandings be removed. Let us shed all slavish mentality and work unitedly for the strength and prosperity of the country."

A Timely Statement

Three prominent Congress M.L.A.s in the Assembly, Shri. Nath Purnima Banerji, Mr. Kali Charan Tandon and Mr. Bannidhar Mishra announced their severance of association with the Socialist Party.

"At a time like this," declared the three legislators in a statement, "we shall be failing in our duty if we were to divide our allegiance and be merely critical of the Indian National Congress. We believe in the basic ideas of the Congress and we do not share the Socialist Party's distrust of the Congress. We shall be content if we are able to contribute our small share towards the achievement of socialism, in the building up of a progressive India and laying firmly the foundations of a democratic secular State which shall secure for all its citizens equality of status and opportunity and social, economic and political justice."

The Socialist Party itself adheres to gradualism and believes in the democratic method for achieving Socialism. In its programme and that of the Con-

gress there is no appreciable difference.

"The assassination of the Mahatma has emphasised the supreme necessity of purifying and strengthening the Congress and making it the rallying centre of all progressive forces in the country so that it can combat all reactionary elements present in our body politic."

Our Pledges To Gandhiji

"I would like to remind the House of certain pledges that we gave to Mahatma Gandhi just before his death with regard to the return of the Muslims to India. We shall abide by those pledges whatever Pakistan might or might not do," declared Pandit Nehru in the Dominion Parliament. He said that the Government were aware that a considerable number of Hindus had migrated from East Bengal to West Bengal. The Government were of the opinion that large-scale migrations were not desirable and should not be encouraged, as they would bring a great deal of suffering in their train. They trusted that conditions would improve so as to enable minorities in East Bengal to resume their normal lives and vocations.

"I hope there will be no war in the near future," said Pandit Nehru, addressing army troops in New Delhi. "India wishes every nation to enjoy its freedom and to let India enjoy hers. We stand for peace and shall do our utmost to preserve it. We have no designs on any other country but are prepared to meet anybody who has designs on us."

Hindus In East Bengal

Pandit Nehru said in Parliament that the Government had seen a press report that on February 11, about 500 houses of Hindus in Nowaga Village in East Bengal (Pakistan) were burnt down by Muslims. 17 persons were injured as 32 houses of Hindus were burnt in a village in Chittagong District. Influential Hindus and Muslims in Chittagong have formed themselves into vigilant committees to arrest the crime wave which is affecting members of both the communities.

On The States Front

The special correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* says: "The map of India is to undergo yet another change as a result of the extension of the State Ministry's merger and unification schemes to Central Indian and Rajputana States."

On March 25, seven States of Rajputana are to be merged into a new unit to be called the United State of Rajasthan. As already reported, on April 2, the Vindhya Pradesh Union, consisting of

nearly 40 States and estates of Baghelkand and Bundelkhand - to come into formal existence.

On June 5, over 15 States of Gujarat are to hand over their administration to the Government of Bombay. Many other jurisdictional and non-jurisdictional States of this area are also expected to follow suit.

Some time in April, the Union of Malwa, consisting of larger States like Gwalior, Indore and some other States may also be announced.

Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary to the States Ministry, is now due to return from a tour of the Rajputana and Central Indian States. Mr. Menon went to these States with a five-fold programme laid out by Sardar Patel. This programme included the solution of the Kolhapur and the Baroda problems. Mr. Menon's visit has resulted in resolving both these. Responsible government is to be introduced in Baroda early in April. In Kolhapur the Government of India is to take over the administration of the State for purposes of building an impartial inquiry into certain incidents which occurred there after Gandhiji's assassination.

With the absorption of the Gujarati States into Bombay the second step towards the creation of Mahatma Gujarat would be taken. The first step in this direction, it may be recalled, was the creation of Saurashtra out of nearly 300 States of Kathiawar.

Mr. Menon has revealed that as a result of the proposed changes in Gujarat, nearly 27,000 square miles of States territory will be added to Bombay. The population of the province would increase by nearly 26 lakhs. The combined revenues of the States that are to be merged with Bombay total up to one and a half crores. Important among the Gujarati States which are to be affected by this merger are Banaski, Baria, Cambay, Dharampur, Jambh, Lunawada, Rajpipla, Sant, Idar, Sachin, Radhanpur, Danta and Palanpur.

The Rajasthani Union is to include Kotah, Bundi, Tonk, Jhalawar, Dungarpur, Banswara and Pargargha. It has been decided that the Ruler of Kotah will be the Rajpramukh of the Union and will form an internal cabinet or consultation with the leaders of the Praja Mandal. The final constitution of the new State will be drawn up by a constituent assembly.

The Vindhya Pradesh Union will extend over 25,000 sq. miles with a population of about 36 lakhs and a revenue of two and a half crores of rupees. As already reported, the Ruler of Rewa will be the Rajpramukh of the Union.

and the Ruler of Panna the Up-Rajpramukh.

Mr. Menon has revealed that the proposed Malwa Union is in the offing and that plans for the same are under consideration. He has, however, made it clear that it is by the voluntary wishes of the Rulers and the people that a union of Malwa can be formed.

It appears that Bhopal has again adopted a reactionary attitude towards the progressive forces now holding sway in many of the States. His refusal to con-

sider any scheme of integration or unification, it is understood has caused considerable dissatisfaction among the people of his State.

Mr. Menon proposes to draw up a tentative plan with regard to the future of the Malwa States which he will discuss with the Rulers and the people of Gwalior and Indore. The finalised proposal will be placed before a conference of the Rulers and the people sometime in April. This conference will ultimately decide the basic structure of the proposed Malwa Union.

Things in General

Launching Of First 8000-Ton Boat Built In India

GREETINGS, good wishes, congratulations and predictions of a great future were expressed as the numerous messages which were received in Vizagapatnam on March 15 on the occasion of the launching of *Jala Usha*. The ceremony was performed by the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The President of the Indian National Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who had laid in 1941 the foundation stone for the Shipyard at "Gandhigram" has written on the present occasion, "I need hardly add how happy I am to see the first 8000-tonner built in India being launched."

The Hon'ble Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Minister of Industry and Supply, who had visited the Shipyard on January 1, 1948 has now wished success for the ceremony, which "opens a new phase in our industrial enterprise." The Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh wished, "I am deeply interested in the development of our merchant Navy and you have my best wishes for the occasion. 'Your contribution will go down in history as a great achievement in India's marine enterprise,' writes the Hon'ble Shri Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Labour, and the Hon'ble Shri N. Gopalaswami has expressed the hope "that *Jala Usha* will be a forerunner of series of similar ships." Similar messages have been received from the Hon'ble Rajkumar Amrit Kaur, the Hon'ble Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, the Hon'ble Dr. John Mathai and the Hon'ble Dr. B. K. Azhmedkar. Numerous messages have also been received from the Ministers of the Provinces. To cite one of them, the Hon'ble Shri B. G. Kher, Premier of Bombay writes, "I hope *Jala Usha* will be a precursor of many more mighty seafarers which will be the pride of the country."

Message From Pakistan

The Hon'ble Mr. I. I. Chundrigar has sent the following message:

"Let me congratulate you on building a member of this tonnage for the first time in the Indian sub-continent and let me wish your success in your programme of shipbuilding."

Of the many messages received from leaders of Indian industry one from Sir M. Visvesvarayya is typical. In his letter to Scindia Company he says: "It was under your leadership that the Aircraft factory in Bangalore was constructed. You are building an Automobile industry in Bombay and the first ship under your direction has been successfully built in Vizag. The Indian public have reasons to thank you and congratulate you on the great strides you and your associates have made in promoting Indian transport services. With every good wish for the success of the launching ceremony."

Mahatma Gandhi's Ashes In Singapore

The urn containing ashes of Mahatma Gandhi arrived in Singapore on March 14. Thousands of people of all nationalities and faiths took the opportunity to pay their homage to Mahatma Gandhi during the three days the urn was kept in Singapore Town Hall.

Native Members Of Tanganyika State Council

Tanganyika now has four Natives on its Legislative Council. The council now comprises 14 officials and the Governor, and 14 nominated unofficials, seven Europeans, four Natives and three Indians.

Records Of Gandhiji's Spiritual Message

Messages, Columns Records of India have presented to the National Archives of India 100 copies of their records of Mahatma Gandhi's Spiritual Message. It will be recalled that the Indian

Historical Records Commission has recently submitted a proposal to the Government of India for the acquisition of the letters and other records of Mahatma Gandhi for preservation in the National Archives Repository.

Aviation Schools To Open In India

A scheme for the training of commercial pilots, ground engineers and flying control officers, is expected to be put into operation during the next cold weather, possibly even earlier. This was disclosed by the Hon'ble Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Minister for Communications, in the Indian Parliament in New Delhi, recently. The Minister added that the present plans of Government contemplated the opening of the Flying Training and Aerodrome Schools at Allahabad and the Aircraft Engineering School at Bangalore. Government had no plans at this stage for opening training schools at other centres. The question of the grant of scholarships was included as part of the scheme.

The Tuberculosis Association Of India

The annual general meeting of the Tuberculosis Association of India will be held in the Government House, New Delhi, on April 20. Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten will preside.

Pakistan's Prime Minister Visits Birla House

The Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, accompanied by the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, paid a visit to Birla House on March 19. They went to the room where Mahatma Gandhi died and also visited the place in the garden where he was shot at. They also paid a visit to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Method Of Stretching Wheat Supplies

A correspondent from Kathiawar has sent to Shri Jaidanddas Daulatram, India's Food Minister, samples of sweets prepared and sold at competitive prices. Chapatis and puris prepared from an admixture of wheat flour and groundnut flour in the ratio of three to two, it is stated, are quite palatable. The experimenter suggests one method of stretching India's wheat supplies.

St. Dunstan's Fund In Aid Of War-Blinded

India will get 74 per cent. of the funds held on February 29 by St. Dunstan's for the aid of the war-blinded. Pakistan will receive 26 per cent. Contributions received after February 29 will be retained by the Indian Com-

BOOKS FOR SALE

| | | |
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| TEACHINGS OF SHRI RAMAKRISHNA | 10 | " |
| MY LIFE AND MISSION—Swami Vivekananda | 4 | " |
| INDIAN STATESMEN (Dewan and Prime Ministers With Portraits) | 7 | " |
| INDIAN TEHRIZ (Biographical and critical sketches with portraits) | 7 | " |
| TEMPLES, CHURCHES AND MOSQUES—Yakub Hasan | 4 | " |
| THE VOICES OF TRAINING AND OTHER STORIES—Rabindranath Tagore | 7 | " |
| EMINENT AMERICANS WHOM INDIA SHOULD KNOW—Jesse P. Sunderland | 11 | " |
| THE KNIGHT BRHANT—Sita Choudhury | 4 | " |
| SEVENTY YEARS—Rabindranath Tagore (Selections from his writings) | 1 | " |
| THE BHAGAVAD GITA (The Lord's Song) An English Translation—Annie Besant | 1 | " |
| 40 YEARS OF SNUFFLES—Dr. Pannabhi Shrivastava | 1 | " |
| WHAT IS WHO? WITH INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE—Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao | 4 | " |
| THE BUKAR AND INDIA—A. N. Agarwala | 1 | " |
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| | |
|---|---------|
| સીલકની બરત બરલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડિઝાઇન | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
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| સીલક મજલીનની બરતબરલી સાડીઓ | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જર્સી બરત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ | ૧૩ ૨૦ ૦ |
| જર્સી બરત જોરજોડ સાડીઓ | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| કીલમ રદાર. બે રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડિઝાઇન | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

જાપેઠું લેખણ, સાડી માટે ૫૦મ પેના. બાકી રંગોમાં રી. ૬ વાર. બરત બરલું રંગમાં, સાડી અને જોરજોડ માટે ૫૦મ પેના રી. ૧૨-૬. મરત લખા જોરજોડ માટે સીલક રંગ, લાલ, લીલ, સીલક, રંગાલ લીલરંગા જોરજોડ માટે લખા લખા કરી છે.

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ETERNAL LIGHT.

Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease
to be never
Never was time it was not, End and Beginning are
dreams!
Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth
the spirit for ever:
Death had not touched it all, dead though
the house of it seem!

અમર અશોન.

આ કદી જન્મતા નથી, મરતા નથી.
આ લેતા અને લેવે પછી થવાનો નથી
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THE JUST FATE

Unto each man his handiwork, unto each his crown,
The just Fate gives.

"Whoso takes the world's life on him and his own lays down,
He, dying so, lives

"Whoso bears the whole heaviness of the wrong'd world's weight,
And puts it by,

"It is well with him suffering, though he face man's fate;
How should he die?

"Seeing death has no part in him any more, no power
Upon his head;

"He has bought his eternity with a little hour,
And is not dead.

"For an hour if ye look for him, he is no more found,
For one hour's space

"Then ye lift up your eyes to him and behold him crown'd
A deathless face.

"On the mountains of memory, by the world's well-springs,
In all men's eyes.

"Where the light of the life of him is on all past things,
Death only dies."

A. C. SWINBURNE.



OUR MASTER—આપણા ગુરૂદેવ.

"Our memories of him will be of the Master whose step was light to the end, whose smile was infectious and whose eyes were full of laughter." -NEHRU.

"..... જેમણે દિમલ લેઈ બીજા સૌ દુઃખ વિસરી જતા અને હાલની ઘણી મુશ્કેલી જેમની આંખોમાંથી ભરેલો અકાશ વેળે એવા આપણા ગુરૂ તરીકે તેમની આપણને સ્મૃતિ રહેશે. —નેહરુ.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER

Mahatma And Mrs. Gandhi And Their Four Sons

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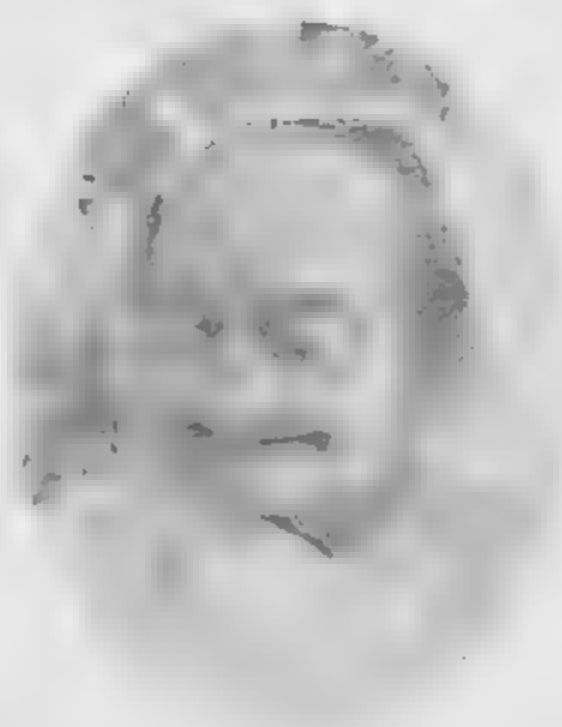
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Manilal Gandhi



Gandhiji



Mrs. Gandhi

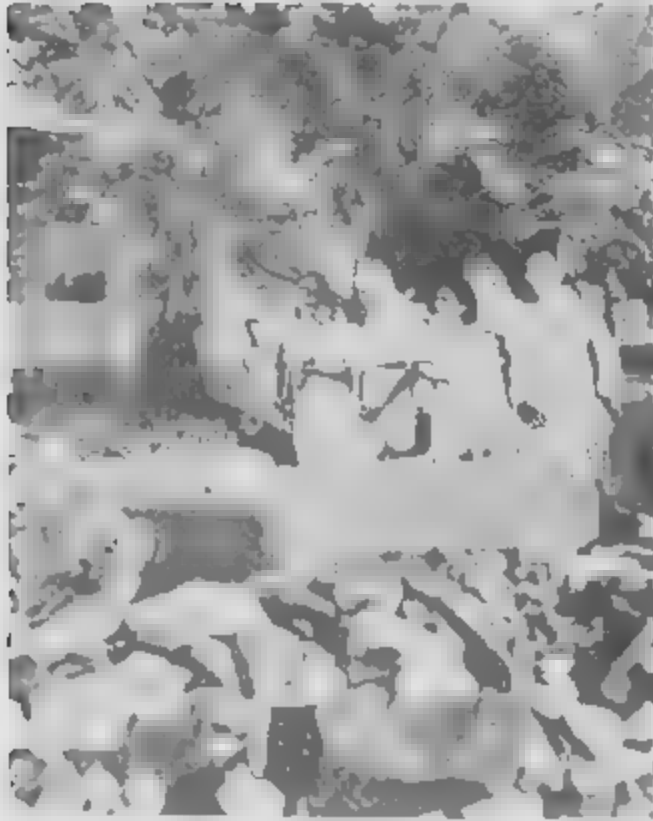


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Devadas Gandhi

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GANDHIJI AND PARTY PRAYING
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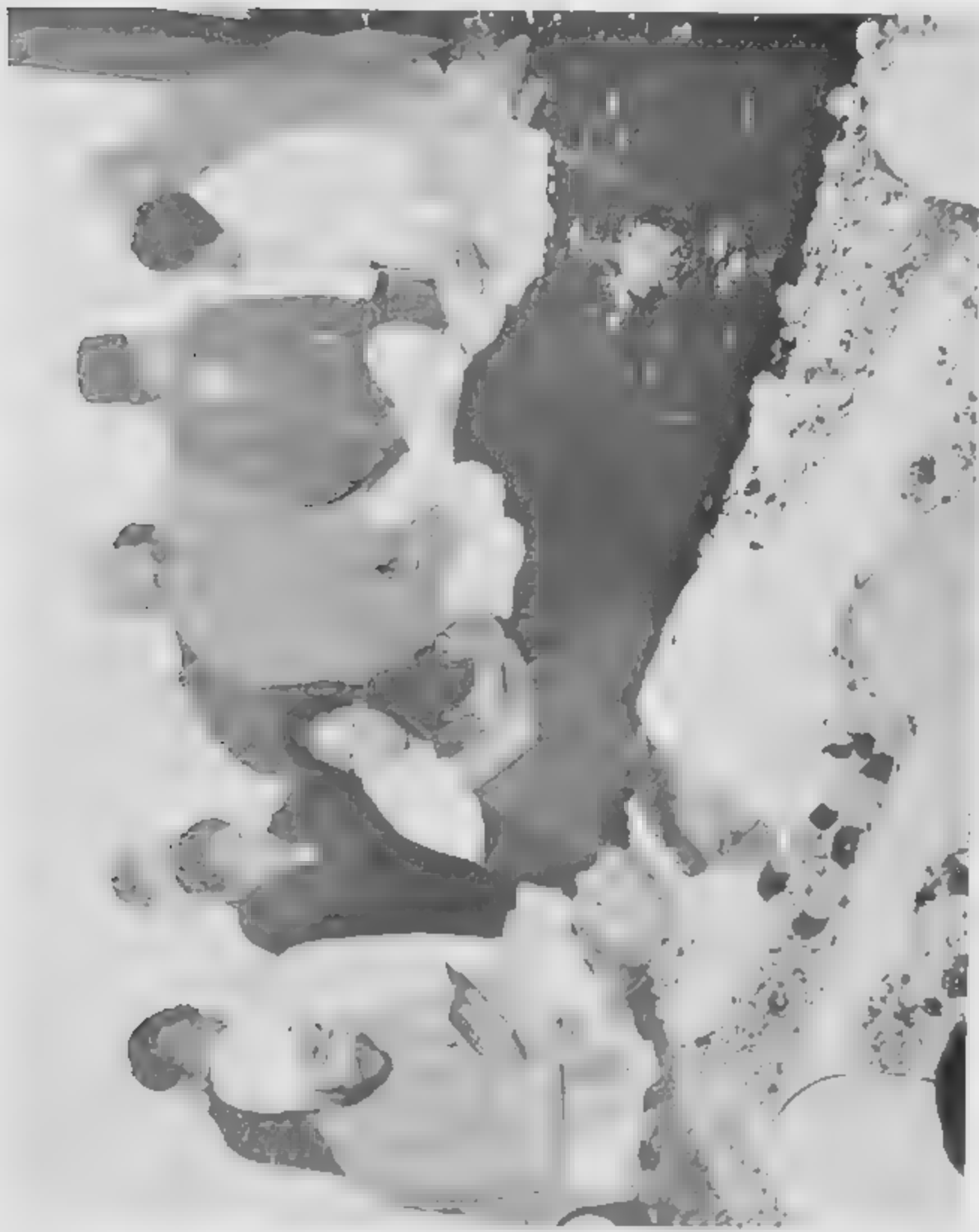
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તે સ્ત્રીઓ.

Mrs. Kasturba
Gandhi at Eternal
Rest.

પૃ. કસ્તુરબાના
અંતિમ દર્શન.



MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



Gandhiji In Eternal Sleep
ગાંધીજી અંતિમ સ્વપ્નમાં

Editor's Note

WHILE many welcomed the idea of publishing this Memorial Number some, who had been closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi, were not enthusiastic about it. In fact they almost ridiculed it. You treasure the memory of one who is not with you, they argued but Bapu is with us and nearer to us more than he ever was. They refused to believe that he was no more and the very thought of a memorial would signify that he was no more. It is all too true. In a memorial you sing the praise of one who is no longer amongst you. But what praise can you sing of one who is still with you and who is above all praise? You revere him, you do not praise him. And so this Memorial Number is not of the ordinary type. It is more a record of just a few of the words that have fallen from Gandhiji's lips than a song of praise. Nor does it contain his life story. Does one need to write the life story of one who is known to the man in the street who has never even seen him? Gandhiji's life was a book of action. He did not preach, he acted. 'Practice is better than precept'. He has proved this by his action more eloquently than any one has done in this century, and his last act was the most eloquent of all. It shook the whole world. Is it not remarkable that communal rioting which was raging in all its fury became a thing of the past the moment the last shot was fired at Mahatma Gandhi? That is what ranks him among the Prophets. Christ, Mahomed, Krishna were slain before their teachings were imbibed by the people and Gandhiji has trodden the same path. If his death brings peace to India and the much desired peace to the world, he will not have died in vain. Though dead he lives in the heart of everyone who needs him. He is nearer to him than he ever was. You do not see him but you feel his presence. You think of him and want him and you feel the touch of his loving hand. 'Faith transcends reason.' These are his words and they are true. We did not have faith in him when he was with us, or we would not have lost him. If we have faith in him now, though unseen, he is still with us and is guiding us. If we have not that faith, no amount of reasoning will avail and any memorial will be a mockery. This Memorial Number records but a microscopic part of the guidance he gave, not only to India, but to humanity. If the reader can try to practice but a little of what is contained therein our efforts will not have been in vain. We claim no credit for what we have done as a humble duty. Prayerfully and humbly we lay it at the feet of One whom we loved so dearly.

"Lead kindly Light amid the encircling
gloom,

Lead Thou me on"

in the path of Truth and Righteousness.

The King's Message To Governor-General Of India, Lord Mountbatten

“THE Queen and I are deeply shocked by the news of the death of Mr. Gandhi. Will you please convey to the people of India our sincere sympathy in the irreparable loss which they, and, indeed, mankind, have suffered”

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee

“THE tragic news of Mahatma Gandhi's death has come to His Majesty's Government as a profound shock. No man has played a greater part in his country's history.

Throughout his long life he strove for peace and condemned the resort to violence. His loss will be mourned by countless thousands in all walks of life in every country of the world.

His moral and spiritual leadership have been an inspiring example in a distracted and troubled age and Britain will share India's great grief at the calamity.

During the last months of his life he exerted with success his peaceful influence to restrain communal bitterness and to promote the co-operation of all Indians for common good.

It is the earnest hope of the British Government that his example will be followed and that his moral influence will continue still to guide men in the path of peace.

[We express our sincere thanks to the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and other friends who have very kindly sent messages and reminiscences of Mahatma Gandhi for this Number —Ed. I.O.]

Message From The Prime Minister, Gen. Smuts

“I WELCOME your idea of a Memorial Number of ‘Indian Opinion’ in honour of your father, its founder. I have added my tribute to him amongst thousands of others and mourn the loss which India has sustained. To him the going was a gain as his life work was in fact finished. We tender homage to a great man and a great servant of humanity.

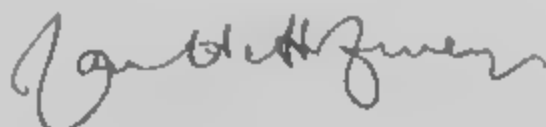
As soon as he heard the news in Capetown General Smuts said: “I have heard of the assassination of Gandhi with the deepest grief, which I am sure will be shared all over the world.....A prince among men has passed away and we grieve with India her irreparable loss.”

Deputy Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr

“ALL the world has been shocked by the news of the tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi. South Africa has learnt of it with a special measure of regret—and that not merely as far as the South African Indians are concerned—because of the Mahatma’s association with our country during a considerable period of years.

“It was in South Africa that he conceived and first practised the doctrine of Satyagraha—in South Africa that many of the ideas which were later to become such powerful forces in practical achievement took shape—in South Africa that he first emphasised the predominance of the spiritual over the material.

“It is in his emphasis on spiritual forces that the greatness of the Mahatma for humanity and in history will chiefly be found. We live in an age when the material side, reinforced by scientific and technical progress has outstripped moral and spiritual advance, and that if the gap is not closed humanity will surely perish. Mahatma Gandhi fought at all times for the assertion and the maintenance of the spiritual values. That is why the world is to-day so much the poorer for his passing.”



The Administrator Of Natal, Mr. D. G. Shepstone

“I HAVE been asked to send a message for the Special Number of ‘Indian Opinion’ in memory of the late Mahatma Gandhi, which I gladly do.

“My memory goes back to the days of my early manhood when the late Mr. Gandhi was a familiar figure in the life of Natal. Even in those days it was apparent there was a quality of character within him which marked him out amongst his fellow men. With a passionate love of justice and a tenderness and charity for the frailties of mankind there was matched an inflexible will to suffer and forgive for the promotion of the brotherhood of man.

With the passage of years this spirit of sacrifice was put to the test on countless occasions, and on each occasion the great spiritual qualities of his character triumphed until, as the Prime Minister has said, he died a Prince among men. To-day India mourns her greatest son, and the world has lost a great spiritual force, but the nobility of his character will live on as a beacon light in a world of gloom and doubt.”

Dr. Edgar Brookes

"THE passing of Mahatma Gandhi has been for many of us the passing of an age. It leaves one with the feeling of having lived through a great period of history. It is most difficult to assess the value of a great man. All men are great at certain moments; this is the basis of democracy. Yet there are men whom we meet, or with whose work we come into contact, whose lives seem to stand out, and whose personalities impress themselves on us as those of men endowed for and called to special work. Such a man was Gandhi.

"He will live in history as a great Indian and a great patriot. More than any human being he will be regarded by future generations as the founder of the new India. And he will be honoured because his victories were in the realm of the spirit—because he won independence for his people without drawing the sword—because he learned to differ without hate, and because in his heart he had a

true love for the dominant race as well as for the race to whom he gave the priceless gift of national freedom.

"In all these things he was more than a statesman. General Smuts has called him a great human. It is a quality which he shared with General Smuts himself. These men, so different, so often thrown into positions of opposition one to the other, had something of the same quality of greatness, and respected each other even in their differences. May it be so with their fellow-countrymen. Gandhi, like General Smuts, had great qualities of the spirit. He showed them in a way more specifically religious: his faith in God was real, living, expressed in deep devotion, and at the same time amazingly tolerant. His life has been an example not only to India, but to the world, and down the centuries men of good will of all nations, including those with which he has had differences, will remember him with gratitude, affection and honour.

Dr. F. E. T. Krause's Tribute To Mahatma Gandhi

"PHYSICAL death is the birth of spiritual life! The world has produced but few great men, who, after death, have left man kind richer in those virtues, the attainment of which is acclaimed to be the ultimate goal of civilised existence. In the past leaders were honoured because they excelled in the arts of war or in machiavellian diplomacy. Truth and Justice and Freedom were preached but not practised.

"Personal ambition and a false patriotism were and still are the guiding principles of our politicians. The rights of the individual were sacrificed on the altar of vanity. Governments have now established factories for the dissemination of falsehoods and seek to justify their policy by pleading public interest. The future of humanity, in the hands of these war-mongers, is a gloomy one. Might has become right. Like vultures, the victors are rending the carcass of the vanquished, each intent upon getting a bigger chunk than his neighbour. It was in this mad and confused world that Mahatma Gandhi was born and lived. He preached and practised the doctrines of brotherly love—of tolerance—of justice for all, irrespective of creed or colour. The hypocrites, who persecuted him, took shelter behind plausible generalities and undue platitudes. They said that the supremacy of the law must be upheld, but their law was based upon a denial of human rights and not upon Justice. Human beings were but pawns in the game of oppression, at which they were experts.

"I have known Gandhi for over fifty years, and have followed his career since I first met him in Pretoria in 1893. He was a true patriot and a lover of his own people. He gave his life for India! The seeds of tolerance, of self-sacrifice and brotherly love, that he has sown will and must bear fruit in abundance in the future. His name will be honoured by generations to come, whereas the names of his persecutors will be engulfed in the cesspool of forgetfulness.

"Gandhi is physically dead, but his spirit will guide humanity on the road of Freedom for all! *(Mahatma Gandhi is a great leader!)*

Canon Haywood Harris

“IN a world which thinks so largely of the importance of material things Mahatma Gandhi stood out—above all others of his day—for the eternal value of the spiritual. He saw quite clearly that the spiritual “Temple” which he desired to see built in the world would come, as the Prophet Zachariah proclaimed: “not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts. The world at large is greatly indebted to Mahatma for this and many other lessons which he has taught us.”

Tribute From Mr. And Mrs. W. M. Vogl

Mr. and Mrs. Vogl, whose tribute to Gandhiji we have great pleasure in publishing below, were among Gandhiji's close associates. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi and their family often enjoyed their kind hospitality in Johannesburg and the couple took a very active part in Gandhiji's political and social activities. The couple is at present resident in Durban and Mrs. Vogl, who is nearly 80 years of age, is doing faith healing work. [Ed. L.O.]

“A S a couple who can claim the honour of being intimate friends of Mr. Gandhi in the days of his early campaign, we go back to when we first came in touch with him in the year 1906 and kept continually in touch with him until 1914, and with his works. It is impossible to describe his attitude and purpose, as there is none other to my knowledge to compare his life and works to, so humane, so tolerant to all men's opinion, yet so unmovably fixed in his own. We must admit that his life and views did seem strange in so materialistic a world and country as ours. One could record volumes of his saying, teachings and acts. This has been done so often that it is unnecessary. I often remember once remarking to Mr. Sastri that he did not always agree with Mr. Gandhi's views. His reply was “That is so, but you have never heard me say Mr. Gandhi was wrong, but it happens often that he is so far in advance of me spiritually, that I am unable to understand his point of view.” So I think in a greater extent is the position of we Europeans when trying to understand the Eastern mind.”

A TRIBUTE FROM DR. C. M. DOKE

Dr. C. M. Doke, the writer of this tribute, is the son of the late Rev. J. J. Doke, the author of "An Indian Patriot In South Africa," which was the first life sketch ever written of Mahatma Gandhi. This tribute by Dr. Doke, therefore, has its own significance. We are indebted to Dr. Doke for so kindly responding to our request and we profoundly regret to have imposed this task on him at a time when he was himself bereaved. The readers will be deeply grieved to learn that it was barely two weeks before the death of Mahatma Gandhi that Dr. Doke had lost his beloved wife. We have no doubt our readers will join us in expressing publicly our deepest sympathy to Dr. Doke and his family in the great loss sustained by them.—Ed. I.O.]

THE tragic death of Mahatma Gandhi at the hands of a fanatical assassin immediately brought vividly back to my mind that earlier attempt on his life in the streets of Johannesburg just forty years ago.

It was early in 1908. I was a school boy of 15 and on my way home from school, when I was met by my sister, who warned me to enter the house quietly, as Mr. Gandhi had been brought home by my father badly battered, and was lying in my little room off the verandah upstairs. I remember I took a certain amount of pride that it was my room he was occupying. It was only a week or two since our father had told us of Mr. Gandhi and his work for his fellow Indians in the great struggle which was then commencing. We were proud to have him in our house. We even took a certain amount of credit that a police patrol was on duty to guard against possible further attack.

How we were overwhelmed with telegrams and gifts of fruit and vegetables from all parts of the Transvaal and Natal! Our dining-room resembled a corner of the Market! I well remember, too, that our next door neighbours, who had up to this time been very friendly, "cut us completely for so 'breaking caste' as to enter

tain a black man. All such happenings only heightened our sense of pleasure in being able to do something for Mr. Gandhi.

To me, from that time on Mr. Gandhi became a hero. I got to know him well, both on his visits to our home, and in his legal office in town which I often visited with letters or articles from my father. And I remember very vividly walking up the hill at the side of the hospital parallel to Mr. Gandhi, as he was accompanied by a police officer on his way to the "The Fort" (where Mahatma Gandhi was taken to prison.) My sister and I tried to attract his attention all the way up that hill but his thoughts were elsewhere; and it was not till the gates of the Fort swung open, and he turned on entering, that he saw us. A brief wave of the hand and he was gone within to serve one of his terms of imprisonment.

Mr. Gandhi, as an example, meant a lot to me. I looked upon him as one who had, to a great extent, conquered "the evils of the flesh," and was enabled to live according to the high standards of the spirit. We knew that he did not profess to be a Christian, that Hinduism played a large part in his spiritual experience; but his attitude was so reverent, so kindly

towards others, and his admiration for our Master, Jesus Christ, so great, that we felt "he was not far from the Kingdom." It was always a real regret to my father that Mr. Gandhi was never able to accept Jesus Christ as God's only begotten Son, the Saviour of the world. This, however, did not diminish our love for him, and our high estimation of his heroic life of self-sacrifice.

I think he liked us, too. I have this written by him in my birthday book, under date October 2nd: "On the understanding that you are and will remain a good boy.—M. K. Gandhi," followed by his signature in Gujarati also.

I have several letters from him; some written back in 1913, when my father died; one written in 1922 after a long period in prison. "Believe me," he writes: "I do nothing without prayer." The last was written in 1944, after the death of his dear wife, "Ba," as he called her. In this he revealed how comforting to him the world-wide sympathy was. In these letters he always enquired after our family, and seemed to want to keep hold of the threads binding the past.

Of course we differed in our look and convictions on certain points. Our religious convictions differed; our politics sometimes

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



MAHATMA GANDHI'S STUDY IN BIRLA HOUSE—ગાંધીજી ભરલામાં સંધ્યાભંગ કરેલા.



Mrs. Abba Gandhi and Miss Manu Gandhi holding the Burmese hat given to Gandhiji by Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of the Republic of Burma, and the peasants' hat presented to Gandhiji at Noidkhatti, Bengal.

શ્રીમતી આબા અને શ્રીમતી મનુ ગાંધીજીને બર્મામાં પ્રધાનમંત્રી થાકીન નુ દ્વારા આપવામાં આવેલી બર્માની ટોપી અને બેંગલોરમાં ગાંધીજીને ભરલામાં આપવામાં આવેલી ગ્રામીણોની ટોપી.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



Gandhiji's Blood-stained Shawl
ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କ ରକ୍ତାବିଶିଷ୍ଟ ଶାଢ଼ୀ



Gandhiji's Personal Effects
ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀଙ୍କ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ବସ୍ତୁ



THE LAST RITES

A panoramic view of the Procession on its way to the Triveni Sangam, for the immersion of sacred ashes of Mahatma Gandhi.

અતિમ ક્રિયા

ત્રિવેણી સંગમ મહાત્માનાં દૂત ગરુડે ગતી ત્રાણને એવ

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



THE VEHICLE WITH THE SACRED ASHES OF MAHATMA GANDHI
ગાંધીજીના દુહાના રથ



THE BOAT CARRYING SACRED ASHES OF GANDHIJI FOR THE FINAL IMMERSION IN TRIVENI SANGAM.
ત્રિવેણી સંગમમાં પ્રધરાવવા ગાંધીજીના દુહા લઈ ગતી લોડી

differed in detail; we could not always share enthusiasm over the means employed for achieving his aims. But there is one thing on which we never differed—acknowledgment of God's omnipotence and love, and His claim on man's reverence and obedience.

Mahatma Gandhi was a great man, a great soul, one of the greatest renouncers of self, one who has achieved more than any other in this 19th Century by pure unselfish sacrifice.

His utter fearlessness, too, was one of the things that impressed

me. So long as he was convinced that what he was doing was right, he did not care what man might do to him. Physical violence, jeers, imprisonment, misunderstanding—all were nothing to him when the goal of his conviction stood before him. And he did suffer, physically and mentally, for the sake of his loved India.

He had a magnetic influence over men. He drew not only the poor and ignorant, the despised, but also the wealthy and learned. His very simplicity drew men to

him. His simple garb, his simple life, the very simplicity of his words, were all so attractive. Much of his influence, too, must be attributed to the spirit of prayer in which he lived and worked. It was on his way to a prayer meeting that he met his death—what better way? He could not have chosen a better himself. May this, Mahatma Gandhi's last walk, impress itself upon sore, troubled India. A turning of India to God would mean the birth and salvation of the Nation.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND NATIVES

THE following arguments were advanced by Gandhi, in favour of placing the weapon of Passive Resistance in the hands of Natives, are taken from the late Rev. J. J. Doke's book on "An Indian Patriot in South Africa," with courtesy to the author and publisher. His arguments briefly are these:

(1) If the Natives in any crisis adopt this method (of Passive Resistance) of meeting what they believe to be injustice, rather than resort to force, we ought to be devoutly thankful. It would mean that the gun and the assegai would give place to peaceful tactics. Men who see far believe that the problems which are connected with the natives will be problems of the future, and that, doubtless, the white man will have a stern struggle to maintain his ascendancy in South Africa. When the moment of collision comes, if, instead of the old ways of massacre, assegai and fire, the natives adopt the policy of Passive Resistance, it will be a grand change for the Colony.

(2) Passive Resistance can only be carried to a successful conclu-

sion if the cause be just. The acceptance of suffering, instead of the infliction of it, requires such moral power in those who adopt this policy that no community could successfully use it in an unjust case. Injustice and Passive Resistance have no affinity.

(3) When the native people have risen sufficiently high in the scale of civilisation, to give up savage warfare and use the Christian method of settling a dispute, they will be fit to exercise the right to vote in political affairs. This will be the great solution of questions connected with Passive Resistance. The one triumphant way of meeting all such combinations is to deal justly with the natives and to give them, directly or indirectly, a voice in the settlement of those questions which concern their welfare.

(4) True Passive Resistance never tends to become active resistance. It recoils, of necessity, from the methods of violence or those advocated by anarchists. It is at the opposite pole from the spirit of war. If, then, the natives accept the doctrines which are now so prevalent amongst

the Indian community, South Africa need not fear the horrors of a racial uprising. It need not look forward to the necessity of maintaining an army to keep the natives in awe. Its future will be much brighter than its past has been.

Those who ponder these things think that they can see, with the Indian Dreamer, a brighter day dawning across the veld. Why should not the sword be turned into the plough-share, and the spear into the pruning hook? Why should not men learn war no more? And who can tell but that this long-drawn Indian agony may be the beginning of that experience of profound peace?

Gandhiji gave the following written reply when invited by the late Rev. J. J. Doke to send a message through the pages of "An Indian Patriot in South Africa," to the young men in India. This was in 1909: "I am not sure that I have any right to send a message to those with whom I have never come into personal contact, but it has been desired and I consent. These, then, are my thoughts:

The struggle in the Transvaal is not without its interest for India. We are engaged in raising men who will give account of themselves in any part of the world. We have undertaken the struggle on the following assumptions:

- (1) Passive Resistance is always infinitely superior to physical force.
- (2) There is no inherent barrier between Europeans and Indians anywhere.
- (3) Whatever may have been

the motives of the British rulers in India, there is a desire on the part of the Nation at large to see that justice is done. It would be a calamity to break the connection between the British people and the people of India. If we are treated as, or assert our right to be treated as, free men, whether in India or elsewhere, the connection between the British people and the people of India cannot only be mutually beneficial, but is calculated to be of enormous

advantage to the world religiously, and, therefore, socially and politically. In my opinion, each Nation is the complement of the other.

Passive Resistance in connection with the Transvaal struggle I should hold justifiable on the strength of any of those propositions. It may be a slow remedy, but I regard it as an absolutely sure remedy, not only for our ills in the Transvaal, but for all the political and other troubles from which our people suffer in India."

MEETS THE FATE OF THE GREAT SOULS

BY L. W. RITCH

Even the most confirmed optimist must find it difficult to resist the conviction that our 20th century civilisation is manifesting many of the historic symptoms of decay and dissolution, and that for all that history's pages would appear to have taught those to whom the peoples have entrusted guidance and leadership, it would almost seem as if those pages might equally well never have been written at all. Or is it just another example of the truth of the old adage about our getting the rulers and priests we deserve?

A little honest self-examination would show that we most of us engage in very little real, i.e., independent, thinking, and that what we are pleased to call our opinions are all too frequently no better than a reflection in the mirror of our own minds of some other's ideas which most nearly happen to reflect our preconception, prejudices and class or individual interests.

We should be faced with the humiliating fact that "our

views" are more influenced, coloured and shaped by our personal likes, dislikes, wants and fears than by concern for the absolute truth regarding the matter in question.

Creative thought, we know to be exceptional and comparatively rare.

If, as some still believe, the purpose and meaning of life and living is the distilling of spiritual values to be manifested as character, or, as Goethe interpreted it, "to weave for God the garment thou seest Him by," the general progress claimed for our 20th century civilisation hardly warrants the self-congratulation so frequently indulged in. Quo Vadis? Well, the answer should be at least as important as merely travelling fast without knowing why or whither.

But, apparently it is not. The feeding of bodily wants and appetites, the thirst for sensational pleasures, the entertaining of the inquisitive and combative mind, seem to be all that really matters. These are

the "realities" that are supposed to constitute life and living; beyond them desecience, nothingness.

True, much has been heard of late concerning the Four Freedoms, and freedom's call is, as always, still a clarion call that stirs the hearts of the enslaved, exploited and oppressed. But the one Freedom without which all others, even The Four, must eventually prove empty of real benefit, is Freedom from ignorance, the prevailing ignorance of man concerning himself, his purpose and destiny.

While still enveloped in that he must wander and blunder still, lacking the key to real freedom. All our mistakes and the miseries resulting from them are, in the final analysis, traceable to that ignorance.

Because this ignorance of man concerning himself is, in very truth of the nature of a dense fog in which to find himself groping blindly to re-discover the lost way to progress, peace and happiness.

Real progress consists only in whatever advances man towards his goal of complete self-realisation, the unfolding and expressing, as Man, of the divinity that is his highest, innermost realist Self.

Happiness is synonymous with harmony; it is man's increasingly, as he fulfils his purpose, Bliss and peace accompany complete self-realisation, fulfilment. Much of what we call progress has little, if any, intrinsic value; our self-gratulation regarding it is but mere self-deception.

The ideal of Peace on Earth and Goodwill among Men flows naturally and as, of course, from belief in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Mankind. Cut off from its life-source, from the spring that alone feeds it, the ideal must inevitably fade and ultimately perish. Which is precisely what has happened. We are letting noble "purpose go," bartering away our idealism for a mess of pottage; losing our soul.

The Goodwill, we were assured at the conclusion of hostilities, was to replace enmity and ensure peace, co-operation and the outlawry of all that makes for unkindness among mankind, where do we find it, now the testing time has come?

To the fact of land-hood, implied in the term "mankind"; of the Kinship thereby denoted, of the brother relationship that in truth and in fact and whether perceived or not, relates every one of us to every other of us, even to be recognised in practice? Are we not still the privileged (and in many cases willing) subjects of a race and colour prejudice that impels us to deny that relationship? Of an artificially stimulated superiority complex we dare not analyse or even honestly examine? By the one token, can

the Four Freedoms, or for that matter any of them, be reconciled with the war of power politics in which those from whom we expected light and leading are so relentlessly engaged? With the same old lust for domination, privilege and possessions that, too obviously ugly to parade its nakedness, masquerades behind cheap platitudes, such as "preserving our civilisation," "white man's burden," "trusteeship," and the like? By another, can we not detect behind the fanaticism of the misguided criminals who are drenching the soil of India with innocent blood and committing outrages unspeakable, the hidden hand of the retainers of power at any price and of those disciples of darkness who see in India's emancipation the liberation of their victims from the superstitions and mass bondage under which for centuries they have had to pay tribute?

This "brother" relationship of man to man is no mere sentimental fiction, except, of course, to such as regard "the Fatherhood of God" as similarly fictional. History presently in the making, would, however, seem to indicate that the number of these is lamentably large.

How shall this be explained, seeing that, allowing for differences of language and methods of presentation, all the world's great religions systems have this identical doctrine as the rock upon which they are built?

The sad truth, of course, is that to most of us things of the spirit have no place in our consciousness, are, to all intents and purposes, non-existent or, at the highest, so remote, unsubstantial and unreal as to

exercise little if any influence in the affairs of our every-day life.

The higher levels of consciousness, the finer subtler planes of the intellect, not infrequently seen to manifest in early childhood are disregarded, neglected and allowed to atrophy. The "kindly light," the eye turned inward and upward might have perceived and profited by is lost to the individual. His attention concentrated on things of the earth earthly, his life becomes one continuous feverish chase after wealth, power and other forms of worldly success.

Why should he be expected to regard other men as his brothers, when those others are his competitors in the rush and struggle for the things that alone make life desirable? He sees mankind as falling into two categories, the shearers and the shorn.

As in Bellamy's "Parable of the Coach," he must either be a passenger or, if unable to keep his seat on top, take his place in the shafts and help pull those who have succeeded in keeping theirs. "To the victors, the spoils" to the victims the leftovers!

True indeed are the words of the "Gita":

"If one muses on objects of sense there arises attraction. From attraction desire springs, from desire passion, recklessness, anger. Then the memory (Buddhi) all betrayed lets noble purpose go and saps the mind. Till purpose mind and man are all undone."

Loving service, renunciation, sacrifice, selfishness, the characteristics that indicate real growth—soul growth—how shall these fair flowers thrive and blossom in the foetid atmosphere of self-seeking, hates and

exclusiveness that has become the accepted and the normal with us?

A Gandhi passes across the world-stage, and lives the faith—never mind the label!—to which most of us profess to bow the knee, self-surrender to the All-God and, like Abou bin Adhem, lover of his fellow-men. He at once becomes a danger to the established order, subjected to every kind of vilification and abuse. When at

last his saintly self-abnegation compels recognition and all the "world wonders," he meets the fate of those other Great Souls whose reward at the hands of the humankind they loved and served was the cross, the poison-cup or the faggot.

Our Bapu has gone from us, who were too small and earthy to realise his worth, to join the glorious company of his peers. The freedom he achieved while yet here with us is the only

true freedom, the emancipation that completely liberates from all bondage. Not his, but ours is the loss.

He left us a precious legacy, however. Have we the wit to profit by it? Or, having paused for the customary mourning and paid the usual tribute to the virtues of the departed, shall we return to our stives again?

AGES HENCE

[Pandit Nehru made a moving reference to Gandhi's death in the Constituent Assembly on February 2, 1948.]

It is customary in this house to pay some tribute to the eminent departed, to say some words of praise and condolence. I am not quite sure in my own mind if it is exactly fitting for me or for any others of this House to say much on this occasion, for I have a sense of utter shame both as an individual and as the head of the Government of India that we should have failed to protect the greatest treasure that we possessed. It is our failure, as it has been our failure in the past many months to give protection to many an innocent man, woman and child; it may be that the burden and that task was too great for us or for any government, nevertheless it is failure. And to-day the fact that this mighty person whom we honoured and loved beyond measure has gone because we could not give him adequate protection, is shame for all of us. It is shame to me as an Indian that an Indian should have raised his hand against him, it is shame to me as a Hindu that a Hindu should have done this deed and

done it to the greatest Indian of the day and the greatest Hindu of the age.

We praise people in well-chosen words and we have some kind of a measure for greatness. How shall we praise him and how shall we measure him, because he was not of the common clay that all of us are made of? He came, lived a fairly long span of his life and has passed away. No words of praise of ours in this House are needed, for he has had greater praise in his life than any living man in his history. And during these two or three days since his death he has had the homage of the world; what can we add to that? How can we praise him? how can we, who have been the children of his, and perhaps more intimately children of his than the children of his body, for we have all been in some greater or smaller measure the children of his spirit, unworthy as we were?

A glory has departed and the sun that warmed and brightened our lives has set and we shiver in

the cold and dark. Yet, he would not have us feel this way. After all, that glory that we saw for all these years, that man with the divine fire, changed us also—and such as we are, we have been moulded by him during these years; and out of that divine fire many of us also took a small spark which strengthened and made us work to some extent on the lines that he fashioned. And so if we praise him, our words seem rather small and if we praise him to some extent we praise ourselves. Great men and eminent men have monuments in bronze and marble set up for them, but this man of divine fire managed in his life time to become enmeshed in millions and millions of hearts so that all of us become somewhat of the stuff that he was made of, though to an infinitely lesser degree. He spread out over India not in palaces only, or in select places or in assemblies but in every hamlet and hut of the lowly and those who suffer. He lives in the hearts of millions and he will for immemorial ages.

What then can we say about him except to feel humble on such occasion? To praise him we are not worthy—to praise him whom we could not follow adequately and sufficiently. It is almost doing him an injustice just to pass him by with words when he demanded work and labour and sacrifice from us: in a large measure he made this country during the last thirty years or more attain to heights of sacrifice which in that particular domain have never been equalled elsewhere. He succeeded in that. Yet ultimately things happened which no doubt made him suffer tremendously though his tender face never lost the smile and he never spoke a harsh word to anyone. Yet, he must have suffered—suffered for the failing of this generation whom he had trained, suffered because we went away from the path that he had shown us. And ultimately the hand of a child of his—for he after all is as much a child of his as any other Indian—a hand of that child of his struck him down.

Long ages afterwards history will judge of this period that we have passed through. It will judge of the successes and the failures—we are too near it to be proper judges and to understand what has happened. All we know is that for the moment there is darkness, not so dark certainly because when we look into our hearts we still find this living flame which he lighted there. And if those living flames exist, there will not be darkness in this land and we shall be able, with our effort, praying him and following his path, to illumine this land again, small as we are, but still with the fire that he instilled into us. He was perhaps the greatest symbol of India of the past, and may I say, of India of the future that we could have had? We stand on this perilous edge of the present between that past and the future to be and we face all

manner of perils and the greatest peril is sometimes the lack of faith which comes to us, the sense of frustration that comes to us, the sinking of the heart and of the spirit that comes to us when we see the great things that we talked about somehow pass into empty words and life taking a different course. Yet, I do believe that perhaps this period will pass soon enough.

Great as this man of God was in his life, he has been greater in his death and I have not a shadow of a doubt that by his death he has served the great cause as he served it throughout his life. We mourn him; we shall always mourn him, because we are human and cannot forget our valued Master. But I know that he would not like us to mourn him. No tears came to his eyes when his dearest and closest went away—only a firm resolve to persevere, to serve the great cause that he had chosen. So he would chide us if we merely mourn. That is a poor way of doing homage to him. The only way is to express our determination, to pledge ourselves anew, to conduct ourselves so and to dedicate ourselves to the great task which he undertook and which he accomplished to such an extent. So we have to work, we have to labour, we have to sacrifice and thus prove, to some extent at least, worthy followers of his.

It is clear, that this happening, this tragedy, is not merely the isolated act of a mad man. This comes out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that has prevailed in this country for many months and years and more especially in the past few months. That atmosphere envelopes us and surrounds

us and if we are to serve the cause he put before us we have to face this atmosphere, to combat it, to struggle against it and root out the evil of hatred and violence.

So far as this Government is concerned, I trust they will spare no means, spare no effort to tackle it, because if we do not do that, if we, in our weakness or for any other reason that we may consider adequate, do not take effective means to stop this violence, to stop this spreading of hatred by word of mouth or writing or act, then indeed we are not worthy of being in this Government; we are not certainly worthy of being his followers and we are not worthy of even saying words of praise for this great soul who has departed, so that on this occasion or any other when we think of this great Master who has gone, let us always think of him in terms of work and labour and sacrifice, in terms of fighting evil wherever, we see it, in terms of holding to the truth as he put it before us, and if we do so, however unworthy we may be, we shall at least have done our duty and paid proper homage to his spirit.

He has gone, and all over India there is a feeling of having been left desolate and forlorn. All of us sense that feeling, and I do not know when we shall be able to get rid of it, and yet together with that feeling there is also a feeling of proud thanks-giving that it has been given to us of this generation to be associated with this mighty person. In ages to come, centuries and may be milleniums after us, people will think of this generation when this man of God treaded and will think of us who, however small, could also follow his path and probably tread on that holy ground where his feet had been. Let us be worthy of him. Let us always be so.

EMANCIPATOR OF INDIA

— LEO HIRSCH —

[The following article is taken from 'Unity' (Chicago) with courtesy to the Editor of the paper and to the writer. The article was written shortly before Gandhiji was assassinated.—Ed. I.O.]

The Indian ideal of sainthood comes from the *Bhagavad-Gita*, meaning the Song of the Lord. "To those who are detached from desire and from anger, who practice self-control and are restrained in mind, knowing the true self—to them is salvation nigh."

It is in the blending of this idealism of India with that of Christianity that Mahatma Gandhi is to be understood. Mahatma means "great soul" and the title is India's recognition that in him her ideal of sainthood is realised. This distinction came to him unsought; and when he was asked by members of the English Parliament what the title meant, he replied: "It means a very unimportant person." Such humility is of the essence of sainthood, and it is by identifying himself with the poor that he has his great eminence in India. A saint is one who makes the spiritual world visible to us; and this will help to explain the vast multitudes who come to gaze at the homely and humble figure of the Mahatma as a religious exercise. Here is a man without wealth or earthly possessions, rather sickly and emaciated, yet possessing a spiritual grandeur, whose influence has affected 400 million human beings.

Like Dr. Kagawa in Japan, Gandhi is a fighting pacifist; and long and heroic career has been spent in a great attack upon race prejudice and the exploitation of poor. The conviction was burned into his soul that India had been and still is being killed, body and soul, by exploitation from abroad.

Some of Gandhi's sayings upon the central principles of his life become classical. They are: "If untouchability and caste are convertible terms the sooner caste perishes, the better for all concerned." "If blood must be shed, let it be our blood." "Passive resistance is always infinitely superior to physical violence." "There is no God higher than Truth." "Truth is the first thing to be sought for, and beauty and goodness will then be added unto you; that is really what Christ taught in the Sermon on the Mount."

He profoundly believes in non-violent resistance which came to him from that great American, David Henry Thoreau, who expressed it over one hundred years ago. Non-violence does not mean weak submission to the will of the evil-doer but rather the putting of our whole soul against the will of the tyrant. It is in fact another name for love—opposing itself with courage to physical violence and opposing truth to untruth.

Gandhi also believes in fasting. This is a discipline of soul and body and has rarely been understood in the Western world. When he enters upon a long fast, it is because he believes that his followers need to be lifted to new moral heights and that, in their failure, he himself has failed. His genius as a leader comes from the fact that he leads such opposing forces as the Mohammedans and Hindus, as well as the Untouchables. These conflicting forces continue those riots which seriously disturb the peace of India and make progress difficult. Whenever these

riots became serious, Gandhi would fast and in each case he won a temporary victory by first winning a victory in his own soul. On the other hand, when he fasted as a prisoner of the British, he unquestionably used a form of non-violent resistance.

He often confessed during these riots that his followers were not yet ready for the full exercise of soul force. Despite such failures, he has worked miracles in the reshaping of the soul of India. His amazing success has been that he has changed India from a slave mentality of acquiescence to a fearless expression of revolt and, at the same time, he has harnessed the fury of the mob. He has kindled the flame of freedom and independence and yet prevented a conflagration. He has won an immense victory without war, and without money, in so far as he has compelled the British Empire, after two hundred years of occupation, to withdraw her troops and restore the independence of India. He wrote the Declaration of Independence for India. Gandhi has declared the Emancipation of the Untouchables, liberating 60 million human beings from actual persecution and slavery. This is the greatest deliverance in human history. (The other emancipations were the freeing of 23 million Russian serfs by the Russian Czar, Alexander II, March 2, 1861, and the freeing of the Negro slaves by Abraham Lincoln.)

Gandhi has also brought about the emancipation of women, and that, too, was a miracle of social

reformation when it is remembered that for many centuries women had no real place in Indian life apart from domestic duties.

Gandhi believes that the machine with its mass production has brought to man neither freedom nor happiness. He insists that only partnership, brotherhood, and love can win for us the release of our spiritual forces. Einstein confirms this universal truth when he says: "There is partnership between time and space," and biology recognizes that the successful insects and animals are the co-operative ones. Gandhi's attitude is the spirit which recognizes the supreme value of personality and

of freedom. In the industrial world, we are witnessing the result of placing the machine above man, and we will yet learn through bitter experience that the human values are the real values. We will yet learn the lesson that it is impossible to keep our machines in full operation, and their product in constant consumption, unless the profits of industry are shared in ever-increasing ratio with the men who operate the machines and who are the mass consumers. Partnership is the only principle that justifies the machine. Workers the world over are demanding not charity but partnership, not patronage but justice. America became great because here, for the

first time in human history, the common man became the measure of all values. This religious ideal is at the heart of Dr. Kagawa in Japan, Gandhi in India, and it motivated our American saint, Abraham Lincoln.

We of the Western world, trying to recover our sanity and stability after the most destructive war in history, wounded, weary and confused, yearning for a permanent and yet divided and incapable of achieving it, look wistfully and hopefully to Gandhi as the incarnation of a moral and spiritual power as the embodiment of principles which offer to the race moral substitutes for war and a challenge to luxury, selfishness, and greed,

GANDHIJI'S LAST MESSAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE TO THE WORLD

Margaret Bourke-White, of 'Life' Magazine of America, had an interview with Gandhiji on the day he was assassinated. The following significant conversation is reported by the interviewer to have taken place between them.

"Gandhiji," I began, "You have always stated that you would live to be 125 years old." What gives you that hope?" His answer was short and startling. "I have lost that hope." "Why?" I asked, "Because of the terrible happenings in the world. I do not want to live in darkness and in madness. I cannot continue." He paused and waited thoughtfully. "But if my services are needed," he went on at last, "or rather, I should say, if I am commanded, then I shall live to be 125."

"Last year," I said, "you visited the scenes of Hindu and Muslim rioting in Bengal and you said then that 'All is dark.' Tell me, 'have you found the light?'"

"I have not found it yet," he said sadly. I am struggling for it. If I could find the light my hope would revive."

Americans, I told him were also filled with forebodings, particularly about the atomic bomb. How would you use non-violence against the atomic bomb?" I asked.

"Ah, ah," he answered. "How shall I answer that?" After a moment he said, "By prayerful action." "You would pray while the planes are overhead?" I asked.

Gandhiji shook his head. "I said prayerful action. I would come out in the open and let the pilot see that I had not the face of evil

against him." Gandhiji paused. "The pilot would not see my face at such a height," he said, "but that longing in our hearts that he won't come to harm would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened. Those who were done to death in Hiroshima by the bombs, if they had died with that prayerful action, died openly with prayer in their hearts, without uttering a groan the war would not have ended as disgracefully as it has. It is a question now whether the victors are really the victors or the victims. The world is not at peace. It is still more dreadful..."

SOME REMINISCENCES

BY MANILAL GANDHI

DURING my lifetime I was able to spend a very few years actually with my father. Unlike my other brothers I had to live away from him in exile, in South Africa. I have been in this country now for the last thirty years almost at a stretch. From August 1914 till the beginning of 1917 I was in India. In 1921 I went on a month's visit to India. I went again at the end of 1926. I got married in March, 1927, and returned almost immediately to South Africa and paid a visit to India once in about three years. The longest period I was able to spend in India, and most of it with father, was the whole of 1945 and half of 1946. Those were the precious months I spent with father and had the rare opportunity to be with him during his lengthy tour of Bengal and Madras. Those who nursed him and looked after his personal requirements were able to have the best time with him. Though I seemed to be encroaching upon the preserves of others, father lovingly gave me as much opportunity as was possible in the circumstances, to be with him. We had many free and frank discussions on various matters, including his own surroundings and on his own attitude, which had so vastly changed since the time we were under him in our childhood. It seemed to me as though he had spoilt those near him by his extreme love and affection. They had become his spoilt children, as it were, and much more so after my mother had been called away from his life. She acted as a check on father and filled the gaps left by

him especially on the social side of life. After mother had gone father had to act both as father and mother to those close to him but none in return were able to fill the gap left by mother and by Mahadev Desai, who, next to mother, was the nearest and dearest to him. They were both as his right and left hand.

One of the things that struck me was the extreme softness in father's attitude compared with what it was when we, four brothers, were under him. He was, of course, always forgiving though he was a very severe task master. But he had grown extremely tolerant, which he was not in our time. That was, perhaps, partly due to his bitter experiences of the world in later years and partly to the development of the spirit of non-violence in him. When I saw this, many a time I chafed and said to father: "Bapu, you have vastly changed from the time we were under you. You never pampered us. You were very severe with us; I remember how you made us to do laundry work and chop wood; how you made us to take the pick and shovel in the bitterly cold mornings and dig in the garden, to cook, and to walk miles. And I am surprised to see how you now pamper these people around you."

Bapu would listen and burst out with his usual hearty laughter: "Well, children," he would say, "are you listening to what Manilal is saying?" And yet he would love and care for them. No wonder India sobs at the very thought that that loving soul, in whom both father and mother

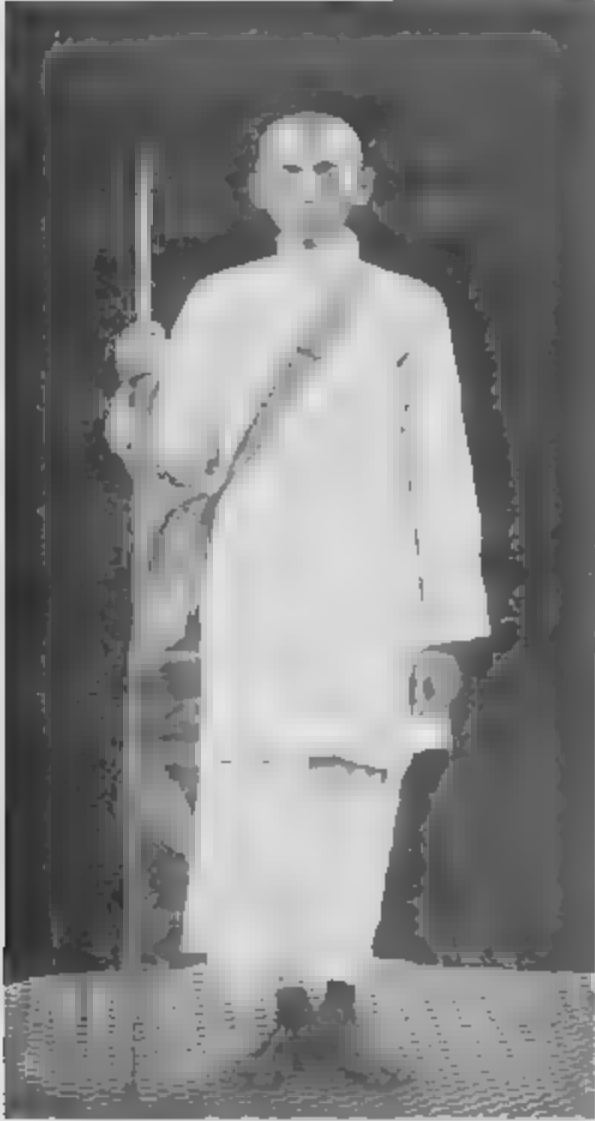
were personified, was no longer with them.

Though father was severe with us, never was there a time when we felt his severity. The reason was that he did not tell us to do what he himself did not actually do and surpass everyone in doing. There were times at Phoenix when we would go out hoeing in the field. The strongest among us would get tired but he would go on plodding steadily and unceasingly till the stipulated time. That was his great energy and will-power. When I think of that past, I bless it. For that indeed has sustained me to this day and saved me from becoming a physical wreck.

I have passed through many a vicissitudes in my life and have had love lavished upon me by father as also punishment from him. But I do not remember having felt bitter over his punishment at any time. No father could have nursed his child with more loving care as my father did when typhoid fever had gripped me at about nine years of age. A vivid description of it is given in father's 'Experiments with Truth,' every word of which is true.

I must confess to my utter shame that I was the cause of father having had to undergo a fast for seven days in 1912. I had tried to deceive him. Father was at the time in Johannesburg and I was in Phoenix. There was an exchange of letters between us. He was pained at certain reports he had received about me. He wanted an admission from me but I persisted in denying until at last I received a letter from him which was signed "Blessings from your father in agony." I could

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



**FATHER OF PASSIVE
RESISTANCE—**

પિતા છે દિવ્ય કૌંનિના. વિરાટ નયયુગના.
ને છે માના. અહિંસાની જાદે જય સંપદના—

Rules that sustained him and gave
him strength to attain his goal:

Non-violence, Truth, Non-stealing,
Celibacy, Non-attachment, Dignity of
Labour, Control of the Palate, Fear-
lessness, Equal reverence for all
religions, Support of home industry,
No caste distinctions.

જો નીચેનાએ નેમને નમ્યાવી શાખ્યા અને કામ
જિલ્લે પોતે મહિલા નામે.

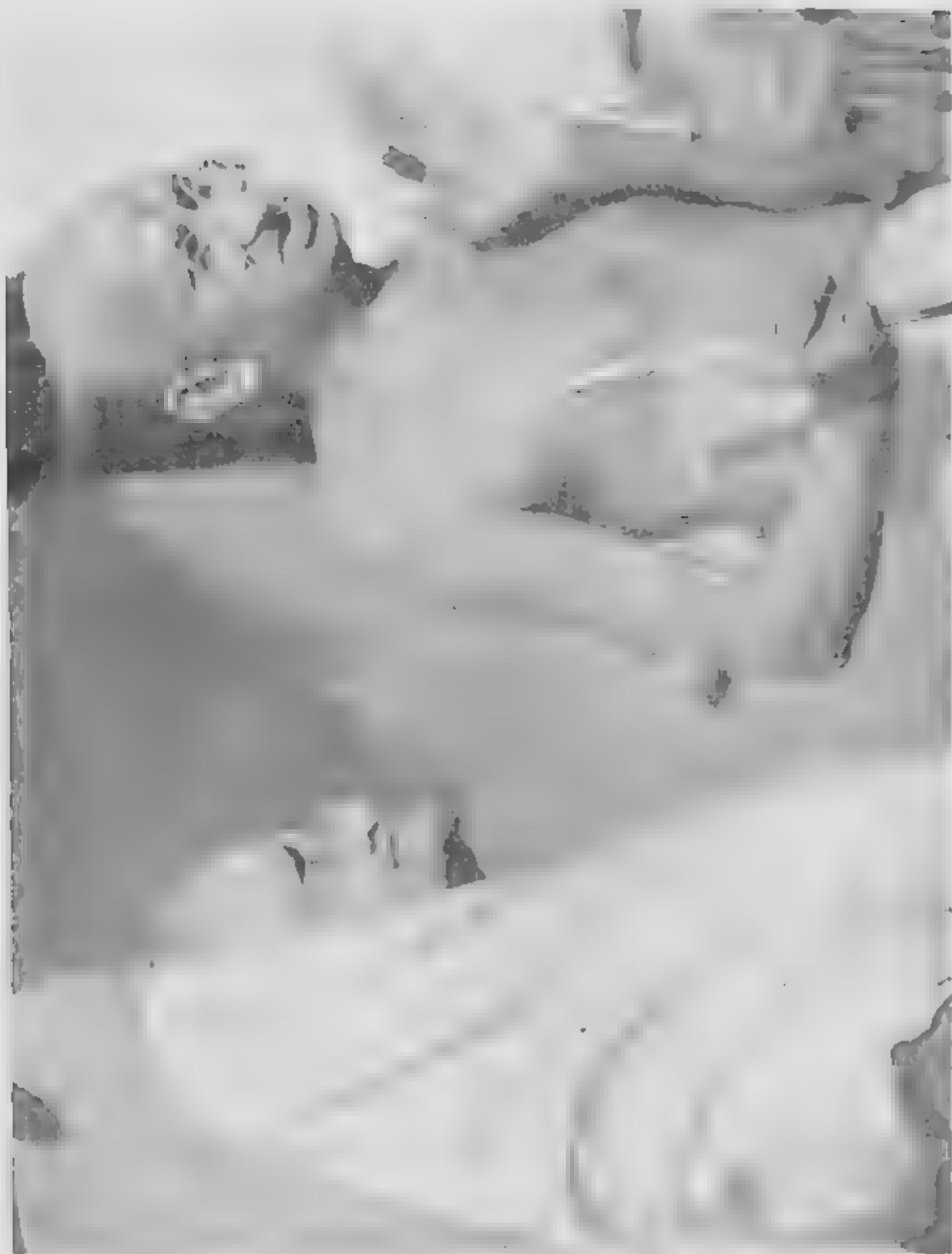
અવિદ્યા, અવ્ય, અસ્તેષ, અકામર્ષ, અપ્રતિભા,
અસંકલ્પ, અમાનસ, અપ્રેક્ષી, અપર, નામના
દિ અકલ્પક શ્રેયવી નામને હા નિચય.



**—Who Successfully Performed
Swarajya Yagna**

—અંધ છે સૌ ગુલામના.
દેવ છે દુખીયાનના.
આશા છે વિશ્વ આખ્યાની.
છા સર્વસ્વજ હિંદના.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



PILGRIMS IN SEARCH FOR TRUTH
સત્ય તથા અસત્ય

THE GREAT MARCH FOR SWARAJ

સ્વરાજ્યની મહાન કુચ



During the great march to Dandi to break the Salt Act, in terms of the Independence Resolution, passed by the Indian National Congress in 1930. Gandhiji is seen writing his second historic letter to H. E. Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India, in a hut specially erected for him at Kardi, a village in Surat District.

૧૯૩૦ના કોંગ્રેસના સ્વાતંત્ર્યના હાથાનુસાર મીઠાના કાયદાનો ભંગ કરવા બંધેલી મહાન ડાંડી કુચ વખતે ગુરુત્વ ઇસ્લામા કરાઈ ગામમાં ગાંધીજી પાતાને માટે બાસ કરેલાં કુંપડામાં એ વખતના હિંદના વાઈસરોય, લોર્ડ આરવીનપર પાતાનો બીજો અતિહાસિક પત્ર લખી રહ્યા છે.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



Gandhiji's Abode At Sevagram

સેવાગ્રામમાં ગાંધીજીનું નિવાસસ્થાન

no longer bear it. I wanted to confess but I had not the courage to approach him direct. I therefore enclosed the letter in a letter to Mr. Kallenbach, who was to us like a member of our own family. I asked father to forgive me in the letter. I received a telegram from him: "I forgive you. Ask God to forgive." He came immediately to Phoenix, and he and I together underwent a fast for seven days and Mr. Kallenbach also joined us. I can truthfully say that there was not a trace of bitterness in me then or after over the painful incident. Father was at the time conducting a school at Phoenix and had children who were boarding and lodging there. As a result of this incident he wrote to all parents, who had entrusted their children to him, informing them of the episode and asked them to withdraw their children if they so wished. None however did so.

Another incident took place in India in the beginning of 1916, when an untruth slipped from my mouth. It seemed a trifling thing to all around me but to father it was a Himalayan mistake. He disclosed the fact to the inmates of the Ashram and I was to be banished from the Ashram the next day. I was to go wherever I chose to, but father made some suggestions. He said I could go to Madras to a certain place where hand spinning and hand-weaving was carried on and ask to be apprenticed there. I was, however, not to make use of father's name. In addition to this father was also contemplating a fast but I sat all night entreating him not to do so and in the end my prayer was heeded. I left my dear mother and my brother Devadas sobbing. Father did not throw me out completely empty-handed. He gave me just sufficient money for my train fare and

a little extra. I wrote a letter to father from the train with tears in my eye regretting the pain I had caused him. I had the experience of my life during the two months I thus spent which would make another story. After that period father sent me a letter of introduction to one of our close friends and I spent the rest of my seven

months in Madras in happiness and none the worse for what I had undergone. I bless those days with loving memory of my dear father whose gentleness had no bounds and yet could be as hard as steel. I thank him for what he has given me and pray that his spirit may guide me in the right path.

GANDHIJI ON DEATH

[The following is an extract from a letter Gandhi wrote from the Yeravda Central Prison to an afflicted friend in 1930.]

"THERE ought not to be much sorrow or fuss over an inevitable event. Death is the lot of every created thing, nor need it be considered as a calamity. Death is, in reality, a deliverance.

What the soul does after discarding a body is in each case a matter for surmise, but it is a certainty that the soul does not perish with the body. Let us trust the laws of God or nature for the rest.

States before birth and after death are invisible as the Gita

affirms and experience confirms. But we can infer from our present state that the condition after death is at least likely to be a second, though modified, edition of the present.

We the survivors can certainly help the departed dear ones by weaving into our own lives all that was good in them. For, if they know anything of what happens here they must be consoled by the knowledge that we are treasuring their memories by adopting what was best in them.

GANDHIJI ON HIS BROTHER'S DEATH

[The following is from a letter written by Gandhiji in March, 1914, to the late Mr. H. Kallenbach, one of his most ardent followers, on the sad occasion of the death of Gandhiji's brother.]

"These shocks make in me still more intense fearlessness of death. Why should the event agitate one? The grief itself has a selfish touch about it. It is no calamity that my brother is dead if I am ready to meet death and consider it as the supreme and welcome crisis in life. It is because we fear death so much for ourselves that we shed tears over the death of others. How can I, who knows the body to be perishable and the soul to be imperishable,

mourn over the separation of body from soul. But it is a condition attached to a real belief and consoling doctrine. He who believes in it must not pamper the body but must be its ruler. He must regulate his wants so as to make it serve the dweller within and not allow the body to master him. Not to grieve over the death of others is to accept a state almost of perpetual grief. For this connection between body and soul is itself grievous."

GANDHIJI ON TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE

[The following was written by Gandhiji in 1930 in the Yeravda Central Prison. It is his message to the world which is yearning for peace and cannot find it—Ed. I. O.]

THE word *Satya* (Truth) is derived from *Sat*, which means being. And nothing is or exists in reality except Truth. That is why *Sat* or Truth is perhaps the most important name of God. In fact it is more correct to say that Truth is God, than to say that God is Truth. But as we cannot do without a ruler or a general, names of God such as King of Kings or the Almighty are and will remain more usually current. On deeper thinking, however, it will be realised, that *Sat* or *Satya* is the only correct and fully significant name for God.

And where there is Truth, there also is knowledge which is true. Where there is no Truth, there can be no true knowledge. That is why the word *Chit* or knowledge is associated with the name of God. And where is true knowledge, there is always bliss (*Ananda*.) Sorrow has no place there. And even as Truth is eternal, so is the bliss derived from it. Hence we know God as *Sat-chit-ananda*, one who combines in Himself Truth, Knowledge and Bliss.

Devotion to Truth is the sole justification for our existence. All our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached, all other rules of correct living will come without effort, and obedience to them will be instinctive. But without Truth it would be impossible to observe any principles or rules in life.

Generally speaking, observing the law of Truth is merely under-

stood to mean that we must speak the Truth. But we in the Ashram should understand the word *Satya* or Truth in a much wider sense. There should be Truth in thought, Truth in speech, and Truth in action. To the man who has realised this Truth in its fulness, nothing else remains to be known, because all knowledge is necessarily included in it. What is not included in it is not Truth, and so not true knowledge; and there can be no inward peace without true knowledge. If we once learn how to apply this never failing test of Truth, we will at once be able to find out what is worth doing, what is worth seeing, what is worth reading.

But how is one to realise this Truth, which may be likened to the philosopher's stone or the cow of plenty? By single-minded devotion (*abhyasa*) and indifference to all other interests in life (*vairagya*)—replies the Bhagavad-gita. In spite, however, of such devotion, what may appear as truth to one person will often appear as untruth to another person. But that need not worry the seeker. Where there is honest effort, it will be realised that what appear to be different truths are like apparently different countless leaves of the same tree. Does not God Himself appear to different individuals in different aspects? Still we know that He is one. But Truth is the right designation of God. Hence there is nothing wrong in everyone following Truth according to his light. Indeed it is his duty to do so. Then if there is a mistake on the part of anyon-

so following Truth, it will be automatically set right. For the quest of Truth involves *tapas*—self-suffering, sometimes even unto death. There can be no place in it for even a trace of self-interest. In such selfless search for Truth nobody can lose his bearings for long. Directly he takes the wrong path he stumbles, and is thus re-directed to the right path. Therefore the pursuit of Truth is true *bhakti* (devotion.) It is the path that leads to God. There is no place in it for cowardice, no place for defeat. It is the talisman by which death itself becomes the portal to life eternal.

In this connection it would be well to ponder over the lives and examples of Harischandra, Prahlad, Ramachandra, Imam Hasan and Imam Husain, the Christian saints, etc. How beautiful it would be, if all of us, young and old, men and women, devoted ourselves wholly to Truth in all that we might do in our waking hours, whether working, eating, drinking or playing, till dissolution of the body makes us one with Truth? God as Truth has been for me a treasure beyond price; may He be so to everyone of us.

The path of Truth is as narrow as it is straight. Even so is that of *ahimsa*. It is like balancing oneself on the edge of a sword. By concentration an acrobat can walk a rope. But the concentra-

tion required to tread the path of Truth and *ahimsa* is far greater. The slightest inattention brings one tumbling to the ground. One can realise Truth and *ahimsa* only by ceaseless striving.

But it is impossible for us to realise perfect Truth so long as we are imprisoned in this mortal frame. We can only visualise it in our imagination. We cannot, through the instrumentality of this ephemeral body, see face to face Truth which is eternal. That is why in the last resort one must depend on faith.

It appears that the impossibility of full realisation of Truth in this mortal body led some ancient seeker after Truth to the appreciation of *ahimsa*. The question which confronted him was: "Shall I put up with those who create difficulties for me, or shall I destroy them?" The seeker realised, that he who went on destroying others did not make headway but simply stayed where he was, while the man who suffered those who created difficulties marched ahead, and at times even took the others with him. The first act of destruction taught him that the Truth which was the object of his quest was not outside himself but within. Hence the more he took to violence, the more he receded from Truth. For in fighting the imagined enemy without, he neglected the enemy within.

We punish thieves because we think they harass us. They may leave us alone, but they will only transfer their attention to another victim. This other victim, however, is also a human being, ourselves in a different form, and so we are caught in a vicious circle. The trouble from thieves continues to increase, as they think it is their business to steal. In the end we see that it is better to endure the thieves than to punish them. The forbearance

may even bring them to their senses. By enduring them we realise that thieves are not different from ourselves, they are our brethren, our friends, and may not be punished. But whilst we may bear with the thieves, we may not endure the infliction. That would only induce cowardice. So we realise a further duty. Since we regard the thieves as our kith and kin, they must be made to realise the kinship. And so we must take pains to devise ways and means of winning them over. This is the path of *ahimsa*. It may entail continuous suffering and the cultivating of endless patience. Given these two conditions, the thief is bound in the end to turn away from his evil ways. Thus step by step we learn how to make friends with all the world; we realise the greatness of God—of Truth. Our peace of mind increases in spite of suffering; we become braver and more enterprising; we understand more clearly the difference between what is everlasting and what is not; we learn how to distinguish between what is our duty and what is not. Our pride melts away, and we become humble. Our worldly attachments diminish, and so does the evil within us diminish from day to day.

Ahimsa is not the crude thing it has been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of *ahimsa*. But it is its least expression. The principle of *ahimsa* is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It is also violated by one's holding on to what the world needs. But the world needs even what we eat day by day. In the place where we stand there are millions of micro-organisms to whom the

place belongs, and who are hurt by our presence there. What should we do then? Should we commit suicide? Even that is no solution, if we believe, as we do, that so long as the spirit is attached to the flesh, on every destruction of the body it weaves for itself another. The body will cease to be only when we give up all attachment to it. This freedom from all attachment is the realisation of God as Truth. Such realisation cannot be attained in a hurry. The body does not belong to us. While it lasts, we must use it as a trust handed over to our charge. Treating in this way the things of the flesh, we may one day expect to become free from the burden of the body. Realising the limitations of the flesh, we must day by day strive towards the ideal with what strength we have in us.

It is perhaps clear from the foregoing, that without *ahimsa* it is not possible to seek and find Truth. *Ahimsa* and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth unstamped metallic disc. Who can say which is the obverse, and which is the reverse? Nevertheless *ahimsa* is the means; Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so *ahimsa* is our supreme duty. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later. When once we have grasped this point, final victory is beyond question. Whatever difficulties we encounter, whatever apparent reverses we sustain, we may not give up the quest for Truth which alone is, being God Himself.

GANDHIJI'S DREAM

[Gandhiji uttered the following significant words in the course of his after-prayer speech in New Delhi on January 14 during his last fast.]

"Before I ever knew anything of politics in my early youth, I dreamt the dream of communal unity of the heart. I shall jump in the evening of my life, like a child, to feel that the dream has been realised in this life. The wish for living the full span of life portrayed by the seers of old and which they permit us to set down at 125 years, will then revive. Who would not risk sacrificing his life for the realisation of such a dream? Then we shall have real Swaraj. Then though legally and geographically we may still be two States, in life no one will think that we were separate States. The vista before me seems to be, as it must be to you, too glorious to be true. Yet like a child in a famous picture, drawn by a famous painter, I shall not be happy till I have got it. I live and want to live for no lesser goal. Let the seekers from Pakistan help me to come as near the goal as it is humanly possible. A goal ceases to be one, when it is reached. The nearest approach is always possible. What I have

said holds good irrespective of whether others do it or not. It is open to every individual to purify himself or herself so as to render him or her fit for that land of promise. I remember to have read, I forget whether in the Delhi Fort or the Agra Fort, when I visited them in 1896, a verse on one of the gates, which then translated read: 'If there is paradise on earth, it is here, it is here.' That Fort with all its magnificence at its best, was no paradise in my estimation. But I should love to see that verse with justice inscribed on the gates at all the entrances. In such paradise, whether it is in the Union or in Pakistan, there will be neither paupers nor beggars, nor high nor low, neither millionaire employers nor half-starved employees, nor intoxicating drinks or drugs. There will be the same respect for women as vouchsafed to men and the chastity and purity of men and women will be jealously guarded. Where every woman except one's wife, will be treated by men of all religions, as

mother, sister or daughter according to her age. Where there will be no untouchability and where there will be equal respect for all faiths. They will be all proudly, joyously and voluntarily bread labourers. I hope everyone who listens to me or reads these lines will forgive me if stretched on my bed and basking in the sun, inhaling life-giving sunshine, I allow myself to indulge in this ecstasy. Let this assure the doubters and sceptics that the fast should be ended as quickly as possible. It matters little if the ecstatic wishes of a fool like me are never realised and the fast is broken. I am content to wait as long as it may be necessary, but it will hurt me to think that people have acted merely in order to save me. I claim that God has inspired this fast and it will be broken only when and if He wishes it. No human agency has ever been known to thwart, nor will it ever thwart Divine Will."

NO GOING BACK

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

"INDIA is weithing in agony like the *krauncha* whose mate was struck by the cruel hunter's arrow over Valmiki's head. His passion, when he saw the tragedy, found expression in words whose rhythm and form gave the rhythm

and form to the story of Shri Rama. May our history—the future of India—be attuned to the lamentation [that burst forth on this tragic occasion when our beloved Bapu fell for the cause of

love and truth. May we do nothing that will disturb the peace of that soul. For, surely his spirit watches over us although the body has been returned to the elements."

Gandhiji's Tribute To A Heroine Of Passive Resistance

[It will not be out of place to record a tribute paid by Gandhiji, in his "Satyagraha In South Africa"—a history of the Passive Resistance movement under his leadership in 1907-1914,—to the late Valliamma, a heroine of the struggle, who fell serving the cause of Freedom. —Ed. L.O.]

"HOW can I forget her? Valliamma R. Munuswami was a young girl of Johannesburg, only sixteen years of age. She was confined to bed when I saw her. As she was a tall girl, her emaciated body was a terrible thing to behold.

"Valliamma, you do not repent of your having gone to jail?" I asked.

"Repent? I am even now ready to go to jail again. I am arrested," said Valliamma.

"But what if it results in your death?" I pursued.

"I do not mind it. Who would not love to die for one's Motherland?" was the reply. Within a few days after this conversation Valliamma was no more with us in the flesh, but she left us the heritage of an immortal name. Condolence meetings were held at various places, and the Indians resolved to erect "Valliamma Hall," to commemorate the supreme sacrifice of this daughter of India. Whether or not a hall is built in stone or mortar, Valliamma's service is imperishable. She built her temple of service with her own hands, and her glorious image has a niche even now reserved for it in many a heart. And the name of Valliamma will live in the history of South African Satyagraha as long as India lives."

GANDHIJI'S GUIDANCE TO 'INDIAN OPINION'

MAHATMA GANDHI assumed the editorship of 'Indian Opinion' in 1904 and transferred the paper from Durban to a quiet place on a farm at Phoenix on the North Coast of Natal, away from the humdrum of the City. In 1914 Gandhiji left South Africa for India. Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who was assisting Gandhiji, then assumed the editorship. In 1916 there was nobody who could conduct the Gujarati part of the paper and Gandhiji was approached for help. Gandhiji sent out his second son, Manilal Gandhi, who was then 23 years of age.

The following are interesting and instructive extracts from Gandhiji's letters to Manilal Gandhi from then onwards, in which he gave direction and guidance in all aspects of life. The letters were in Gujarati.

"If nobody is sent to look after the Gujarati part of 'Indian Opinion' it will be closed. I wish you to go and edit the Gujarati columns. This will be your test. I do not press you. But I do desire that you should concern yourself with the work at Phoenix. I shall give you all the guidance from here...."

"If your aim in running the Press is to acquire wealth you will be serving your own self-interest. If that is not your aim you will be serving the public. If you suffer exile with the knowledge that the paper your father was conducting was good and that the spirit underlying it has benefitted the country you will be rendering a great social service."

"The Press should remain at Phoenix. I like Phoenix because it enables you to know yourself. In town life there are many attractions. I have never desired to take advertisements. 'Indian Opinion' should be maintained by labour... notwithstanding the many attractions. Both of you should lead a life of simplicity, truth, love. If S... picks up the Press work she will be of great help to you. That is what I should wish... I do not like the idea of shifting the office to Durban. If the paper cannot exist as such you should abandon the desire to run it. If it is to be conducted it should be conducted at Phoenix. S... should work in the Press and the household work should be curtailed. You should simplify your diet. You will then have plenty of time to spare. A woman's work is not to be buried in the kitchen."

"If the community does not want the paper, or if it is run at a loss, it should be closed down however necessary it may be. But it should be proved that the community does not need it. Our own apathy should not be the cause for the paper running at a loss. The articles must be faultless. Mr... is insistent that the paper must not be closed. Your best efforts should be to keep it going."

"You should serve as much as you can without losing your temper. You should put up with

opposition. Do not give way to it. You should not come away here in defeat."

"I believe persons like you would be useful here. I wish, however, that 'Indian Opinion' should be continued. But it should rather die than be placed in the hands of irresponsible people. Nothing is born to live till eternity. Let it die at your hands if it must."

"... If you feel that what is going on at present is not right you should get out of it. If you believe it is right you must stick to it no matter what happens. Suffer whatever difficulties you are faced with. Rather than seeking your father's protection seek the protection of Almighty God who is the Father of us all."

"You should write what is the truth in 'Indian Opinion' but do not be impulsive and do not give way to anger. Be moderate in your language. If you err do not hesitate to confess it."

"If the community wants the paper it must pay its expense. If it does not want it it should not be our policy to run it forcibly."

"The best thing is to speak out the truth with sweetness. But if you are to make a choice then I would that you spoke the truth however bitterly rather than untruth."

FORCE NOT AN ATTRIBUTE OF GOD

“WHAT was and is the offence of the Cross?” asked Dean Inge in St. Paul’s Cathedral. “Evil is to be overcome by goodness, not by resistance.”

“It is said that when Clovis, the war-like Frankish king, first heard the story of the Crucifixion, he exclaimed in generous heat. ‘If I and my Franks had been there,

we would have rescued him.’ But Christ would not rescue Himself.

“There is a very striking sentence in the Epistle to Diognetus, an early Christian document of the second century. It runs simply, ‘Force is not an attribute of God.’”

“And how completely and persistently it has been ignored in later history! The church began to govern by force, by violence,

even before force and violence had ceased to be exercised against itself. The mischief, of course, was not in establishing a Church order, with disciplinary powers, but in consecrating violence as an instrument for doing God’s work. Our Lord called this ‘worshipping the Devil,’ and it has, in fact, produced the most gigantic crimes in history.”

THE COMING BROTHERHOOD

There shall come from out this noise of strife and groaning
A broader and a juster brotherhood;
A deep equality of aim, postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.
There shall come a time when each shall to another
Be as Christ would have him, brother unto brother,
There shall come a time when brotherhood grows stronger
Than the narrow bounds which now distract the world;
When the cannon roar and the trumpets blare no longer,
And the ironclads rust and the battle-flags are furled;
When the bars of creed and speech and race, which sever,
Shall be fused in one humanity for ever.

—Sir Lewis Morris.

EVENTFUL 79 YEARS: A CHRONOLOGY

THERE was not a single year in Mahatma Gandhi's 79-year-long life which was not packed with events of local, national or international importance, as will be seen from the chronology below:

1869—OCT. 2, Birth at Porbunder.

1876—Went to Rajkot with parents; attended primary school for five years.

1881 Entered Kathiawar High School at Rajkot.

1883 Married Kasturbai

1887 Matriculated and joined Samaldas College at Bhavnagar.

1888 Sailed for England.

1891—JUNE: Was called to the Bar; sailed for India. JULY: Reached India; death of mother.

1893—Left for South Africa for legal work.

1894—Was enrolled as an advocate of Supreme Court of Natal, being first Indian to be admitted; founded Natal Indian Congress.

1896—Returned to India, started agitation on behalf of South African Indians. NOV. Sailed again for South Africa.

1897—Landed at Durban; was ill-treated by White crowds excited by his speeches in India.

1899—Boer War; raised Indians' Ambulance Corps for the war; was mentioned in dispatches and awarded war medal.

1901—Left for India; became a volunteer of the Indian National Congress.

1902—Was called back to South Africa to fight Indians' cause in Transvaal.

1903—Was enrolled as an attorney of the Supreme Court of Transvaal; founded the Transvaal British Indian Association.

1904—Founded and edited 'Indian Opinion'; organised the Phoenix Settlement near Durban.

1906—Zulu Rebellion; raised Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps; took the vow of *brahmacharya* for

life with his wife's consent. SEPT. Indians in Johannesburg took a pledge of passive resistance against Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. OCT. Reached England with a deputation to present Indians' case to the Colonial Secretary.

1907—Left England for South Africa; organised a passive resistance movement; gave up legal practice to devote his life to *satyagraha* and service; was asked to leave Transvaal within 48 hours.

1908—JAN: Was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for failure to leave Transvaal; was released on reaching compromise with General Smuts. FEB.: Was badly hit by enraged Pathans who considered a compromise on Indians giving finger-prints voluntarily a betrayal of Indian interests. AUG.: Began passive resistance again on Gen. Smuts's repudiation of the compromise. OCT.: Was arrested and sentenced to two months' rigorous imprisonment for not producing a certificate. DEC. Was released from prison.

1909—JUNE: Left for England on deputation to protest against the unification of four colonies in South Africa. NOV: Sailed for South Africa.

1910—Founded Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg.

1911—Fasted in atonement for the moral fall of two inmates of the Farm.

1913—NOV: Led *Satyagraha* marching into Transvaal on the Union Government's repudiation of the promise to repeal the tax on ex-indentured Indians; was arrested, released on bail, rearrested on a fresh charge, and

sentenced to nine months' rigorous imprisonment; DEC. Was released unconditionally.

JAN—1914: Provisional agreement reached and *satyagraha* suspended. JULY: Sailed for England. AUG. Outbreak of war; raised Indian Ambulance Corps in London.

1915—Attack of pleurisy; returned to India; was awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. MAY: Founded *Satyagraha Ashram* at Sabarmati.

1915-16: Toured India and Burma to study problem of indentured labour. APRIL: At Champaran (Bihar) investigated labour conditions in indigo plantations; was arrested and later released; was appointed by Bihar Government as a member of the committee to inquire into ryots' grievances.

1918 MARCH: Fasted in the cause of Ahmedabad textile labourers; started *Kaira satyagraha* to secure suspension of revenue assessment on failure of crops. APRIL: Attended Viceroy's War Conference at Delhi; started recruiting campaign at Kaira District.

1919—FEB: Signs *satyagraha* pledge to secure the withdrawal of the Rowlatt Bills. APRIL: Began an all-India *satyagraha* movement; was arrested on way to Delhi for his refusal to comply with an order not to enter the Punjab and taken back to Bombay; outbreaks of violence; Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar; three-day fast for atonement at Sabarmati; martial law declared in the Punjab; suspended *Satyagraha*. SEPT. Became Editor of Gujarati monthly, *Navajivan*; later published weekly in Hindi also. Became editor of English weekly, *Young India*; member of non-official committee of inquiry into official ex-

cesses in the Punjab, NOV: Presided over All-India Khilafat conference at Delhi. DEC: Advised at Amritsar acceptance of Montford Reforms by Congress.

1920—JAN: Led a deputation to the Viceroy to prevent the British Government from depriving the Sultan of Turkey of his suzerainty over the holy places of Islam. AUG: Letter to Viceroy surrendering his war medals. SEPT: Special Congress session in Calcutta accepted his non-cooperation move to secure redress of Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. NOV: Founded Gujarat Vidya-pith (national university) at Ahmedabad. DEC: Nagpur Congress adopted his resolution declaring the Congress goal as attainment of *Swaraj* by India.

1921—APRIL: Launched programme of enlisting Congress membership, raising funds and providing 20 lakhs of *charkhas* throughout the country.

JULY: Led a campaign for foreign cloth boycott; lighted bonfire of foreign cloth in Bombay. DEC: Was invested with full executive authority by Congress.

1922—FEB: Intimated the Viceroy of his intention to start *stayagraha* in Bardoli; after mob violence at Chauri Chaura, fasted for five days and abandoned *Satyagraha*. MARCH: Was arrested for sedition and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

1924—JAN: Operation for appendicitis; FEB: Was released; APRIL: Resumed editorship of *Young India* and *Navajivan*; SEPT: 21-day fast for Hindu-Muslim unity; DEC: Presided over Belgaum Congress.

1925—SEPT: Founded All-India Spinners' Association. NOV: Seven-day vicarious fast for failings of *Ashram* inmates.

1928—DEC: Moved Congress resolution in favour of Independence if Dominion Status was not

forthcoming by the end of 1929.

1929—DEC: Moved Lahore Congress resolution declaring that *Swaraj* in the Congress creed meant *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence).

1930—FEB: Was authorised by A.I.C.C. to start Civil Disobedience movement. MARCH: Letter to Viceroy intimating intention to break salt laws if the Congress demands were not granted. APRIL: March to Dandi. MAY: Was arrested, imprisoned without trial, *hartal* all over India.

1931—JAN: Unconditional release. MARCH: Gandhi-Irwin Pact. AUG: Sailed for England to attend the second Round Table Conference. SEPT.—DEC: Attended R.T.C. and returned to India.

1932—JAN: Was arrested and imprisoned without trial. SEPT: 'Fast unto death' in jail to secure abolition of separate electorates for Harijans in Communal Award; Government accepted the demand.

1933—FEB: Founded weekly *Harijan*, published in English and Hindi. May: 21-day fast for self-purification; was released unconditionally; announced suspension of civil disobedience for six weeks, calling on Government to withdraw the Ordinances. JULY: Informed Bombay Government of decision to march from Ahmedabad to Ras to revive the civil disobedience movement; was arrested, imprisoned without trial. AUG: Was released, but rearrested for breaking a restraint order: fast on being prevented from carrying on anti-untouchability propaganda; was released unconditionally. NOV: Began tour for Harijan uplift.

1934—OCT: Bombay Congress session; decision to retire from politics to engage himself in "constructive programme," village uplift, Harijan service, etc. DEC: Inaugurated All-India Village Industries Association.

1936—Resolved to make Sevagram his headquarters.

1937—Presided over Education Conference at Wardha and outlined a scheme of education through basic crafts.

1939—'Fast unto death' at Rajkot to secure Ruler's adherence to promise to reform administration; ended it on Viceroy's intervention.

1940—JULY: Talks with Viceroy on war situation. OCT: Decided on individual civil disobedience; suspended *Harijan* and allied weeklies following official demand for precensorship.

1941—Was relieved of leadership of Congress by Working Committee at his own request.

1942—JAN: Restarted *Harijan* and allied weeklies. MARCH: After meeting with Stafford Cripps in New Delhi, described the Cripps offer as a "post-dated cheque." AUG: After A.I.C.C. resolution on "Quit India," was arrested and interned in the Aga Khan's Palace at Poona. AUG.—DEC: Correspondence with Viceroy and Government of India on disturbances in India.

1943—21-day fast; fast broken on March 3.

1944—FEB: Death of Kasturba Gandhi in the Aga Khan's Palace. MAY: Was released unconditionally; SEPT: Gandhi-Jinnah talks. OCT: Presentation of purse of 110 lakhs of rupees for Kasturba Memorial on his 75th birthday.

1945—JUNE: Simla Conference on Wavell Plan; left Simla before the end of the conference.

1946—FEB: Talks with Viceroy on food situation; APRIL: Peace mission to Bengal; reproof to Bihari Hindus; joint appeal with Mr. Jinnah; ban on *Harijan* lifted; talks with Lord Wavell; consultations with the British Cabinet mission. NOV: Talks with Mr. Jinnah, Nawab of Bhopal and Lord Wavell.

1947—JAN: Peace tour in Noakhali; addressed Asian Relations Conference at Delhi; SEPT: Fast to end "only if sanity returns to Calcutta."

1948—JAN: 13 Fast for Hindu-Muslim unity. JAN. 20: Bomb thrown at prayer meeting. JAN. 30: Was shot dead.

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આ સ્મારક અંક કાઢવાનું એક ધ્યેય છે. આપણે આપણું દેશ પરંતુ કેદવાર, જેઓ ગાંધીજી સાથે નિકટ સંબંધ ધરાવતા હતા, તેઓને એ જાળવતો બહુ ઉત્સાહ નકોનો; બસકે એ વિચારને તેઓ લગભગ તુચ્છકારી કાઢ્યા નહીં/પાર હતા. તેઓની દલીલ એ હતી કે સ્મારક નો એ આપણી પાસે નથી તેનું કરીએ, પરંતુ જાણે તે આપણી વચ્ચે જ છે અને કદી નહિ હતા તેટલા આપણી નબળીક છે. તેઓ આપણી વચ્ચે નથી એવો વિચાર જ તેઓ મનમાં તાવતા પ્રતિજ્ઞા ન હતા અને સ્મારકના વિચારમાં જ તેઓ આપણી વચ્ચે નથી એવું કહેતું હતું. આ વસ્તુમાં ધણું તથા રહેલું છે. સ્મારકમાં આપણે જે આપણી વચ્ચે નથી તેના મુખ્ય માણ્યો. પરંતુ જે આપણી વચ્ચે જ છે અને જે મુખ્યમાનથી પર છે તેના મુખ્યમાન માવાના શું હોય? તેના મુખ્યમાન ન માણ્યો. તેને ત્યાગ કરીએ. એટલે આ સ્મારક અંક સાધારણ સ્મારક અંક કરતાં જુદો છે. ગાંધીજીના મુખ્યમાનના કરતાં ગાંધીજીના મુખ્યમાંથી તરેલાં વ્યનામનમાંથી માત્ર થોડાંક ખીંદુનો મેલવ છે. વળી તેમાં તેમની જીવન કથા પણ નથી. રસને જતા સાધારણ માણસ, જેને ગાંધીજીને કદી વેંએલ પણ નથી તે પણ જેમને જોળખતો હોય, તેની જીવનકથા શું લખવાની હોય? ગાંધીજીનું જીવન એ કર્મનો પ્રથ છે. તેઓ કદી ઉપદેશ કરતા ન હતા. કદી જતાવતા હતા. “કરેલા કરતાં કરવું બધું” આ તેઓએ પોતાના કાર્યથી, આ મુગમાં કોઈ પણ નિર્ધારિત નથી કયું તેવું, સિદ્ધ કરી આપ્યું છે. અને તેઓનાં છેલ્લાં કાર્યે અવધી ગયા. આખો દુનિયાને હતાવી દીધી. એ શું એટલી આપણની વાત છે કે હોવા સમખાણો, જે નવા જનુનથી પ્રવર્તે રજા હતાં તે ગાંધીજીની જાતીમાં છેલ્લી જોખી લાગીતે દાખથીજ એક મુગકાગળે લખવા વળી ગયાં. એ જ વસ્તુએ ગાંધીજીને અવતારી પૂરવાની લારમાં મુકી દીધી છે. કાશુ પ્રાંત, મદમદદ, કૃષ્ણ, મુલ્કની દેવાને બેઠવા બાદજ તેઓનું શિક્ષણ લોકોએ માણ્યું કયું અને ગાંધીજી પણ એ પંથે વિચર્યા છે. તેઓનાં મુલુથી હોંદમાં અને કુખથી હતાશ અંધસી દુનિયામાં વેં શાંતી રચવાશે તો તેઓનું મૃત્યુ સાધક ગણાશે. તેઓ મર્યા છતાં જેઓને તેમની જરૂર છે તે કરેલા હૃદયમાં ન પણ રજા છે. કદી નહીં હતા તેટલા તેઓ તેમની નજીક છે બસે તેઓને નીલાળી નથી શકતા પરંતુ તેઓનું સાન્નિધ્ય અનુભવે છે. તેઓનું સ્મરણ કરો અને માંગો એટલે તેઓના પ્રેમાળ હાથેના સ્પર્શ તમે અનુભવો છો. “શુદ્ધિ પ્રયાગના કરતાં શ્રદ્ધા સહી વધુ છે.” આ તેઓનું વાક્ય છે અને તે સત્ય છે. તેઓ આપણી વચ્ચે હતા તારે આપણે તેઓના ઉપર શ્રદ્ધા નહિ રાખી. રાખી હતા તો કદાચ આપણે તેઓને મુગાવા નહિ હતા. હવે એ આપણે તે તેઓનામાં શ્રદ્ધા હશે તો, તમે આપણે તેઓને જોઈ નહિ શકીએ, છતાં તેઓ આપણી વચ્ચે જ છે અને આપણને હોરી રજા છે. જે આપણને એ શ્રદ્ધા ન હોય તો મને તેટલો શુદ્ધિ પ્રયાગ મિત્ર ગણાશે અને કદી પણ સ્મારક મરકરીકે જ ગણાશે. આ સ્મારક અંકમાં ગાંધીજીએ હોંદને જ નહિ પરંતુ માનવજાતીને આગેલી હોરવણીના એક અંશ માત્રનો જ એક છે. તમાંથી પણ જુદા જે વાચક શ્રદ્ધા કરવાનો અને પોતાના જીવનમાં ઉતારવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરશે તો અમારો આ પ્રયત્ન અર્થ મળે નહિ માણ્યો. અમે જે કયું છે તે એક નામ દરજ તરીકે કયું છે. તેના પ્રશંસાની અમે અપેક્ષા નથી રાખતા. જેઓને અમે એટલા વલ્લાયથી આહવા હતા તેઓને ચરણે પૂર્ણ અર્પિત માવથી આ ધરીએ છીએ. સલા અને ધર્મના પંથે

“પ્રેમજળ જ્યોતિ તારો દાખવી મુજ જીવન પંથ ઉઘાળ.”

શહેનશાહનો હિંદના ગવરનર-જનરલ લોર્ડ માઉન્ટબેટનને સંદેશો

ગાંધીજીના અવસાનના બપોર જાણી મને અને રાણીને ઉઠા આઘાત થયો છે. હિંદના લોકોને તેઓને અને હકીકતમાં માનવજાતને થયેલી અનિવાર્ય ખોટમાં, અમારી હાર્દિક દિલ-સોજી પાઠવવા કૃપા કરશે.

બ્રીટીશ વડા પ્રધાન મી. એટલી

“મહાત્મા ગાંધીના અવસાનના કદેજ બપોરથી શાહી સરકારને ઉઠા આઘાત થયો છે. પોતાના દેશના ઇતિહાસમાં કોઈ પણ માણસે આ કરનાં ખોટા બાગ બજવ્યો નથી.

તેમના લાંબા જીવન દરમિયાન તેમણે શાંતિને માટે કાર્ય કર્યું હતું અને હિંસાને વખોડી કાઢી હતી. દુનિયાના દરેક દેશના સઘળા વર્ગના લોકો તેમની ખોટને શોક કરશે.

હુખી અને નિરાશ થયેલા યુગમાં તેમનું નૈતિક અને આધ્યાત્મિક નેતૃત્વ પ્રાત્સાહન આપનારા હાખલારૂપ હતું. આ બંધકર આફતથી હિંદના ઉઠા શોકમાં બ્રીટન સામેલ થાય છે.

તેમના જીવનના છેલ્લા મહિનાઓમાં કેમી કડવાશ પર અંકુશ મુકવાને અને તમાન હિતને માટે સઘળા હિંદીઓનો સહકાર સાધવા પોતાની શાંતિમય વગ સફળતાપૂર્વક વાપરી હતી. બ્રીટીશ સરકારની એવી હાર્દિક આશા છે કે તેમના હાખલાતું અનુકરણ કરવામાં આવશે અને તેમની નૈતિક અસર માનવીઓને શાંતીને પંથે દોરનારી થઈ પડશે.”

[આ અંકને માટે વડા પ્રધાન, નાયબ વડા પ્રધાન અને અન્ય મંત્રીઓ સંદેશો અને ગાંધીજી વિષેના સંસ્મરણો મોકલેલાં છે તેઓ સર્વનો અમે ઉઠો આભાર માનીએ છીએ. —તંત્રી પ્ર.ચંદા.]

વડા પ્રધાન જનરલ રમટસ

“તમારા પિતા, જેમણે ‘ઇન્ડિયન એપિનિયન’ સ્થાપ્યું છે, તેમનો સ્મારક અંક કાઢવાના તમારા વિચારને હું આવકારું છું. ખીજા હવેલા સાથે મેં મારી અંગ્રેજી ઉમેરી છે અને હીંદને થયેલી મહાન ખોટનો શોક કરું છું. તેઓ ગયા એ તેમને તો લાગજ થયો છે કેમકે તેમણે જીવન કાર્ય ખરી રીતે પુરું થયું હતું આપણે એક મહાન આત્માને મહાન સેવકને વંદન કરીએ છીએ.”

કેપટાઉનમાં જેવા ગાંધીજીના અવસાનના ખગર સાંભળ્યા કે તરત જનરલ રમટસે કહ્યું : “ગાંધીજીના ખુનના ખગર મેં ઉડા બેઠેલી સાંભળ્યા છે જેમાં મારી આત્રી છે કે આખી દુનીયા સાથે પુરશે... આનંદમાં એક શાહજાદા શ્રાવ્યા ગયા છે અને હીંદને થયેલી અનિવાર્ય ખોટનો આપણે શોક કરીએ છીએ.”

નાયબ વડા પ્રધાન મી. હેકમેયર

“મહાત્મા ગાંધીના કરૂણ અવસાનથી આખા જગતને ત્રાસ આઘાત થયો છે નાઉથ આફ્રિકાને એ ખગરથી વિશેષ ખેદ થયો છે અને તે, સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના હીંદીઓને લાગે વળગે છે તેટલાજ કરૂણે નહિ, પરંતુ આ દેશની સાથેના તેમના લાંબા નાજાંધના કારણે.”

મત્યાગ્રવના સિદ્ધાંતની નેમને ત્રીથી પ્રથમ સ્કુરણ સાઉથ આફ્રિકામાં થઈ અને તેનો ત્રીથી પ્રથમ પ્રયોગ નેમણે સાઉથ આફ્રિકામાં કર્યો ધણા ખરા વિચારો, જે પાછળથી વ્યવહારમાં મુકવામાં આવનારાં ખગવાન તત્વો થઈ પડનાર હતાં, તે પણ સાઉથ આફ્રિકામાંજ ઘડયા. આધ્યાત્મિકવાદ અર્થવાદથી પર છે એ વસ્તુ ઉપર નેમણે સાઉથ આફ્રિકામાંજ પ્રથમ ભાર મુક્યો હતો.

આ આધ્યાત્મિક તત્વોપર તેમણે આપેલા વચનમાંજ માનવ જાતીને માટે અને કલિહારમાં મહાત્માજીની મહાનિરા સંદેશી છે. આપણે એવા યુગમાં વસીએ છીએ કે જેમાં વૈજ્ઞાનિક અને યાંત્રીક શોધોથી લોકોનું નવ પાર્થવિક વસ્તુઓપર વધારે ને વધારે ખુલ્લું જાય છે જગતની વર્તમાન પરિસ્થિતિનું સહસ્ય એ છે કે વૈજ્ઞાનિક અને યાંત્રીક વિકાસ નૈનિક અને આધ્યાત્મિક વિકાસ કરતાં આગળ વધી ગયો છે અને તેની વચ્ચેનો ખાળો એ પુરી દેશમાં નહિ આવે તો માનવજાતીનો વિનાશ થશે મહાત્મા ગાંધી હમેશાં આધ્યાત્મિક વસ્તુઓ પ્રાપ્ત કરવા અને તેને નખાવી રાખવા મથતા હતા. આથીજ તેમના જવાથી જગતને ચોટી ખોટ થઈ છે.”

નાટાલના એડમીનીસ્ટ્રેટર-મી. ડી. જી. રેપ્રેસન્ટન

નાટાલના જીવનમાં સ્વર્ગસ્થ ગાંધીજી જાણીતી વ્યક્તિ હતા તે ત્રમચના મારી જીવાનીના દિવસોનું મને સ્મરણ થાય છે. એ દિવસોમાં પણ તેમનામાં દેખીતા ગુણો હતા કે જે તેમના કેમી ગાંધીઓમાં તેમને જુદા પાડતા હતા. ન્યાયને માટે અનુરાગ અને માનવ તળાવોમાં તરફ નમ્રતા અને ઉદારતા સાથે માનવબ્રાતૃત્વની સ્થાપના માટે દુઃખ ઉઠાવવાનું તેમના માં રહેલું અડગ મનોભાવ અને ક્ષમાશીલતા હતાં. વધે જતાં તેમની એ ત્યાગની ભાવનાની અનેક પ્રસંગોએ કંઠાટી થઈ હતી અને પ્રત્યેક પ્રસંગે તેમના આધ્યાત્મિક ગુણોનો વિજય થયો હતો અને વડા પ્રધાન કહી ગયા તેમ માનવીઓમાં તેઓ એક શાહજહાં બની ગયા. આજે હીંદ પોતાના ઔથી મહાન નરનો શોક કરે છે અને દુનીયાને એક મહાન આધ્યાત્મિક શક્તિની ખોટ થઈ છે. પરંતુ તેમનો મહાન આત્મા દુઃખી અને શંકાશીલ દુનીયાને દીવાદાંડી સમાન રહેશે.



BY THE SIDE OF GANDHIJI'S SACRED ASHES.—From all over India
bordered ghat by the River Jumna to



From all over India pilgrims came by train, air or on foot to the tree-River Junction to offer homage to the beloved soul.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



BIRLA HOUSE.—Gandhiji's body displayed to thousands the morning after the assassination from Birla House Terrace.



GANDHIJI AND PANDIT NEHRU IN A JOCLAR MOOD.

ડૉ. એડગર બ્રુક્સનો સંદેશો

“મહાત્મા ગાંધીને અસ્ત એ ધણીને કેમ જાણે એક ગણુનો અસ્ત ન થયો હોય, ઇતિહાસના એક મહાન પ્રસંગ-માં કેમ જાણે આપણે ન રહ્યા હોઈએ એવું લાગે છે. એક મહાન નરની કીર્તિ આંકવી કઠીન છે. અમુક ક્ષેત્ર સઘળા લોકો મહાન હોય છે. આ લોક શાસનનો પાયો છે. તેમ છતાં કેટલાક એવા માણસોનો આપણને સમાગમ થાય છે, અથવા તેમના કાર્યોનો પરિચય થાય છે, જેમનું જીવન બીજાના કરતાં અસાધારણ હોય છે અને જેમના વ્યક્તિત્વની આપણાપર એવી છાપ પડે છે કે તેવા માણસો ખાસ કાર્યોએ અવલોકાઈ હોય અને તેને માટે શક્તિ ગણાયેલી હોય. તેવા એક નર ગાંધી હતા.”

ઈતિહાસમાં તેઓ એક મહાન હીરો અને મહાન દેશભક્ત લેખાશે. ભવિષ્યની ઓલાદો તરફથી તેમને કોઈ પણ અન્ય માનવીના કરતાં વિશેષ તુલન કરી દેના સ્પષ્ટ લેખવામાં આવશે. તેમને સૌ માન આપતા હતા કેમકે તેમના વિજયો આધ્યાત્મિક હતા— પોતાના લોકોને માટે તેમણે તલ વાર ઉગાર્યા વિના સ્વતંત્રતા પ્રાપ્ત કરી આપી હતી, મતભેદ થાય તો પણ કોઈનો દ્વેશ નહિ કરવાનું શીખ્યા હતા અને રાજ્ય કરતી પ્રજા તેમજ જે પ્રજાને સશ્લિષ્ટ સ્વાતંત્ર્યની અમુલ્ય બક્ષી આપી આપી તે પ્રજા પ્રત્યે તેમના હૃદયમાં ખરો પ્રેમ હતો.

આ સઘળામાં તેઓ એક સુત્સદિ કરતાં વિશેષ હતા. જન-રક્ત સ્મટસે તેમને “એક મહાન નર” કહ્યા છે. એ ગુણ જનરક્ત

સ્મટસમાં પણ છે. આ ખન્ને એક બીજાથી ઘણાજ બુદ્ધા, એક બીજાના વિરોધી છતાં તેમનામાં મહાનતાના સમાન શુભો હતા અને તેઓના મતભેદો છતાં એક બીજા પ્રત્યે માન ધરાવતા હતા. તેમના દેશબંધુઓને વિરે પણ તેમ થાઓ.

જનરક્ત સ્મટસની જેમ ગાંધીમાં પણ આધ્યાત્મિક શુભો હતા. તેમણે વધારે ધાર્મિકતાથી તે વ્યક્ત કર્યા. મંથરમાં તેમની શ્રદ્ધા ખરી, જીવંત, હિંદા બક્ષિતભાવથી બદેલી અને આત્મચંજનક સહિષ્ણુતા વાળી હતી. તેમના જીવને હિંદનેજ નહીં પરંતુ જગતને સમૃદ્ધ બનાવ્યું છે અને સઘળા દેશોના શુભેચ્છા ધરાવનારા લોકો, તેમની સાથે મતભેદ ધરાવનારાઓ સુદાં, રોકાઓ સુધી માન અને આદરથી તેમને વાદ કરશે.

ડૉ. એફ. ઈ. ટી. કાઉઝની અંજલી

જે શુભો સુધરેલી હરતીનું અંતિમ ધ્યેય ગણાય છે તે શુભોમાં પોતાના મરણ બાદ માનવજાતીને વધારે સમૃદ્ધ સુદી જનારા મહાન નરો દુનિયાએ ઓછા પેદા કર્યા છે. જીવકાળમાં બુદ્ધ અથવા રાજાનૃપતિમાં બીજાઓને ખાંટી દેનારા નેતાઓને માન-અકરામાં આપવામાં આવતાં હતાં સત્ય, ન્યાય અને સ્વતંત્રતાનો

ઉપદેશ દેવામાં આવતો હતો પરંતુ તેનો અમલ કરવામાં આવતો નહતો.

અંગત મહાવાકાંક્ષા અને ખોટી દેશભક્તિ એ આપણા રાજ દારીઓના માર્ગદર્શક સિદ્ધાંતો હતા અને હવે છે માનવીના હકોનું મિથ્યાભિમાનની વેડીપર ભક્ષિવાન અપાઇ રહ્યું છે. સરકારોએ બુદ્ધાણનો પ્રચાર કરનારાં

કારખાનાંઓ સ્થાપ્યાં છે અને બહાર દિવને પહાને પોતાની નીતીનો બચાવ કરી રહી છે. આ બુદ્ધ સતીપી બોના હાથમાં માનવ-જાતીનું ભવિષ્ય ઝાંખુ થીસે છે. સત્યની જગ્યાએ પધુગબનું સામ્રાજ્ય સ્થાપ્યું છે. બીધોની જેમ વિજેતાઓ પરાજય પામેલાનાં મુડકાંને પીંખવા મંડી પડ્યા છે અને પ્રત્યેક બીજાના કરતાં મોટો બાજ

કેમ જેથી લેવાય એ જોઈ રહ્યા છે. આવી લેલી જનેલી અને ગુચવાયેલી દુનીયામાં મહાત્મા ગાંધી જનમ્યા અને જીવન ગાળ્યું. જ્ઞાતિ, જાતી કે વર્ણનો બોદ રાખ્યા સિવાય સૌના પ્રત્યે આતુત્વપ્રેમ, સહિષ્ણુતા અને ન્યાયનો તેમણે ઉપદેશ કર્યો અને એ સિદ્ધાંતોનું પાલન કર્યું. તેમના પર જીલ્લમ ગુજરનારા દાંબીઓએ પોતાના કૃત્યોના કુલા બચાવો કર્યો. તેઓએ કહ્યું, કાયદા નાં સર્વોપરિપક્ષાને માન અપાવુંજ

જોઈએ. પરંતુ તેઓના કાયદા ન્યાયપર નહીં પરંતુ માનવહક્કોના નિષેધપર રચાયા હતા. હમન નીતી, કે જે વિદ્યામાં તેઓ પારંગત હતા, તેની બાજુમાં માનવી એ પચાઈ બન્યાં.

ગાંધીને હું પચાસ ઉપર વર્ષ થી જાણ્યું છું અને ૧૮૬૩માં મીડોરીયામાં તેમની પ્રથમ મુલાકાત થઈ ત્યારથી તેમની કારકીર્દી જોતો આવ્યો છું.

તેઓ ખરા દેશભક્ત હતા અને પોતાના લોકોને ચહતા

હતા. હાંદને તેમણે પોતાનો જાન અર્પણ કર્યો. સહિષ્ણુતા, સ્વાર્થ ત્યાગ અને આતુત્વપ્રેમના જે બીજા તેમણે વાવેલાં છે, તેના અવિષ્યમાં અદ્યત્ત કૃષ્ણ પાકશે. અવિષ્યની ઓલાદોમાં તેમનું નામ જીવંત રહેશે જ્યારે તેમના પર જીલ્લમ ગુજરનારાઓનાં સદંતર ભુંસાઈ જશે.

ગાંધીનું શરીર ગયું છે પરંતુ તેમનો આત્મા સર્વને માટે સ્વતંત્રતા ને પંથે માનવજાતીને દોરી જશે

મી. અને મીસીસ વોગલની અંજલી

[મી અને મીસીસ વોગલ, જેમની ગાંધીજીને પાંચઠી નીચે અવસાન થયો છે, તેનાં વંશ પર ગાંધીજીનાં સંસ્કારોની સદતાના દિવસોમાં તેમના સદવાસમાં આવ્યા હતા અને ૨૬૦૬ થી ૧૯૧૪ સુધી તેના નીકટ સંગવચ્ચ રહ્યા હતા. ગાંધીજી અને હરતુરના તેમજ તેમના કુટુંબ એ સમગ્ર જીવનકાળ અનન્ય પાળા આત્મિક બોધવ્યુ હતા. ગાંધીજીની સત્કર્મ્ય અને સામાજિક પ્રવૃત્તિઓમાં તેઓનાં ભાગવપડતાં જાણ બજાવ્યાં હતાં. આ દિવસો દ્વારા ડરબનમાં રહેતા અને મીસીસ વોગલ, જે ૮૦ વર્ષની વયમાં છે, ને પ્રાર્થનાથી ઓકેના દરદા મટાડવાનું કાર્ય કરી રહ્યા છે.—તારી છે. આ.]

વર્ષો પહેલાંની ગાંધીજીની હકત ના દિવસોમાં હું ને માન પતિ તેમના સંબંધમાં આવ્યાં હતા અને ૧૯૦૬ થી ૧૯૧૪ સુધી તેમને અને તેમના કાર્યની સાથે નિકટ સંબંધ ધરાવતા હોવાનો હાવો કરી શકીએ છીએ. તેમની વલણ અને હેતુ વર્ણવી શકાય તેમ નથી કેમકે મારી બાજુ મુજબ ખીલું કોઈ એવું છે નહિ કે જેની તેમના જીવન અને કાર્યની સાથે સરખામણી કરી શકાય. તેઓ એટલા માનવપ્રેમી હતા અને ખીલજોના મનો પ્રત્યે એટલી

સહિષ્ણુતા ધરાવતા હતા છતાં પોતાના વિચારોમાં અતિ દ્રઢ અને અડગ હતા. આપણે શિવકારવુંજ પડશે કે અર્થ લાભમાં રચી પચી રહેલી આ દુનીયા અને આગણા આ દેશને તેમનું જીવન અને વિચારો સમજવા આતિ કઠીન છે. તેમનાં વચનો, શિક્ષણો અને કાર્યોનું વર્ણન ગોથાં બરી શકાય એટલી બધી વાર થઈ સુકેલું છે તેથી તેની હવે જરૂર રહેતી નથી.

અંક વખત મેં ૨૧. શાસ્ત્રીજી ને કહ્યું હતું કે તે ગાંધીજીના વિચારો સાથે મળતા થતા જણાતા

નથી. તેના જવાબમાં શાસ્ત્રીજી એ કહ્યું: “પણ ગાંધીજી જોટા છે એમ કહેતાં તમે મને કદી સાંભળ્યો નહીં હોય. ગાંધીજી છે એવું કે આધ્યાત્મિક દ્રષ્ટિએ તે મારો કરતાં એટલા બધા આગળ વધી ગયેલા છે કે તેમનું દ્રષ્ટિર્ણીંદુ મારાથી સમજી શકાતું નથી.” આજ સ્થિતિ હું ધારું છું કે ઘણે અંશે પુર્વજ માનસ સમજવામાં આપણે અગ્રિએ ની થઈ પડે છે.

ડૉ. સી. એમ. ડોક તરફથી અંજલી

[આ અંજલી અર્પનાર ડૉ. સી. એમ. ડોક સ્વર્ગસ્થ દેવદત્ત જે. જે. દાંડના સુપુત્ર છે. દેવદત્ત ડોક "એન ઇન્ડિયન પ્રેક્ટીસ ઈન સાક્રલ આર્કિટક" નામના પુસ્તકના કર્તા હતા, કે જે ગાંધીજીનું સૌથી પ્રથમ ગ્રંથાલેખી જીવન ગણાત છે. ડૉ. ડોકે અમારી વિનંતિનો અટકા માયાજીપણે પ્રત્યુત્તર લખ્યો તેને મારે અમે તેમના ખર્ચી બીજો. અમન જગા ખેદ થાય છે કે એ બોલે અને તેમના કબર કોઈ વખતે મુક્યો કે ન્યારે તેઓ પોતે મોક્ષમાં હુમ્મિયા હતા. ગાંધીજીના અવસાનની માંડ જે અઠ-પાંચમાં પહેલાંજ તેમને ખાતાના વહાલાં ધર્મપત્નિની ખાંટ વર્ષ હતી. ડૉ. ડોક અને તેમના કુટુંબને વચ્ચે મારે ખાટમાં બહેર રીતે દિલસોજી કરાવવામાં અમારી ખાતી છે કે અમારા સચ્ચે અમારી સાથે સામેલ થશેજ. —અ.ઈ.એ.]

એ ધર્મ જનની ખુનીના હાથે મહાત્મા ગાંધીનાં ધર્મમાં કદાચ અવસાન થી આજથી ચાલીસ વર્ષ પર જોહાનીસ-ખર્મના એક રસ્તા પર તેમના જીવન પર ધર્મમાં જીમનાં સ્મરણ મને તાજી થાય છે. ૧૯૦૮ નો આરંભકાળ હતો. નિશાળથી ઘેર જતાં મારી બહેને મને કહ્યું કે મારે ઘરમાં અપાવ કપી વગર દાખલ થવાનું છે. કારણ કે પિતાજી ગાંધીજીને ગંભીર રીતે ધવાયેલી હાલત માં લાવેલા છે અને માળપરની મારી નાની ઓરડીમાં તેમને સુવાડવામાં આ બધા છે. એ વખતે હું ૧૫ વર્ષની વયનો એક નિશાળીયો હતો. મને યાદ છે કે મારી ઓરડીમાં તેઓ રહ્યા તેનો મને મર્મ થયો હતો. એકાદ એ અડવાડીયાં પહેલાંજ અમારા પિતાશ્રીએ ગાંધીજીની અને તેમના કોમી બાઈઓને માટે તેઓ જે મહાન હડન સલામી રહ્યા હતા તેની અમને વાત કરી હતી. અમારા ઘરમાં તેઓ રહ્યાં એથી અમને મર્મ થયો અને વધુ હુમલો ન થાય તેને માટે અમારા દરવાજામાં પોલીસ પહેરા હતો તેનું અમે અમુક દરજ્જે માન પણ લીધું.

દાંસવાલ અને નાટાલમાંથી તારો અને સાક્રમાજી અને ફોલોની બેઠોનો નો અમારા પર વરસાદ વર્ષો. અમારું બોજનાસય બનરનો જાણે એક ખુલ્લો ઘડ પડ્યું! મને એ પણ યાદ છે કે અમારા પડોશી, જે અમારી સાથે ધણે સારો સંબંધ રાખતા હતા, તેમણે એ સંબંધ સાવ તોડી નાખ્યો, કેમકે, એક

કાળા માણસને અમારા ઘરમાં લાવી અને જાતી બટ થવા હતા! આ સઘળા બનાવોએ ગાંધીજીની અમે કંઈ સેવા કરી શક્યા તેને માટેના અમારા આત્મમાં ત્રિહિ કરી.

એ વખતથી ગાંધીજીને હું એક વીર પુરૂષ લેખતો થયો છું. તેઓ અપર નવર અમારી મુલાકાતે આવતા અને મારે પંકા તથા મારા પિતાશ્રી તરફથી લેખો પડોચાડવા તેમની ઓરડીએ જવાનું થતું તેથી હું તેમને વધારે સારી રીતે ઓળખતો થયો. વળી ગાંધીજી પોલીસ પહેરા ફેરળા પ્રતિષ્ઠાલની બાજુ માંથી ધર્મ કાલમાં (ગાંધીજીને જ્યાં કેદ કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા) લઈ જવામાં આવતા ત્યારે તેમની બાજુમાં ઘડને હું કેવો ચાલતો એ પણ મને યાદ આવે છે. હું અને મારી બહેન એ ટેકરી પર તેમનું બાન અમારા તરફ મેંચવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરતાં પરંતુ તેઓ તો વિચારમાં મગ્ન હોય અને કાલનાં દરવાજો ખુલે ને અંદર દાખલ થતાં જરા ફરવું પડે ત્યારે તેમની અને અમારી નજર મળતી અને હાથનો જરા હસારો થયો ન થયો ત્યાં તો કાલના બારણા બંધ થઈ જતા.

ગાંધીજી મારે માટે અનુકરણીય હતા. પ્રક્રિયાઓ પર જેમણે ધણે અંશે વિવેચ મેળવ્યો હતો અને જિવ્ય આધ્યાત્મિક જીવન જીવી શકતા હતા એવા હું તેમને જોતો હતો. અમે જાણતા હતા કે તેઓ ખ્રીસ્તી નહતા, અને હીંદુ ધર્મ તેમના જીવનમાં મોટો ભાગ ભજવતો

હતો. પરંતુ બીજાઓ પ્રત્યેનું તેમનું વર્તન એટલું પ્રેમાળ હતું અને ઈશુ-ખ્રીસ્ત પ્રત્યે એટલો આદર હતો કે તેમને અમે લગભગ ખ્રીસ્તીજ વેખતા હતા. ઈશુખ્રીસ્તને ઈશ્વરના એક માત્ર બે પુત્ર અને જગતના તારણકાર તરીકે ગાંધીજી સ્વિકારી નહિ શક્યાનો મારા પિતાશ્રીને હુંડો ખેદ રહ્યો હતો. પરંતુ તેટલા કારણથી તેમના પ્રત્યેનો અમારો પ્રેમ ઓછો થયો ન હતો તેમ તેમના આત્મત્યાગ અને તીરત્વબળી જીવનને માટે તેમના પ્રત્યેનું અમારું માન જરાય કીધું થકુ નહયું.

મને લાગે છે કે તેઓ પણ અમને ચાહતા હતા. મારી જન્મપોથીમાં અકટોગર તા. ૨૭ના તેમણે આ પ્રમાણે લખ્યું હતું: "તું સારો છાકરો છે અને રહેઠાં એવી સમજીતીથી —મો. દ. ગાંધી." તેમણે અમેજી તેમજ ગુજરાતીમાં સહી કરી હતી. મારાપર તેમના એકથી વધુ પત્રો આવ્યા છે. કેટલાક છેક ૧૯૧૩ ની સાલમાં મારા પિતાશ્રીનો સ્વર્ગવાસ થયો તે વખતના છે; એક ૧૯૨૨ માં લાંબી મુદતના જોડ નિવાસ બાદ તેમણે લખ્યો હતો. તેમાં તેઓ લખે છે: "માનવને કે પ્રાર્થના વગર એક વસ્તુ પણ હું નથી કરતો." છેલ્લો કામળ ૧૯૪૪ માં તેમના ત્રિય ધર્મ પત્નિના અવસાન બાદ લખ્યો હતો. જમલ બરની દિલસોજીથી તેમને કેટલું શાંત્યન મળ્યું હતું એ બહત કરનારો હતો. આ પત્રોમાં હર વખત અમારાં કુટુંબની

તેઓ ખામર પુછતા હતા અને બુનકારા
ના સંબંધ નસાવી રાખવા ખુશી હોય
એવું જણાવું હતું.

એક અમુક બાબતોમાં અમારી
દ્રષ્ટિ અને મન બિન્ન હતા. ધર્મની
બાબતમાં વિચારબેદ હતા. કેટલીક વાર
રાજકારણમાં વિગતો વિષે મતફેર હતા.
સાધ્યને માટે તેમના સાધનો વિશે અમે
તેમના જેટલોજ ઉત્સાહ ધરાવી શકતા
ન હતા. પરંતુ એક વસ્તુને વિશે
કદી પણ મતભેદ ન હતો અને તે
કેશરના સર્વવ્યાપિપણ્ય અને પ્રેમ
ને વિશે અને તેના કાનુન પ્રત્યે માનવી
ના માન અને વફાદારીના તેના દ્વારા
વિશે.

મહાત્મા ગાંધી મહાન નર, મહાન
આત્મા હતા; આત્મત્યાગની મુર્તી હતા,

નિઃસ્વાર્થ. શુદ્ધ ત્યાગથી તેમના જેટલી
સિદ્ધિ ઓગળીસમી સદામાં ખીજ કેમકે
પણ પ્રાપ્ત કરી નથી. તેમની નિર્ભયતાએ
પણ મારા પર ઉડી છાપ પાડી હતી.
એક વસ્તુ પોતાને ખરી સામે પછી
માણસ યું કહે કે કરે તેનો તેમને જરા
પણ ડર ન હતો. પોતાના ખોયને
વિશે તેમને ખાતરી થવા પછી કોઈ
શારિરિક કુમકો કરે, હસે, ગાળો દે,
કેત કરે કે ગેરસમજુતી થાય એ સમજી
તેમને કશી વિસાતનું નહતું અને તેમ
ના પ્યારા હોંદને માટે ખરેખર તેમણે
શારિરિક અને માનસિક કષ્ટો સહ્યા છે.

માણસોપર તેમની અસર બોહ
સુખદ હતી. કલ્ત ગરીબ અને અમાને,
જ અને તરછોડાયેલાને તેમણે પોતા
તરફ આકર્ષ્યા ન હતા. ક્ષીમતા અને

વિકાનોને પણ આકર્ષ્યા હતા.
તેમની સાદાઈ ભોકોને તેમના તરફ
ખેંચી જતી હતી. તેમને સાદો
પોષાક, સાદું ઝવન, સાદી વાણી એ
સમજી આકર્ષક હતું. તેમની બધી
ખરી વસ્તુ પણ જે બક્ષિતભાવથી પોતે
કાવ કરી રહ્યા હતા તેનેજ આભારી
હતી. પ્રાર્થનામાં જતાં તેમનું મરણ
નીપળ્યું. અંથી વધારે સુંદર યું હોઈ
શકે? તેમણે પોતે એ કરતાં વધારે
સાફ ઇચ્છ્યું નહીં હોત. મહાત્મા
ગાંધીની આ જેટલી મજાજ દુઃખી,
પીડીત હોઈ પર ઉડી છાપ પાડનારી
ચદ પડે. ઇશ્વરને માર્ગે પ્રવાણ કરવામાં
જ હોંદના રાખેના જન્મ અને ઉદ્ધાર
રહેલો છે.

યુગયુગાન્તરો પછી

[ગાંધીજીએ એક વખત જેમને પોતાના વારસ તરીકે વર્ણવ્યા હતા તે પંડિત જવાહરલાલ નેહરુએ બીજી
ફેબ્રુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮ ને કિલ્લે કિંદી રાજ્ય સંઘની ધારાસભાના પ્રમુખ સાથે પોતાનો મુખ મિલાવતાં ગાંધીજીના
અવસાનને અંગે નીચેના હકયવાક ઉલ્લેખ કર્યો હતો. એમના વ્યાખ્યાનનો અક્ષરશઃ અને પ્રમાણબુદ્ધ હેવાલ
નીચે આપવામાં આવ્યો છે.—અ.ઈ.એમ.]

અવસાન પામેલી અગ્રગણ્ય વ્યક્તિ
એને અંગ્રેજી આપવાનો, તેમના
મુજબાન માવાનો તથા તેમને વિષે
સહાનુભુતી વ્યક્ત કરવાનો આ સભા-
શુદ્ધનો રિવાજ છે. આ પ્રસંગે મારે
કે આ સજાગૃહમાંના બીજા સભ્યોગાંધી
કોઈએ પણ વધારે જોતલું એ હિચિત
છ કે કેમ એ વિષે મારા મનમાં વિમા-
સણ થવા કં છે. કેમકે આપણા
અમુલ્યમાં અમુલ્ય ખજાનાને આપણે
સાચવી ન શક્યા એ માટે એક વ્યક્તિ
તરીકે અને હોંદની સરકારના વડા તરીકે
તું મારે શરમની લાગણી અનુભવી
રહ્યો છું. મયા થોડાક મહિનાઓ
દરમ્યાન સંખ્યાબંધ નીહોપ પુરુષ, સ્ત્રી
અને બાળકોને અમે રક્ષણ ન આપી
શક્યા એ અમારી નિષ્ફળતા હતી તે

જ રીતે આ પણ અમારી નિષ્ફળતા
છે. અમારા પર જે બોલે આવી
પડ્યો. જે જવાબદારી આવી પડી તે
અમારે માટે તો સુ પણ ખીટ કોઈ
પણ સરકારને માટે મગ્ન હિપરવટના
હતાં એ ખરે, છતાં પણ એ અમારી
નિષ્ફળતા છે એમા શંકા નથી. અને
જેનું આપણે આટઆટલું સન્માન
કરતા હતા, જેને આપણે આટઆટલું
ચહાતા હતા તે મહાન વિશુતિ આપણી
પાસેથી ચાલી ગયું કારણ કે આપણે
તેને પુરતું રક્ષણ ન આપી શક્યા એ
આપણા સૌને માટે શરમની વાત છે.
એક હોંદીએ પોતાનો હાથ તેમની સામે
ઉગામ્યો એની એક હોંદી તરીકે મને
શરમ આવે છે; એક હોંદીએ આ નૃત્ય
કયું અને તે પણ આ જમાનાના

મહાનમાં મહાન હોંદીની સામે અને
આ યુગના સર્વજોષ હોંદીની સામે એની
પણ મને શરમ આવે છે.

જગતનો ઇશ્વરનારક

લોકોનાં આપણ ઉચિત શબ્દોમાં મુજબ
માન કરીએ છીએ. મહાતાનું આપણી
પાસે કદીક માપ હોય છે. પરંતુ
આપણે ગાંધીજીનાં મુજબાન કરી રીતે
માવાના હતા. એમની મહતાનું મારપ
ફેવી રીતે કાઢવાના હતા કેમકે આપણે
સૌ જેના ગળ્યા છીએ તે સામાન્ય
મારીના બનેલા એ નહોતા. તે આ
અવની પર આવ્યા. કીક કીક સમય
સુધી અહીં રહ્યા અને પછી આલ્યા
મયા. આ સજાગૃહમાં તેમનાં મુજબાન
માવાની જરૂર નથી કેમ કે છતિહાસની
કોઈ પણ વ્યક્તિનાં તેના ઝવનકાળ

તહા રે ચ ર જી

“આદરાયણ”

૧

સત્ય ને મળવું જીવને જોખમે
તે અમે પાણિયુ ના જરાએ.
ને અસત્યે સદા રાખીયા, નાચીયા,
મત્ત ધનને અમે વિશ્વભાષે.

૨

ને અહિંસા ન પાળી રજો, હિંમ
ચર્કા ભાઈ-ભાઈ તણા લોહી પીધાં;
ખૂન નરસ્યા અમે ખૂન નરભોળ થઈ
ખુદના ખૂનમાં પાપ કાધાં.

૩

પાપના પોટલા ખુલ્લ ખાંધ્યા અમે
રંકના રોટલા કુંડી લીધા
એરણી ચોરીને પાપને ટાળવા
સોયનાં દાન કંઈ એક દીધાં.

૪

રંકનાં લોહી સિંચેલ પાપાલયા
એક મહેતાનમાં ખુલ્લ નાખ્યા.
રંકને ચૂસતા એકઠો જે કયો,
એક ધન વીંચવે ખુલ્લ માખ્યા.

૫

તું અદાશીય સદા પાન વિખના કરે,
એક કિપમા તને આપવા તા;
પાપ પ્રાણી તણાં ખુલ્લ દાયા અને
દીનની દીનતા ને શીટાવી.

૬

ખુદના બાંધને જીવતો ને કયો
ને કમુની સફાઈ વધાવી
તે મહાવીરની ચીરના દાખવી, શાંતી
મરજામ ફેરી શીખવી.

૭

આજ સ્વાધીનતા તા મળી,
કેમ સજાગરી ગળાવી રાખવી એ
શીખવ અમને યદા બાન નુલેલને,
નીતીની રીત શે પાળવી એ.

૮

આજ લેખાં અમારાં બધાં પાપનાં,
સૂન તારે પદે સૌ ધરીયું.
આજ કિશ્કાટ અંતર તણા સામટા
પાપ તારે અમે દાસવીયું.

૯

બાનને સારને સ્થાવર અમારાં કરી
સાચ પંથે જવા શીખ દેજો
રાહજર તું અમારો હતો ને
સદા રાહજર તું અમારીજ રહેજો.

વિદાય

મહે' જુદી કીધી છે માટે હે બાઈઓ! હવે મહને વિદાય
ગીરી થો, હું તમને સર્વેને પ્રણામ કરું છું.

* * *

હું તમારું સર્વ દારોની ચાવી પાછી આપી દઉં છું, અને
મહારા' પણ પરનો દાવો છોડી દઉં છું હવે હું કેવળ તમારા
સર્વની અંતિમ પ્રસાદ વાણી કરું છું, તમને સર્વેને પ્રણામ
કરીને હું જાઉં છું.

*

* * *

અનેક દિવસ સુધી આપણે એક એકના પાડોશી હતા,
પણ હું આપું તેના કરતાં વધુ મહે' કીધું છે. હવે સત્રી
પુરી થઈ, પ્રભાત થવા આવ્યું છે અને ધરના એકાન્ત અન્ધારા
પુણ્યમાં ગળાતા મહારો કીપક પણ સુખાદ જવા આવ્યો છે.

* * *

મહને આજવાન પત્ર મળ્યો છે અને હું મહારી વાત્રાને
માટે તૈયાર છું. હવે હું સર્વેને પ્રણામ કરી જાઉં છું.

—ગીતાંજલી (દાગોર)

રડો ન મુજ મૃત્યુને!

“રડો ન મુજ મૃત્યુને! હરખ માય આ છાતીમાં
ન રે!—કયમ તમે ય તો હરખતાં ન હોયામહી?
વીધાયું ઉર તેથી કેવળ શું રક્તધારા જુદી,
અને નહિ શું પ્રેમધાર ઉછળી નરે કે રડો?
હતાં શું અલિહાન આ મુજ પવિત્ર મુક ન કે?
અધરૂપ સિંહી શું કે મુજ અક્ષય તેથી રડો?”

તમે શું હરખાત ને બચ ધરી બાજુ બીફતા
અવાક અસહાય હું હૃદયમાં રૂંધી સત્યને
શ્વસ્યાં કરત ભૂતલો? મરણથી છુટયો સત્યને
ગળે વિષમ જે હતો કંઈક કાળ કુમો! થયું
સુણે પ્રગટ સત્ય, ભૈર પ્રાપ્ત પ્રેમ, પ્રેમ ને પ્રેમજ!
હમે ઇશુ, હમે બુદ્ધો સુકતુ. સૌમ્ય સંતા હમે.”

“અમે ન રડીએ, પિતા, મરણ આપનું પાવન,
કલકમય દૈન્યનું નિજ રહી રહ્યા અવન.”

—ઉમાશંકર ભેપી

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દરમિયાન ગવાયાં છે તેના કરતાં એમનાં મુળમુળ એમના જીવનકાળ દરમિયાન વિશેષ ગવાયાં છે અને તેમના અનુસાર પછીના આ બે કે ત્રણ દિવસમાં આખી દુનિયાએ તેમને અંજલિ આપી છે. એમાં આપણે શું ઉમેરો કરી શકવાના હતા? તેમનાં લોકીનાં મના નો કરતવે કંઈક વધારે નીકટનાં તમ નાં સંતાનો—કેમ કે અપાત્ર નોયે વરો બોલે અંશે આપણે સૌ તેમની બાવ નાનાં સંતાનો છીએ—એવા આપણે તમના શાં વંશોગાન કરીએ.

તેમનું ચિરંજીવ સ્મારક

તેમની વંશોગાથા પૂરી થઈ છે અને આપણને કૃત્ત આપણે તમારું આપણું જીવન અજવાળતા મુખે આથવા ગયા છે અને આપણે અંધકાર તમા દેહમાં કુદરતે છીએ. પરંતુ આ બધાં વરંતા દરમિયાન આપણે બાળેલા વંશોગાથાએ, દૃષ્ટીશક્તિ વરાવના પુરૂષે આપણને પણ પક્ષી નાખ્યા છે—અને આપણે જે કંઈ છીએ તે આ વરંતા દરમિયાન તેમણે આપણને વરંતા તેનું કૃપા છે. અને એ દૃષ્ટીશક્તિમાંથી આપણામાં ના વંશોગાથાએ પણ પંક્તિશિલ નિરસો શ્રીધા. આ વંશોગાથા આપણને બળ આપ્યું અને તેમણે દોરી આપણી રીતે કંઈક અંશે આપણને કાપ કરવા કહ્યું. અને તેથી કરીને આપણે તેમનાં વંશોગાન માત્રએ તો આપણા શબ્દો કંઈક હીલા કાગે છે અને આપણે તેમનાં મુળમુળ માત્રએ તો કંઈક અંશે આપણે આપણાં પોતાનાં મુળ મુળ પણ કરીએ છીએ. કાંસા અને આરસનાં પુતળાં ઉભાં કરીને મહાન અને અગ્રગણ્ય વ્યક્તિઓનાં સ્મારક કરવામાં આવે છે. પરંતુ દૃષ્ટીશક્તિ ધારી આ માનવીએ તો જીવનકાળ દરમિયાન કરોડો માનવીઓના હૃદય માથે પોતાની જાતને નથી જોતજોત કરી દીધી છે કે બહેન અભાંગે, પણ સૌ તેમના અંશના બાગીદાર બન્યા છીએ. હૃદયમાં તે ફેલાઈ ગયા

હતા અને તે મહેલાતો, વીશીષ્ટ સ્થાનો કે સ્થાનોમાં તરૂં પણ ગામે ગામ અને દાનકુળિયાઓને કુપડે કુપડે કરોડોના હૃદયમાં ફેલાયાં તે જીવે છે અને અનંત કાળ સુધી જીવતા રહેશે.

યોગ્ય અંજલિ

આમ હોઈને, આ પ્રસંગે આપણે વીનંત બનીએ તે સીવાય આપણે તેમ નો શો વશ માઈએ? એમનાં મુળમુળ માવનાં, જેમને આપણે પુરેપુરી રીતે અનુસરી ન શક્યા તેમના વશ માવનાં આપણે કાપક નથી. બધારે તેઓ આપણી પાસેથી કાપે. પરિશ્રમે અને બલિદાનની અપેક્ષા રાખતા કોય ત્યારે તેમને વીંત શેડકા શબ્દો બોલીને સંતોષ માનવો એ તેમને અન્યાય કરવા બરાબર છે. પાછલા વીસ કે વધારે વરંસો દરમિયાન તેમણે આ દેશ ને બલિદાનની કૃત્ય બુધિકાએ પહોંચવાને પ્રયત્ન છે અને ખાસ કરીને એ બાળકમાં કાપે એના જોડો વડે એમ નથી. એમાં એ સફળ થયા. પરંતુ આજ એવી એવી વરંસાઓ બન્યા પાયા જેથી તેમને પારાવાર દુઃખ થયું. જોકે એમ છતાંયે તેમના સૌમ્ય મુખ પરથી રિસતનાં કદો પણ નાંખ ન થયો અને કદી પણ કાંઈક કંઈક શબ્દ નથી કહ્યો. આમ છતાં તે દુઃખી થયા હશે—જે પેઢીને તેમણે કાપી કાપી તેની મુટીઓ માટે તે દુઃખી થયા હશે, આપણે માટે તેમણે જે માર્ગ દોરી નાખ્યો હતા તેને આપણે તજી રીતે એવી રીતે તે દુઃખી થયા હશે અને જીવંત તેમનાજ એક દરજ્જે ના હાથે—કેમ કે ગીલા દોષ પણ પીંદીની પેઢે તે પણ એમનુંજ દરજ્જે હતો—તેમનો વધ થયો.

મુળમુળનાં પછી

જે વંશોગાથામાં આપણે જીવી રહ્યા છીએ તેનું કાંઈક મુળ પછી હતીદાસ મુલ્યાંકન કરશે. તે એની સફળતા અને નિષ્ફળતાનું માપ કાઢશે—આપણે

એની એટલા વધ સમીપ છીએ કે એનું માપ કાઢવાને માટે આપણી યોગ્યતા નથી અને જે કંઈ બન્યું અથવા ન બન્યું તે આપણે સમજી શકીએ એમ નથી. આપણે માત્ર એટલું જાણીએ છીએ કે વંશોગાથા હતી અને તે પુરી થઈ છે. આપણે માત્ર એટલું જાણીએ છીએ કે આ કાણે તો અંધકાર જીવ્યો ગયા છે. પણ ખસુસ એ એટલો બધો અંધકાર નથી કેમ કે આપણે આપણા અંધકારમાં કોઈકું કરીએ છીએ ત્યારે ત્યાં આગળ તેમણે જે જીવંત જીવતા પ્રગટાવી હતી તે હજી આપણને જોવા મળે છે. અને એ બધા જીવંત જીવતા જો મોજુદ પણ તો આ મુલક માં અંધકાર નહીં રહે અને તેમનું સ્તવન કરવા કરતા તેમણે શ્રીધા માર્ગને અનુસરનાં પ્રયાસ કરવા કરતા આપણે કરીએ આ મુલકને અજવાળા શકાયું એમ તો આપણે નાના માનવીઓ છીએ પરંતુ તેમણે આપણામાં પ્રગટાવેલી જીવંતથી આપણે એ સાધી શકાયું, તે જીવંતના હૃદય દ્વારા સૌથી મહાન પ્રતીક સમા દેતા અને કૃત્ત આપણા મનોરથોના બાવિ હૃદય પાલુ? આપણે એ જીવંતના અને બલિદાનના વચ્ચેની વંત માનકાળ ની જોખમકારક અસિધારા પર ઉભાં છીએ અને આપણી સામે જાતજાત નેખરો ખડા થયાં છે. અને સૌથી મોટું જોખમ તો કોઈક વાર અપરિ અદર્શોને આપણે કુળતા જોઈએ, જેની આપણે વાત કરતા હતા તે મહાન વરંત કેવળ પોતે શબ્દોજ બની રહે અને જીવંત જીવંત વરંત પડે ત્યારે આપણી અદા બુદ્ધી નય, નિષ્કળતા ની કાગણી આપણને વડી વળે નવાં આપણું દિલ તથા ધગશ બેસી તપ એ લેવા છે.

મુળમુળનાં વધારે મહાન

આ મુદ્દાનો બધો જીવંતો મહાન હતો. પરંતુ મુળમુળ તે વધારે મહાન બન્યો છે. અને તે જીવંતો પોતાના

સમગ્ર જીવન દરમિયાન તેમણે સેવા કરી હતી. તેની ભરતિ પણ તેમણે સેવા કરી છે એ વિષે મને કવલેશ શંકા નથી. આપણે તેમને માટે શોક કરીએ છીએ, સદાયે આપણે તેમને માટે શોક કરતા રહીશું. કેમ કે આપણે સામાન્ય માનવીઓ છીએ અને આપણા મહા-મુદ્ધા યુગને આપણે બુદ્ધી શક્તિએ સ્થિત નથી. પરંતુ આપણે તેમને માટે શોક કરીએ એ નમને ન મને એ હું જાણું છું. તેમનાં નિકટમાં નિકટનાં અને પ્રિયમાં પ્રીયતાનાં ચાલ્યાં ગયા તારે તેમની આંખો ખોલી સહ નથી. જે મહાન બેધમાં પોતે વર્ષો હત્યા તેને અર્થે પરિશ્રમ કરવાનો, તેની સેવા કરવાનો તેમનો નિર્ધાર કેવળ બધારે દદ થયો છે. એથી કરીને આપણે કેવળ તેમના શોક ક્યો કરીએ તો ન આપણને પણ આપણે. તેમને અંજલિ આપવાની એ કામગીરી રીત છે. જે મહાન કામ તેમણે કિપાડ્યું અને ત્યજી અંજલિ પાર પાડ્યું તેને આપણે જીવન સમર્પણ કરવાનો આપણે દદ નિર્ધાર કરીએ, ફરીથી પ્રતિજ્ઞા કરીએ અને એ રીતે આગરણ કરીએ એ નમને અંજલિ આપવાની એકમાત્ર રીત છે. એટલે આપણે કામ કરવાનું છે. પરિશ્રમ કરવાનો. બલિદાન આપવાનું છે અને એ રીતે કંઈ નહિ તો થોડે થણે અંજલિ તમના કાલક અનુયાયી બનવાનું છે.

આ બનાવ, આ ક્રમણ ધરના, અક પામત માણસનું કેવળ હુદ્ડેલવાનું કામ નથી. પણ મહિનાઓ અને વરસોથી અને ખાસ કરીને છેલ્લા થોડાં માસથી દેશમાં. તેમ અને હિંસાનું તાતા વરણ પ્રવત્તિ દવું એ પરિણામ છે. તાતાવરણ આપણના મોખાસ ધેરી વજ્રુ છે અને મંધીરકે એ પોષ આપણી સમક્ષ મુક્યુ છે એની સેવા કરવા એ આપણે ચલાતા કાલએ તો એ તાતા વરણને આપણે સામનો કરવો પડે. કટિબદ્ધ થઈને એની સામે મુક્યું ને

તથા દ્વેષ અને હિંસાનું પાપ વલ્લખ્ય થો ઉપેડી નાખવું ધરે.

આ સરકારને સામેલવળે છે ત્યાં સુધી એની સામે કામ સેવામાં કોઈ પણ પ્રયાસ કરવા એ ચુકરી નહીં એવો મને વિશ્વાસ છે કેમ કે, અમે એમ ન કરીએ. અમારી દુર્બળતાને કારણે અથવા અમને પૂરતું સામે એવા ખીજત કાલ કારણસર આ હિંસા અટકાવવાને તારે મોઢે બોલીને, પ્રખાતે અથવા નામે કારા દ્વેષ ફેલાવતો અટકાવવાનું માટે અમે અસરકારક પ્રયત્ન ન કરીએ તો નાચિજ આ સરકારમાં આજુ રહેવાને અમ કાલક નથી; એટલુંજ નહીં. એમના અનુયાયી હોવા તો કાલે કરવાને કાલક નથી અને આપણી પાસેથી ચાલ્યા ગયેલા મહાન આત્માનાં પરોગાન માવાને પણ કાલક નથી. એથી કરીને આ પ્રસંગે, અથવા આપણી પાસેથી ચાલ્યા ગયેલા આ મહાન યુગનું આપણે ત્યારે પણ રમરણ કરીએ ત વખતે આપણે હમેશાં કામ, પરિશ્રમ અને બલિદાનની દ્રષ્ટિથી, ત્યા પાળ અનિષ્ટ પા પાળ નબરે પડે તેની સામે યુગતાની દ્રષ્ટિથી. તેમણે આપણી સમક્ષ રજુ કરેલા તપને વળગી રહેવા ની દ્રષ્ટિથી આપણે જે સ્થિત કરીશું તો તારે એટલા અપાત કોઈકું તોયે કાલ નહિ તો આપણે આપણી દરજ્જા બચવી હશે અને તમના આત્માને ચોખ્ખ અંજલિ આપી તને.

એ તો ગણ અને હીંદુઓમાં સર્વત્ર અનાય બની ગયાની કાગળી પ્રવતે છે. આપણે સૌ એ કાગળી અનુભવી રવા છીએ અને એમાંથી આપણે ક્યારે મુક્ત થઈ શકીશું એની મને ખબર પડતી નથી. આમ જતા કાગળીની સાથે સાથે પેદીના બિયા આપણને આ મહાન ભણતિ સામે સમાગમમાં આવવાનું અકોબાચ પ્રાપ્ત થયુ છે એ માટે આબારવશતાની કાગળી પણ રહેલી છે. એ બુદ્ધિના પાંદા આ ધરતીપર દરેકો દત્તા તે સમયની પેદીના આપણે પાંદા બાવિ યુગમાં, સદાઓ પછી,

કાલ્ય સદ્ગુણિદઓ પછી લોકો પીચાર કરશે અને મને એટલા નાના માનવી ઓ હોઈએ તોયે આપણે તેમના માંને અનુસરી શક્યા અને જેના પર તેમનાં પગલાં પડ્યા તે પવિત્ર ભૂમિપર આપણે ચાલ્યા એ વીધે બાવિના લોકો વિચાર કરે. આપણે એ યુગને કાલક બનીએ. આપણે સદાયે એમને કાલક બનીએ.

હોમી દીધા ને નિજ દેહ આપુ!

જે યજ્ઞના ઈધન તેજ સ્ત્રીઓ, નિષ્પ્રાણમાંયે પણ પ્રાણ પ્રપી, તે યજ્ઞનો અંતિમ ધૂપ થઇને, હોમી દીધા ને નિજ દેહ આપુ!

સેવા અને સ્વાર્થેણ સુત્ર ધારી, રહ્યો સદાનોય અગ્નિન શત્રુ; થોળી ગયો તું કંઈ વાર બાપુ, અમી મણીને વિધવાનોય જમ

નિર્વેર તારે સજ્જનાં અધૂરાં, આ બોમમાં હેલ્લ રામ રાત્તપ; અધાર થેવો વલ્લ નિશ્ચિનંય, તારે હાલું તેજ પથે કંઈ જલુ.

રહ્યો સદા તું સતનોજ સાથી, તાતા બન્યો માનવ જન ક્રેડ; કીંહુ, હસેહ અડ અન્ય કોઈ, તે તો સદને સરખાં મળ્યાં તં.

ત્યાં બુદ્ધ ને હસસ કાલકરૂં, પહે થઈ અંકિત પુષ્પ બુધી; તું મેં નીકારી કાલ મોજ માગે, ચલુ સુધી માનવતા ન છોડી.

દુર્બોધ એ તાળીસ કોટી રડ, કંઈ સકું શે અવસાન એને; જે મારીય વિશ્વ મધુ કેળવ્યું, અનતમાં મધુ કાળ આજે.

નહી મળે એ કરી મુકત કાલ્ય નહીં વડે, એ નિર્વેર વાળી; અને કરીથી યુગનાય એને તો સંત આવો વળેને ય સાંપડે

નારદ.

સાચું મૃત્યુ

ડીશોરલાલ ઘ. મશરૂવાલા.

“હું મનમાં ને મનમાં બાપુ વધી આવશે તેના સ્વપ્ના સેવી મીઠી મીઠી વાતો કરી રહ્યો હતો, પણ મનના મીનારા મન માંજ રહ્યા.....” બાપુને કોણ મારી શકે એમ હતું? એમણે તો પોતાની હિયાતી કથારની અમર કરી મૂકી હતી, એના ઉપર જોખી છોડનાર એમને સોકરેડીસ, કુખ્સ, ને ઈશુની પંકતીમાં પુરેપૂરા

જેસાડી એમની અમરતા પર મોહર છાપી જે જોખી વાળી તે એમના છવનને વાળી નથી એ તો મારનારે પોતાના ધર્મનેજ મારી છે જે રીતે એ ગયા તે પ્રથમ દ્રષ્ટિએ આઘાત પહોંચાડનાર છે, છતાં વિવેક દ્રષ્ટિએ જોઈએ તો જરા છાજી થઈને જવા કરતાં આના કરતાં વધારે યોગ્ય મૃત્યુ યું હોઈ શકે?..... એમના મત પ્રમાણે દેહનો સ્વાભાવીક અંત

૧૨૫ પહેલાં આવવો ન જોઈએ એટલે ૧૨૫ પહેલાં જવાનું હોય તો અકસ્માત રીતે જલુંજ ઇંબ મરણ લાગતું હતું. એ એમના સંકલ્પ પ્રમાણેજ થયું. કેવલાસો માં ટક્યા, જોંગ એવા આઘાત-લશ વિનાના હુમલાઓથી બચ્યા. ડીક લશ સાંપીનેજ જવારે પ્રહાર થયો ત્યારે તે અકસ્માતના શીકાર સયા. સાચું મૃત્યુ યોગ આણું. ગાદી બધાં યોગ મૃત્યુ.

ગાંધીજીનો દુનીયાને અહિંસાનો છેલ્લો સંદેશ

[સાયરેટ બાર્ન્સફાઈટ, અમેરીકાના “લાઇફ” પત્રના પ્રતિનિધિએ ગાંધીજીના અવસાનને દિવસેજ ગાંધીજીની મુલાકાત લીધી હતી જે વખતે ત્રીસેતો સમશ્લોક વાતોલાપ થયો હતો.—અ. ઘ. ઝા.]

“ગાંધીજી” તેમણે કહ્યું, “આપ દમેશાં કહેના આવ્યા એ કે આપ ૧૨૫ વર્ષ જીવવાના છે. એ આશા આપ સાંપર્યે રાખો છે?”

ગાંધીજીએ હુંકો અને સ્તબ્ધ કરનારો જવાબ આપ્યો: “એ આશા હું મુમાવી બેઠો છું.”

“શાથી?” મેં પુછ્યું.

જ. “દુનીયામાં જે બર્બરે જનાંવા બની રહ્યા છે તે પરથી. અધિકાર અને આંડપણ વચ્ચે હું જીવવા ચાહતો નથી. શબ્દવાર વિચાર કરી: “પણ જો મારી સેવાઓની જરૂર હશે, અથવા તો, મારે કહેવું જોઈએ કે, મને ૨૨-ગાન થશે, તો હું ૧૨૫ વર્ષ જીવીશ.”

સ. “અમે વર્ષો આપે અંગાળમાં હીંદુ-મુસ્લીમ સમખાણોનાં દસ્તો જોયાં હતાં અને એ વખતે આપે કહ્યું હતું

કે “સવળે અધિકાર છે.” “શું આપ હવે અંગાળ નેમ સકો છો?”

જ. “હવે તો નથી જોઈ શક્યો, તેને માટે જગી રહ્યા છું. એ પ્રકાર જોઈ તો મારી આશા સજીવન થાય.”

સ. અમેરીકાનો પણ દુઃસ્વપ્ન જોઈ રહ્યાં છે. ખાસ કરી અયુબોમ્બને વિરો. અયુબોમ્બ સામે આપ અદસિ શી રીતે અજમાવો?

જ. “ઓહો! તેનો જવાબ મારે શું આપવો?” જરાવાર વિચાર કરી: “પ્રાર્થનામય નેમનથી.”

સ. “આર્થાપર વિમાનો ફરી વળ્યાં હોય ત્યાં સં આપ પ્રાર્થના કરવા બેસશો?”

મારે જોડારી ગાંધીજી બોલ્યા: “મેં તો પ્રાર્થનામય વર્તન કહ્યું. હું તો

મુદ્દામાં આણું અને મને તેના પ્રત્યે દુરમની નથી તેની નજરે ખાલી કરવા કહું.”

થોડી વાર રહી ગાંધીજી બોલ્યા “વીમાની એટલે કિંમતી માફ નખ ન જોઈ શકે, પરંતુ આપણને એ નુકસાન કરવા નહિ આને એવી આપણી નીચ છવ્છા તેને પહોંચશે અને તેની આંખો ઉવડે. હિંદોશીમાં જંજોને ભોમ્બ થી મારી નાખવામાં આવ્યા તેઓ જે એ પ્રાર્થનામય વર્તનથી મયોહન પોતા ના હૃદયમાં પ્રાર્થના કરતાં મુદ્દામાં મયો હત તો મુદ્દો અંત આવો શરમબરલી રીતે આવ્યો નહિ હત. હવે તો વિજયીઓ ખરા પીજયા છે કે પરાજયા એ એક સવાલ છે. દુનીયામાં શાંતી નથી...વધારે બર્બરે અશાંતિ છે...”

સત્યાગ્રહી વીરાંગનાને ગાંધીજીની અંજલી

[ગાંધીજીનાં નેતૃત્વ હેઠળ ૧૯૦૭-૧૯૧૮ માં ચાલેલી સત્યાગ્રહની લડત વખતે રવાળાંચની વેદીપર પ્રાણાર્પણ કરનાર વીરાંગના વલીયમાને “સાહેબ આફ્રિકાના સત્યાગ્રહનો ઇતિહાસ” નામક પોતાના પુસ્તકમાં આંગ્રેજી અંજલીતરી અક્ષિ નોંધ લેવી અરથાને નહિ ગણ્યા.—અ.ઇ.એ.]

.....“એને હું કેમ જુલું? વાલિયામા અઢાર વર્ષની બાળા હતી. હું તેની પાસે ગયો ત્યારે તે પથારીવશ હતી. તે કદમા ઉઘી હોવાથી તેનું કાકડી જેવું શરીર બીહામણું લાગતું.

“વાલિયામા, જેલ જવાનો પશ્ચાત્તાપ તો નથી ના?”

“પશ્ચાત્તાપ શાને હોય! મને ફરી પકડે તો હું હમણાંજ જેલ જવા તર્ક્યાર છું.”

“પણ આમાંથી મોત નીપજે તો?” મેં પુછ્યું.

“ભલે નીપજે. દેશને ખાતર મરવું કોને ન ગમે?”

આ વાત પછી વાલિયામા થોડા દિવસમાં મૃત્યુ પામી. તેનો દેહ ગયો, પણ આ બાળા પોતાનું નામ અમર કરી ગઈ છે. વાલિયામાની પાછળ થોડક દશોવનારી સખાર્યા કેકકેકાજે થઈ અને કોમે આ પવિત્ર બાઈના સ્મરણાર્થે “વાલિયામા હોલ” બાંધવાનો ધર્મ લજી કોમે પાડ્યો નથી. તેમાં વિધ્નો આવ્યાં છે. કોમમ, કુસંગ પેઠો, મુખ્ય કાર્યકર્તાઓ એક પછી એક ચાલ્યા ગયા. પણ પશ્ચર ને સુનાનો હોલ ગંધાર્યો, વા ન ગંધુઓ વાલિયામાની સેવાનો નાશ નથી. એ સેવાનો હોલ તો તેજી પોતાને હાથેજ બાંધ્યો તેની મુર્તિ ઘણાં હૃદયમંદિરોમાં આવે પણ ગિરજાં છે. અને જ્યાં સગી ભારતવર્ષનું નામ છે ત્યાં સગી દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના ઇતિહાસમાં વાલિયામા છે જ.

નેતામાં કેવા ગુણ હોવા જોઈએ

[કુમારી ચુરીયલ લેન્ડરના “એન્ડરેનીંગ ગાંધી” નામક અંગ્રેજી પુસ્તકના શ્રી. ચદશંકર શુક્લે “ગાંધીજીની પુરોષ યાત્રા” નામક ફરેલા અનુવાદમાંથી નીચેના પાનાંસાપનો પ્રસંગ પ્રસ્તુત હોય આપવામાં આવ્યો છે.—અ. ડી. આ.]

તપાન: આ અખાતામાં નેતામાં કેવા ગુણ હોવા જોઈએ એમ આપ માંનો છો?

“એવીસે કલાક પ્રતીદિન પરમેશ્વર ના સાક્ષાત્કાર” આપમે કહ્યું.

“તે કોમ પુછે કે પરમેશ્વર એટલે શું એમ તમે માનો છો તે?”

તો હું કહું તમ જે પરમેશ્વર છે તે અહીંસા એ તની પ્રાપ્તિના ઉપાય છે. નેતામાં આત્મચર પૂરેપૂરો હોવો જોઈએ. કાલ, જય ને અસત્યને તેના જીવનમાં થી હેરાવરો મળવો જોઈએ માણસે શુન્યવન બની જવું જોઈએ. તેણે જીવતા રવાર ન કરવા જોઈએ. તેનાથી વિષય સુખતા કલાપ ન હોવાય. એવી આત્મશુદ્ધિથી નેતામાં શક્તી આવે. એ શક્તી માણસની પોતાની તરીકે હોતી, પ્રશ્નરતી હોય છે. માટે જ્યાં શામા રહેલું છે? હું પોતે શી વિસ્તાર નો છું? પંદર વરસનો છોકરો મને ધકકો મારીને ગળડાવી પાડે એમ છે. હું પોતે તુચ્છ છું. પણ મેં જય અને વાસનાથી સુકિત મેળવી છે. એટલે હું ધર્મરતી શક્તી ગણ્યું છું. હું તમને કહું છું કે આખી દુનીયા ધર્મરતો ઈન્દ્રાર કો નો હું એકલો ઉભો રહીને કહું કે “ધર્મર છે.” હું નો નિરંતર એ અમકારનું દર્શન કરીજ કહું છું.

તમારો ધર્મ લગ્ન પુત્રાવસ્થામાં છે. પ્રસૂએ એશીયાર્થી આવતા પવનનું એક મોજનું ગ્રીલી લીધું ને ત દુનીયાને આપ્યું. પશ્ચિમમાં એની સાથે ગીજ મેળવણી થએલી છે. તમે એની સાથે જે તંત્રની વ્યવસ્થા બેઠી તેનો એ મુળ

તંત્રની સાથે મેળ ખાય એવો નહોતો. તરીકે હું મને પોતાને પ્રિયતી તરીકે કહેવડાવતા. કમકે તમે એ ધર્મને અમે જે તવ ઉપ કહું છે તેને હું માનતા તરીકે. એ તંત્રનું મંડાળ પશુચળ પર રચાયેલું છે. એમાં રહેલા પ્રસ પતાવી આપવા એટલી જગતની સેવા કરવાનું તંત્ર માટે નિર્મયેલું. કામાતપના અહાજા અમારો અપિઆનાં હાકકાના ખડકા થી પોતાં ચળ મળેલાં છે. એ અપિઆ ધ્યાન, અભ્યાસ ને આત્મશોધનમાં નિમગ્ન થઈ મયેલા હતા. તેઓ સંકેદો વરસ ચલા નર પાસેથી નવા મુદ સત્યા મેળવતાને અવિરત પ્રયત્ન કરતા પાતાના છે ને તેઓ આપણને કહે છે કે “સત્ય એ પરમેશ્વર છે. ને અર્થસિદ્ધિ એ તેની પ્રાપ્તિનો ઉપાય છે.

હું વરવડા રંજમાં હતા ત્યાં ને પુત્રવ્યાવપુવક સવ મહા ધર્મોનો અભ્યાસ કર્યો. ગુરુજીમ શાળાના અથે શાંતી છે. જ્યાં એ પણ જીવન ધર્મ છે. મહામદ પેગંબર એકા સાથે દિવસો સુધી એકાનમાં ચાલ્યા જતા ને ખુદ પાસેથી વધુ સત્ય મેળવવા તની આગળ વિનવણી કરતા. પાછા આવતા ત્વારે પોતાને મળેલું સત્ય જીનઓ આગળ રજુ કરતા. કેટલીકવાર તેમને ખુદ પાસેથી પોતાના સવાલોના જવાબ ન મળતો ત્વારે તેઓ ઉમરની સજાદ માગતા. એકવાર પેગંબર સાહેબે કહ્યું “ઉમર આપણે આ દુસ્મનો બેડ

સહેલ કરીશ કે કલાક?” ઉમર કહે “હું શું બાણું? ખુદને પુછો.” પેગંબર સાહેબ મેં “નેવકક તું શું એમ માને છે કે મેં તરી પુછ્યું? મને ખુદાએ અસત્ય આપ્યો હોત તો હું તને પુછત ખરો?”

માનવ હેલ કણુ સમાન

પૂર્ણ આ વિષયમાં કણુસમાન પૂર્ણ છે. ને કણુ ઉપર આપણે હેલરે તુચ્છ કણુ છીએ. આપણે એક દરમાં રહેતી ટાડીને ગણતા અસમર્થ છીએ. ટાડીના કરતા નાનકડાં જીવઓને તો આપણે જોઈ પણ તરી સકતા. વિરાટ પુત્રપતી પાસે તો આપણે અદૃષ્ટ જંતુ કરતા પણ જીજી છીએ તરી આ દેહને કાળજીસુર કહેલ છે ને અક્ષરશ. ખરોખર છે. તેનો મોલ શો? નેને સાડે એક પણ જીવને આપણે કેમ હુબવીએક કાયતા કરતાં પણ નયળા —પરદેહને નિભાવવા સાડે ઉધમાન શાને મચાવીએ? મોત એટલે એવા દેહમાંથી જીવનું છોડી જવું. એ માનતો જય શાને? એની કાળુ દુર રાખવા સાડે મહાપ્રપંચ શાને? આ બધું ફરી ફરી વિચારી હૃદયથી નાનામોટાં બધાંય મરણનો જય છોડીએ ને દેહમાં રહીને તે રહે ત્યાં જગી તેને સેવાના કાર્યમાં ધસા નાંખીએ. આવી તૈવારી કરવાની શક્તિ આપણામાં આવે તેટલા સાડે રોજ પોતાના જીવ અધ્યાપના છોડા ૧૬ ન્હોત રહીએ છીએ. તેનું રટણ હૃદયમાં થાય તો જે જોઈએ તે તેમાં છે.

—અંબી.

સ્રીત્વ ઉપર ગાંધીજી

[રાજકારણમાં સ્ત્રીઓનો સોડા પ્રમાણમાં પ્રવેશ ગાંધી યુગમાં થયો. સ્ત્રીઓ પાસે ગાંધીજીએ ઘણી આશાઓ રાખી હતી. સમાજનું જે પતન થયું છે તેમાંથી સ્ત્રીઓજ સમાજને ઉઠારી શકે એમ ગાંધીજી માનતા હતા. નાચેલ લખાણપરથી ને જેમ સકાર—ત'ત્રી ઇ.ઓ.]

“પુરોના સ્ત્રી તરીકે ઉપરના અત્યાચારોથી મોઝી ઉઠાવવા માટે મારે કન્યા તરીકે જન્મવાની આવશ્યકતા નથી. . . . જેમ જેમ સ્ત્રીઓની શિક્ષણ દ્વારા પોતાની શક્તિનું જ્ઞાન થશે તેમ તેમ તેની સામે આજ જે અસમાન સંતન સામે જ તેનો વધારે ને વધાર ઉઘ વિરોધ થશે... વ્યાધીનું મૂળ ઘણું ઉંડું છે—કારણ પુરુષને સત્તા અને કીર્તિનો લોભ છે... અને તેઓના પત્નીઓની સત્તા અને અધિકારમાં (સ્ત્રીઓ) પુરો ભાગ ભોગવે છે. “દુકાણીની સામતી” આજનાવવામાં આનંદ માને છે. જો એટલે ત્યાગ અને તપસ્વીની સુતી, જાહેર જીવન માં તેના પ્રવેશથી જે પરિણામ આવવા વેળે, એકતો સાતાવરણની શુદ્ધી અને ખીજી મીઠકત એકઠી કરવાના પુરુષના લોભ ઉપર અકુશ. તેમને જાણવું જોઈએ કે જાણે પાસે વારસા માં આપી શકાય એવી કોઈ મીઠકત નથી હોતી... ખરે તો સંતાનોને સ્વાસ્થ્યી બનાવવા હરે અને વારસાના શુદ્ધામ જનવાનો માથા મોઢા, જે તેમને આજસુ ને બસની જીવનમાં નાખી ઉત્સાહ દીન અને નિર્ધીય બનાવી દે છે તમારો ઉગારવા વેળે, તો જે નિસ્તેજતા અને બુદ્ધિમત્તા આજે તમનાં સંતાનો માં જોવામાં આવે છે તે ઘણું બાગે દુરે થાય... આ સડા નાણુક કરવાનો ધર્મ સ્ત્રીઓનોજ છે...”

..... જાએ અનેક મુદ્દમ રીત પોતાની આકાષણ શક્તિનો ઉપયોગ પુરુષ પાસેથી તેની સત્તા આડકતરી રીતે હુટવવા માટે કર્યો છે. પુરુષની કોશીશ આ

પ્રયત્નને નિષ્ફળ કરવાની રહી છે. પણ તેમાં ને કાબો નથી. કારણકે બન્ને ખાડામાં પડ્યા છે... પાશ્વત્ય રીત રીવાજની નકલથી આપણું ઠકું ઉઠેલી શકાય એમ નથી...

... પુરુષની ઉત્પત્તિ મેં માની તમારો હોય તો તેમને મારે તમારો બનાવો પણ ત ત્યાગવર છે... ગાંધીજી માનતા કે ઘરેખા શુદ્ધાગીના ચિન્દ હતા કેવળ થયા છે. આધુનીક આ ઘરેખાની ઉત્પત્તિ છુટી જઈ તેમને પોતાનો શત્રુગાર માન છે... સાખા શમ છે. તમા ધન્યામા, તેના કાવળાવમા, તમા નિરત નવા પોશાકમા, કે તમા કુતરમા, તમા આ ચાર વિચારમાં!

... જ કળા અસંખ્ય પુરુષાનું પતન કરે છે અને જે સ્ત્રી સમજે છે, તે સમજ્યા પછી ઘરેખામાં તમે તરતી કળા છુપાયેલી હોય તો પણ તેમને સંચરે!

... પડકારી (જાળવી) હજીને સાઈ તો શોદજ બતાવ્યા... રામ રાજ્યમા તો પડકાર હોય તેવું જણાયું નથી. પડકાર ન હોય જતા મર્યાદા જાળવી રાજકારણમાં છીએ એ સીદ કરેલું... પુરુષની કુદ્રિથી રક્ષણ કરેલા સાઈ પડકાર એ ઈશ્વર નથી પણ પુરુષની પવિત્રતા એ જગાજ છે. પુરુષને પવિત્ર દરવામાં જો મહુ મોટો ભાગ જઈ શકે છે... જ્યાં સગી સમાજમા પાપી માણસો પડકાર કરે તો સગી સમાજે તેમના પાપનો પણ ભોજો ઉઠાવેજ છુટકો છે, જેમ પુણ્યશાળીના પુણ્યોનો સાજ સમાજ મુખેથી ને છે. કેવળ પાપ રહોત તો કોઈ મનુષ્ય હજ નહી.

આપણે બધા પાપીની ટોળા છીએ. પણ જેઓ આચારમાં અમુક મર્યાદા ની અંદર રહે છે. તેમના પાપને દર-યુગર કરી સમાજ તેમને પ્રુણશાળી ગણે છે. જેઓ ને મર્યાદાની ઢોરી ઓળંગી જાય છે તેમને પાપી ગણે છે...

... નિતીનું મુદ્દત આચરણ નહોવા છતાં કોઈ માણસને ધર્મી ગણવે. એ મારે સાચો મુદ્દેસ વાત છે. એક ધર્મમાં જન્મેલાને સંખ્યાની સગવડને ખાતર જલે તે ધર્મનો ગણવામાં આવે પણ ખરે જોનાં તો તેણે ધર્મનો ત્યાગ કર્યો છે. આચરણથી નોખી એવી કોઈ વસ્તુ નથી કે જેને ધર્મની બ્યાખ્યા આપી શકાય... સમાજમાં આચાર શુદ્ધ કરવા સ્ત્રીએ નમતા સાદાઈના પાં શીખવે રહ્યા...

જ્યાં શુદ્ધ પ્રેમ હોય ત્યાં જન્મે એક ખીમની આમાનતા રાખી વર્તે છે. જન્મે ધર્મસાગમાં આગળ વધે છે...

મારા મન પ્રમાણે આદર્શ પત્ની સીતા છે. અને આદર્શ પત્ની રામ છે. પણ સીતાજી રામની દારી નહોતા. અથવા તે સીતા રામચંદ્રજીની દારી હતાં. તો રામચંદ્રજી સીતાજીના રામ હતાં. રામે સીતાની સદા મરજી સાચવી છે. સાચો પ્રેમ હોય ત્યાં તે પ્રેમ ઉઠેજ નથી. જ્યાં પ્રેમ નથી ત્યાં અંધન પણ નથી. આજનો હીંદુ સંસાર એક સમસ્યાજ છે. કારણ પતી પત્ની જ્યારે પરણે છે ત્યારે એક ખીજા વિ કશું જાણતા નથી. ઘણા ખરા હીંદુ ઘરેમાં ધર્મની અનુ-મતી અને તેની સાથે ક્લીનું અનુમોદન

અને સંક્ષોભ વિનાનું વિવાહીત જીવન
શાંતી જળાવે છે. પણ જ્યારે પત્ની
કે પતી અસાધારણ વિચાર ધરાવે છે,
ત્યારે ખળખળાટ થવાની ધારણી રહે
છે. પતીને તો કશી શરમ હોતી
નથી. પોતાની સહચરીના વિચાર

અણુવાની તે પોતાની દરજ્જ સમજતો
નથી... કશી વાર જોઈને બોગ આપવો
પડે છે. આમાંથી નિકળવનો ભાગ
છે ખરો. જ્યારે પોતાનો પક્ષ સત્ય
જાગતો હોય ત્યારે અને પોતાનો સત્યા-
ગ્રહ ઉચ્ચ ઉદ્દેશને માટે હોય ત્યારે

મજબૂત પોતાના મતને વળગી રહેવા
નો હક્ક છે, અને સત્યાગ્રહ કરતાં જે
કષ્ટ વેઠવું પડે તે આનંદ સહન કરી
જેવું... ખરો આનંદ યુદ્ધ કરવામાં
રહેલો છે. એનું પરિણામ હંમેશા
કૃપાળુ આવે છે.

“સાંખે પિતા પુત્ર, સખા સખાને, પ્રિય પ્રિયા, તેમ મનેય સાંખો”

ડૉ. સુશીલા નાવર

“અમે રમશાને પહોંચ્યાં કુંડા
પ્રાર્થના કરી અને પછી પાપુલના દેહ
પર સુખડનાં ઢાકડાં મુકવામાં આવી.
અમે સોમે જલ પ્રણામ કર્યો. માઃ
હર્ય પોકારી ઉઠ્યું, “પાપુ અમારી
જમી કુટીઓ, અમારા દોષો, અમારી

જમી જુલયુદ્ધો દરજુદ્ધ કરજો ચિતાયી
હું દુરે જરા અને નીચે જરા મધ,
હવે મારાથી નીચું જવ તમ નહોતું.
હું નીચેના મીનાના મોઢોડોનું રક્ષણ
કરવા લાગી.

સખા મણી વેળુ અમારો બેઠવો,
હું જુલયુ, હું વાદ્ય, હું સખા—સાંખે

ન જાણતા આ મહિમા તમારો,
પ્રમાદથી કે અસિ પ્રેમથીયે.

બેઠા. કયા સાચ, જાગ્યાપ, જુલયુ—
અર્ધાંતમાં કે સખા સમક્ષ;

દામી કરો ત્યાં મરગદ લાપી,—
હામા કને તે સદૃષ્ટિ અપ્રમેય!

તમ પિતા ત્યાવર જાગેના,
તમેજ સોના ગુરુરાજ પૂજ્ય;

ત્રિંગાકમાંય તમ તુલ્ય કો ના,
કર્પાથીજ માટે! અનુપ પ્રભાવી!

માટે હું સાદાંગ કદ પ્રણામ,
પ્રસન્ન થાઆ રતવનીવ છતાં!

સાંખે પિતા પુત્ર, સખા સખાને,
પ્રિય પ્રિયા, તેમ મનેય સાંખો.

કેટલાંક સંસ્મરણો

મણીલાલ ગાંધી

મારાં જીવનના બધા થોડાંજ વર્ષો આપુ સાથે ગાળવાનો મને લાભ મળ્યો છે. મારા ખીજા બાળબોથી ઉતરું મારે ઘણો વખત આપુથી દુર દેશવટામાં રહેવું પડ્યું છે—કેમકે સગબત ત્રીસ વર્ષથી હું સાહિત્ય આક્રી કામાં છું. ૧૯૧૪ ના ઓગસ્ટથી ૧૯૧૭ ની શરૂઆત સુધી હું હોંદમાં હતો. ૧૯૨૪ માં એક માસને માટે હું હોંદ ગયો હતો અને ૧૯૨૬ની આખરીએ પાછો ગયો. ૧૯૨૭ ના માર્ચમાં મારા લગ્ન થયાં અને નુરતજ સાહિત્ય આક્રીકા આવ્યો. કાંપામાં કાંપો વખત મેં હોંદમાં ગાળ્યો હોય તો તે ૧૯૪૫ નું આખું અને ૧૯૪૬ નું અરધું વર્ષ. એ પ્રસંગે આપુના નિકટ સંબંધમાં રહેવાનો મને અત્યંત લાભ મળ્યો હતો. આપુ સાથેના એ મારા અતિ કૌમતી મદિના હતા. જ્યારે તેમની ખંજાળની અને મગસની આખી મુસાફરી દરમિયાન તેમની સાથે રહી શક્યો હતો. આપુ સાથે સારામાં સારો વખત એ લોકોથી જ કદ સકાતો હતો કે જેઓ તેઓની સેવા કરતા હતા અને તેઓની સઘળી હાજતો પૂરી પાડતા હતા. જે કે હું તેમાં બીજાઓના વચ્ચે આવતો હોઉં એવું જણાતું હતું છતાં સંભોગમાં જેટલો બની શકે તેટલો વખત આપુ વહાણથી પોતાની સાથે ગાળવાનો મને લાભ આપતા હતા અનેક વખતોપર અમે હુદથી અને નિખાલસતાથી ચર્ચા કરતા હતા. જેમાં તેમની સાથે રહેનારાઓની અને અમે આજપણમાં તેમના હાથ નીચે રજા હતા તે વખતના કરતાં આજે તેઓની ઘણી જ બદલાઈ ગયેલી વસ્તુ વિશેની ચર્ચાનો પણ સમાવેશ થતો હતો. મને તો એટલે સુધી લાગ્યું હતું કે આપુએ પોતાના અતિ પ્રેમ અને લાડથી પોતા

ની સાથે રહેનારાઓને ખગાડી મુક્યા હતા. ખાસ કરી જાને કપરે કદ લીધા બાદ એ વધારે જોવામાં આવતું હતું. જાને આપુપર લગ્ન રહેતા હતા અને ખાસ કરી સામાજિક જીવનવ્યવહારમાં રહી જતી કેટલીક ઉણપો આ પૂરી કરતાં હતાં. જાના મવા બાદ આપુને પોતાની સાથે રહેનારાઓને મા અને જામ જન્મની ગરજ સારી પડતી હતી. પરંતુ જાની અને માદદેવબાઈ, કે જે જાની પછી આપુને સૌથી નજીક અને વહાણમાં વહાણા હતા, તેમના આપુને પડેલી બાદ કોઈથી પૂરી શકાઈ નહોતી. જા અને માદદેવ બાઈ આપુના જમણા અને ડાબા હતા.

એક વસ્તુ પ્રખળપણે મારા જોવામાં આવી તે, અમે ચાર બાઈઓ આપુના હાથ નીચે હતા તે વખતના કરતાં આજની તેઓની અતિ નરમાશ બરેલી વસ્તુ હતી. જે કે મને તેટલા કડક છતાં હાથપાન તો તેઓ હરોશાં જતાજ. પરંતુ આજે તેઓનામાં જે અતિ સહિષ્ણુતા જોવામાં આવતી હતી તે અમારા વખતમાં નહોતી. તેનું કારણ કેટલેક અંગ કદાચ દમણના વર્ગમાં દુનીયાના ચમ્પેસા ઘણાજ કડકા અનુભવોનું દર્શન અને કેટલેક અંશે તેઓએ સુક્ષ્મતાથી કેળવેલી અકિંસા મતિ હશે. આ જોઈને ઘણીવાર હું મરદરી માં આપુને કહેતા “આપુ, અમે તમારી નીચે હતા તેના કરતાં તમે હવે બહુ બદલાઈ ગયા છો. આટલા બધા લાડ અમને તો તમે નહોતા લગાવ્યા. અમારી સાથે તો બહુ સખ્તાઈથી વર્તતા હતા. બાદ છે કેટલા માંસજ બરી કપડાં ધોવાવતા, લાકડા ફડાવતા, કોદાળી, પાવડ લઈ કડકડતી ઠંડીમાં

ખેતરમાં ખેતીવતા, રમોઈ કરાવતા અને માછલોના માછલો વરસાદમાં ચલાવતા અને આજે આ આટલા લાડ લગાવો છો એ જોઈ મને તાવળી થાય છે.”

આ સાંભળી તેઓ મુગ્ધ કરનારી પોતાની દસવાની રીત સુજ્ય ખડખડ હતી કહેતા “સાંભળ્યું કે, મણીલાલ શું કહ્યું છે તે?” છતાં તેઓનો અખુદ પ્રેમ અને વહાણ તો આજુજ રહે. આવા એક પ્રેમાળ આત્મા, જન્મતામાં માતા અને પિતા જન્મે મુત્તી મળે હતા, તે હવે તેઓની પાસેથી આજુ ગયા એ વિચારથી સાચીઆ કુસંકેકુસંકે રૂદન કરે એમાં શી તપાઈ?

આપુ જોઈ કડક હતા છતાં એક પણ એવો પ્રસંગ નથી જાન્યો કે જ્યારે તેમની કડકાઈ અમને જણાઈ હોય. તેનું કારણ એ હતું કે તેઓ એક વધુ કામ એવું કરાવતા ન હતા કે જે તેઓ અને દૈરના અને તેમાં સૌને આંદી હતા ન હતા.

એક સમયે શ્રીનીકસમાં અમે કોદાળી લઈ ખેતરમાં ધાત્ર વીંદવા ગયા હતા. અમારામાંના સૌથી મજબુત હતા ન યાજા ગયા પરંતુ આપુની કોદાળી નીર્મીત વખત સુધી વગર અટકે ચાલુજ રહ્યા. એ તેઓની મદાન શક્તિ અને તેઓનું મતાવળ હતું. એ મુતકાળ જ્યારે વાદ કડક થયું તો તેને આશીર્વાદરૂપ માણુ જુ. કેમકે આજે મારામાં જે કંઈ પણ શક્તિ છે તે તેને જ આજારી છે. તેણે મને નીરાધાર અપંગ જનતાં બચાવ્યા છે.

મારાં જીવનમાં હું અનેક કસાડીઆ માંથી પસાર થયો છું. જે દરમિયાન મને આપુના અખુદ પ્રેમનો લાડવો મળ્યો છે તેમ તેમના તરફથી સગબા પણ પામ્યાં જુ પરંતુ એ સગબતે મારે

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER



GANDHIJI WITH LATE MAHADEV DESAI

Next to Gandhiji is Balkumari Amrit Kaur and next to Mahadev Desai is Miss Agatha Harrison, an ardent worker in England for the cause of India.

રવગંદર મહાદેવભાઈ સાથે ગાંધીજી

ગાંધીજીની આજુબાજુ રાજ કુમારી અમૃતકાર અને રવ. મહાદેવભાઈની આજુબાજુ હારિસન મીસ હારિસન એગથા હેરિસન છે.



GANDHIJI WITH ROMAIN ROLLAND

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી સાથે રવ. રોમૅ' રોલાં સાથે ગાંધીજી

BOTH AT WORK

અન્ને કામમાં



Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi reading
પ્ર. કાસ્તુરબા ગાંધી વાંચી રહ્યા છે.



Gandhi having his meal
ગાંધીજી ભાંગળાં કરી રહ્યા છે.

કરી પણ મારામાં કડવાશ રહી હોય એવું મને પાદ નથી. ત્વ વર્ષ ની પહે ત્યારે કાળગત્વરે મને ઘેરો ત્યારે આપુએ જે પ્રેમથી મારી આકરી કરી હતી તે કરતાં વધારે પ્રેમથી આગેજ કોઈ પણ પિતાએ પોતાના પુત્રની આકરી કરી હશે. તેનું તાદ્દસ્ય વર્ણન આપુએ પોતાના "સત્યના પ્રયોગો" માં કર્યું છે જે અક્ષરશઃ ખરું છે.

અપ્રાપ્ત સરમથી મારે કશુંલ કરવું પડે છે કે ૧૯૧૨ ની સાતમાં આપુને મારે વિમિત્રે સાત દિવસના ઉપવાસ કરવા પડ્યા હતા. મેં તેમને છેલ્લરવાનો પ્રયત્ન કર્યો હતો. એ વખતે આપુ જોડાનીસખમાં હતા. હું શ્રીનીકસ માં હતો. અમારા જન્મે વચ્ચે પત્ર વ્યવહાર આરંભ્યો હતો. મારે વિંધ ધર્મથી અમુક દરિયાદેથી આપુને અનુદર દુઃખ થયું હતું. મારી પાસે તેઓ શુન્કો કુણ્ણાવવા માગતા હતા. હું તાની નાજ પાડતા હતો. છેવટે આપુએ મારાપર દરદખેથી પત્ર લખ્યો અને "હું તો આપના આશિર્વાદ" થી તે પુરો કર્યો. આ વખતે મારે હૃદય વીધાયું. મારાથી વધુ વખત છરથી શકાયું નહિ. અપરાધ કશુંલ કરવા માગતા હતા પરંતુ આપુ પાસે જવાની કે તેમને જળવાની હોંમત આપતી નહોતી તેથી મો, કેજનમેક, જે અમારાં એક કુટુંબી જન જેવો અમારી સાથે સંબંધ રાખતા હતા, તેમનાપર પત્ર લખી એ પત્ર સાથે આપુપરનો પત્ર ખીડી મોકલ્યો. તેમાં આપુની મારી માગી હતી. જ્યાંય મો આપુનો તાર આવ્યો: "મારી તો માગીજ છે, છપ્પરની મારી માગો."

આપુ પુરવ શ્રીનીકસ આવ્યા અને અગે જન્મેએ સાત દિવસના ઉપવાસ કર્યો. મો, કેજનમેક પણ અમારી સાથેજ આવ્યા. હું સત્યથી કહી શકું છું કે આ પ્રસંગ વખતે કે ત્યારે જાદ પણ કડવાશનો એક છંદો પણ મારામાં નહોતો.

અ વખતે આપુ શ્રીનીકસમાં નિશાળ ચલાવતા હતા અને કેટલાક બદારના બેઠકાઓ શ્રીનીકસમાંજ ખાતા પીતા

અને રહેતા હતા. આ ખતાવ ખન્યા પછી આપુએ પોતાના આગકો આપુને સંપિનારા સઘળા આપાપોને રત્નો રળી બોલ્યા "ખાવથી વિહિત કર્યો અને તેઓ ની કન્યા હોય તો પોતાના છેઠકરાઓ પાછા ખેંચી લેવા જણાવ્યું.

ખીજે એક ખતાવ દ્વીદમાં ૧૯૧૬ માં ખન્યો હતો જ્યારે મારાં એકાગ્રાંથી અસત્ય વચન નીકળી ગયું હતું. સૌને એ વિસાત વગરનું ગ્રામ્યુ પરંતુ આપુ ને તો એ ગુન્ન દિમાસખના જેટલી વિશાળ કાળી તેમજે આયમતારીઓને રાત જાહેર કરી અને ખીજેજ વચસ મારે આયમગાંથી દેશવટે લેવાતો હતા. મારી કમ્પામા આવે ત્યાં આજ્ઞાજવાનું હતું પરંતુ આપુએ કે તાક સલામ આપી હતી તમજે કહ્યું. મારે મદાસ જઈ ત્યાં એક રજાહનું કારખાનું છે ત્યાં શીખાઉ તરીકે રહેવાની માગણી કરવી અને સઘારાજ મગ્ગરની જેમ રહેવું, પરંતુ આપુના નામનો ઉપયોગ નહિ કરવો. આ ઉપરાંત આપુનો ઉપવાસ કરવાનો પણ હરદો હતો પરંતુ આપી રાત મેં તેમ નહિ કરવા જનવાળી કરી. મારી વિનવણી તેમજે સાંભળી. ખીજે દિવસે જાને અને મારા બાઈ કેમસને કુકરો કુકરો કદન કરતા નહીં હું આયમ લોડી ગયા. આપુએ મને સાવ ખાકી હાથે રજાવતા નહિ કુકરો. મારી બાંડા જેટલાં અને ઉપરાત થોડા ફોળા મારા હાથમાં લક્યા. રેઝ બાકીમાંથી મેં અગ્રજીની આંખ આપુ ને દુખી કર્યો તેના પચાત્તાપનો પત્ર લખ્યો. એ એ માસના મારા વખુએની કચની જુદોજ વિવધ થઈ પડે.

મેં માસ પાદ આપુએ એક સંબંધી પર જોળખતો પત્ર લખી એ ત્યાં અને ત્યાર જાદ સાત માસ મદાસમાં ત્યાં ખમાર કર્યો જ્યાં તે રહી તેવા કર્યું મુકસાન નહિ થયું. મારાં પાતા આપુની વજલ સમાન સખતાવ અને પૂત્ર સમાન કોમખતાવોં મજબૂત વગરનું થી એ કીવસોનેદું આશિર્વાદપ માર્યું.

આપુની નજવાની પરાકાસતા એક અનુપમ કાળતા વાનક નીમવા મારા

પર આપુએ લખેલા પત્ર પરથી જોઈ શકશે :

"... મારી ઉપર થાય કરવાના મેં ઘણા કારણો આપ્યાં છે એમ હું માનું છું તેને સાવ તમે મને ક્ષમા આપજો. તમને મેં થાક રખડાવ્યા ને તેમાં તમારી નીવમાં ફેળવણીનો ભંગ થયો. પણ આ અનિવાર્ય હતું એમ તમને ખાસે તોજ તમે મને મારી આપી શકો. મારી આખી છંદગી મેં મને પોતાને ઓળખવામાં માગી છે. મારે કર્તવ્ય સું એ શોધવામા માગી છે. મારે કામ શોખુ છે કેમકે મેં ... મારન્યુ ત કયુ છે. તેમ ચવાથી હું મળી મુલોમાંથી મચ્યો ... પણ ઉપરથી વિચારતાં લૌકિક ક્ષિતિએ તમારા ક્વાય પાડ્યા છે. મારા અખનરાનાં બાળ જેમ હું થયો તેમ તમે અને આ યગ. આ સમજ મર્મ ... તેથી આ જેટલ કમાઈ ને નેટસું ખીજી ત્યાં નથી કમાઈ. તમે હજુ પૂર નથી સમજ્યા તેથી તમને કામ રહે છે. હું હજુએ કહેવા ક્ષિત્તું છું કે તમારી બધા બાઈ તની જે સેવા મેં કરી છે ત્યાં ખીજે આપ નહિ કરત. મેં તમને મારા ધાર્મિક અનુભવોના બાગીદાર બનાવ્યા એથી વિશેષ કોઈ સું કરી શકેડ ખીજા માયાપોતી જેમકે તમારે જવન લૌકિક રાખીને મારે જવન નિરાયુ પડી શકત. તેમ કરત તો અસારે તમારી ને મારી વચ્ચે મેં સાંકળ નાંદે ખીજે ... તમારા થી ખીજુ નહિ ચાલ ના સત્યની શોધમાં હું તો જતાં છઉં ત્યાંજ હતા. ને તમે ને મારાની બદાર દત. એ તમારે સાંકે છપ નહોતું. આ પાત તમે ધીરજથી વિચારશો તો મારી ઉપરનો વેપ ઉતારી શકશો."

આપુએ અમને અક્ષરજાન નહિ આ પયુ તેમને મને અસંતાપ રહ્યો છે મરો પરંતુ જે કાગતી વરતુ પામ્યા છે તે ખીજે કશે નહિ પામ્યા હતા એ વિંધ મને જરાવ સંકા નથી અને તેમ માટે તેમને પારાપાર ખજી છું. મારાં સત્યાં કાર્યમાં તેમના આત્માની દોરવાણી મળે એજ હાર્દિક પ્રાર્થના.

“અધર્મમાં નિધન કોય છે એ તમને હમણાં જાણું પડે છે. એટલે તમારી અન્નની પાસે અત્યારે જે ધર્મ છે તેનું તમારે પાલન કર્યું જવાનું છે. એનું પાલન કરતા નીતીનો માર્ગ ન ચુકાય એટલું બધું... તે ધર્મ ‘હ.ઓ.’ ચલાવવું તે.”

“હ.ઓ. માં સત્ય વખતું પણ તેમાં તોછણાઈ કે કાંઈ ન જાયવો. તમને જોવી જોઈએ... તમારી વિરૂદ્ધ ના મને પણ પત્રો આવે છે. આમાં તમે કેટલું છે તે તમે જાને તપ્પો. માર્ગને લઈને પણ ધખાયા હોય. પણ જુલ જુલો તો તરત કસુર કરશો... ત્યાંના પ્રમુખની વાતો કોઈકે જાને કરી છે. આ ખુબ ચિંતા કરે છે. હું ચિંતા નથી કરતો... જાન

માં એવા અનુભવો જાને છે. જો રાજ મુલાખની કોયા મળે તો તેની કદર કોણ કરે...”

“શહેરમાં છાપખાનું કાઢવું મને તથી મમતું. તેનો અર્થ એ થયો કે મારા આદર્શ માત્ર ખોટા છે અથવા તેને તું માનતો નથી અથવા ખોટી નથી શકતો... કેટલું કપટ વેડી ને કેટલી પ્રપંથી મેં શહેરનું ‘બધું’ સુતી તાખ્યું અને શ્રીનીકસ વસાવ્યું તે જુલો મર્યો... શ્રીનીકસ પાછળ ચોગાઉઠ અહીં તું બેસી ન શકે, શ્રીનીકસના આદર્શને પોષવાનો પ્રયત્ન ન કરે તો તારે કામ અટાપી લેવું. અથવા શ્રીનીકસની પાછળ તારે ને સુ. એ બેઠાં લેવો... તું નિષ્ફળ અર્થ શ્રીનીકસ છોડશે એ મને મમશે-મને દુઃખ

નહીં લાગે પણ ફક્ત ઘડ ત્યાંથી જવું પડશે તો કારી ધા રૂપ લાગશે... તારે માટે... સુંદર સ્વપ્ના સેવે છે ત્યારે તારી તબીબે કરવાના એક માણમાં ખુંચી છે... શ્રીનીકસના આદર્શ જાણે છે ને? તું જાણતા વારસાને જોખાવી નહીં શકે તો અરબાદ નહીંજ કરે એવી ધમકી રાખજો.”

“જાણું જાનતા મારે તો તેનો અર્થ મરે. ન મારે તો ‘પરાજી કાદવું’ આ પાણી નીતી વિરૂદ્ધ છે...”

સત્ય માત્રાસરથી કહેવાય તો સાચું. પણ તું જો એમજ કહે કે બેમાંથી એક પસંદ કરવું તો હું અસત્ય કરતાં નીખું સત્ય પસંદ કરું. તીખા બાળા ને મીઠી કરતાં અસત્યનું ખૂન થવું હોય તો તીખીજ વાગવી કરજો.”

સો કે ટિ સ

સો કેટિસ એથેન્સનો પ્રખ્યાત પુરુષ અર્થ મયો. તેના તથા પણ નીતીવર્ધક વિચારો સત્તાધારીને ન ગમ્યા. તથી તેને મૃત્યુદંડ મળ્યો. તે સમયમાં તે દેશમાં ઝેર ખાઈને મરી જતાની સગ પણ અપાતી. સોક્રેટિસને મારાંખાઈની જેમ ઝેરના પ્યાલો પીવાનો હતો. તેની હિપરકેસ આલ્યો હતો ન વખતે સોક્રેટિસ પોતાના આખ્યાનમાં જે જોવાં જવન કયાં તેના સાર વિચારવો છે. તે આપણને બધાને શિક્ષા લેવા કાવક છે. સોક્રેટિસને આપણે સુકૃત કહીએ. અરજો તેને સોક્રાતને નામે ઓળખવા.

સુકૃત કહ્યું: ‘બાપા માણજીને આ લોકમાં કે પરલોકમાં અહિત થતુંજ નથી એવો મારો જ વિશ્વાસ છે. બાપા માણસોને અને તેમના સાથીઓને હથેર કરી મુકી દેતો નથી. વળી હું તો એ

પણ માનું છું કે માઈ ચું કે કોઈનું મૃત્યુ અણધાર્યું થતું નથી. મૃત્યુદંડ ન મને સગ નથી. મારા મૃત્યુનો અને હિપાધિમયી મુકલ થવાનો સમય આવ્યો છે. તેથી જ તમે મને ઝેરનો પ્યાલો આપ્યો છે. તેમાં જ માઈ કોય હશે. અને તેથી મારી સામે દરિયાઈ કરતાર પ્રત્યે કે મને દંડ દેનાર પ્રત્યે મારા મનમાં કોઈ નથી. તેઓ જ બરે માઈ દિલ નથી ચાલું. તેઓ માઈ અહિત નહિ કરી શકે.

‘મદાજનમંડળ પાસે મારી એક ચિનનિ છે મારા દીકરા જો બસાઈનો માર્ગ છોડી કુમારે જાય અને ધનલોભી થાય, તો મને સગ કરો છો તેમ તેમને પણ કરજો. તેઓ દંબી થાય તે ન કોય તેવા દેખાવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરે તોમે તેમને દંડજો. અને જો તમે તેમ

કરશો તો હું અને મારા દીકરા એમ માનીચું કે તમે ન્યાય નેળ્યો છે.’

પોતાની પ્રજાને વિવેની સુકૃતની આ મારણી અહુલ છે જે મદાજન મંડળ ન્યાય તોળવા બેઠું હતું તે અહિસા ધર્મને તો જાણતુંજ નહોતું. તેથી સુકૃતે પોતાની પ્રજાને એવાવી ને તેની પાસેથી કેવી આશા હતી તે જણાવ્યું. મદાજને મીઠા કપકો આપ્યો. કેમકે મદાજને સુકૃતને તેની બધ મનસાઈને સાક દંડ દીધો હતો. ત્યારે પોતાના દીકરાને પોતાનો માર્ગ લેવાનું સુચવી એમ જણાવ્યું કે જે માર્ગ તેણે એથેન્સના શહેરીઓને ખનાવ્યો તે તેના દીકરાને સાક પણ હતો, અને તે એટલે જગી કે જે તેઓ ને માર્ગ ન જાય તો બસે તેઓ દંડને શોધ મળ્યા

—માંધીજી.

‘ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન’ ને ગાંધીજીની દેશવણી

મહાત્મા ગાંધીએ ‘ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન’ નું નામ ૫૬ ૧૯૦૪ માં સીધું. અને પ્રેસ શીનીક્સ ઇઈઆઈઆ, ૧૯૧૪ માં તેઓએ ફરીથી આંકિકા ઓડયું. ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ ના પેલાક આદી માંત્રોને સોંપી મવા દતા. ૧૯૧૬ માં ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ ને ગુજરાતી વિભાગ સ્થાપવા કોમ્પેની માંગણી અહીંથી થતાં, ગાંધીજીએ તેમના ખીન દિકરા શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી જેઓ ને વખતે ૨૩ વર્ષની વયના હતાં, તેમને પત્ર લખતાં લખાણુ કે:

‘ઇ.ઓ.’ ના ગુજરાતી વિભાગ માટે કોમ્પેની ન મોકલાય ના ન બંધ કરવેા પડશે...તમે ત્યાં જવ અને ગુજરાતી અધીપતીનું કામ કરેા એમ ઇચ્છુ છું. આમા તમારી ફેરોડી છે...તમારી જીપર જાણુ નથી. પણ શીનીક્સનું કામ જાણવાઈ રહે એ તરફ તમારી ટ્રક્ટરી રહે એમ માયું છું. હું અહીંથી દેશવણી આપતોજ રહીશ.’’

આ આજ્ઞા અનુસાર શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી ૧૯૧૭માં શીનીક્સ આજ્ઞા. ત્યારે પછી વખતો વખત ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ માટે ગાંધીજીએ શ્રી. મણીલાલ ગાંધી પર પંચા કારા ચિચારો દર્શાવ્યા ને તે અનુસાર જેવા હોઈ અહીં આખીએ ળીએ:

‘‘જાપખાનું સ્થાપેા તેમાં જેનું પાતાનેજ અર્થે પૈસા ખચાવવાનો ફાય તો તે સ્વાર્થ થશે. તહીં તો પરમાર્થ. ગાયે જે જાણુ સ્થાપયું છે તે સાદુ હતું ને તેની બાવનાથી દેશને જાગ જે એમ સમજ થન સંમજ રાખવાની ઇચ્છા વિના દેશ તરો બોગયો ના તે બાર સમાજ સંચાજ છે.’’

‘‘જાપખાનું શીનીક્સમાંજ રહે. શીનીક્સ મને પસંદ છે કારણુ ત્યાં

આત્માને ઓળખી શકાય છે. શહેરના અનેક પ્રલોભનો ત્યાં નથી. જહેર ખખરનો મને કદી લોભ નથી. ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ જ્યેનતથી નિભાવાય નો સાહે...ત્યાં અનેક પ્રલોભનો રહ્યા છતાં તમે જન્ને (મણીલાલ અને સુશીલા) સાદાઈ, સત્ય, ત્યા. દેશપ્રેમ જળવો...સુશીલા પ્રેસમાં કામ શોખો ને તો તમને અણી મદદ મળશે અને હું એજ ઇચ્છુ છું. ડરખતમાં આજીસ રાખવી મને મમતી જ નથી. જાપા તરીકેજ જાણુ ન મને ના સ્થાપવાનો લોભ ઓડી દેવા જેવો છે. અને સાક્ષુ હોય તો શીનીક્સમાં સ્થાપયું...સુશીલા પ્રેસમાં કામ કરે અને મર કામની જગ્યા ન વધવી જોઈએ...માવા પીવામાં સાદાઈ રાખો તો વખત પુરકળ ખચે...જી કોઈ રસોમ કરવાજ સર્વર્થ નથી...

‘‘તમે ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ ની તરફ કોમને ન લોખ, અથવા ખોટ જાય તો, મને તેટલું જરૂર છે છતાં બંધ કરવું જોઈએ. પણ કોમને જરૂર નથી એ સીદ થયું જોઈએ. ખોટ જગ્યામાં આપણી સાચીજતા કે મંદતા ન હોવા જોઈએ. ના. શાસ્ત્રીનો તો આશ્રય છે કે જાણુ કદી બંધ નજ કરાય. જે કહે તે દેશવણા ‘જનતા પ્રયત્ન કયો પછી કરે.’’

‘‘તે ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ સ્થાપવા વિષે પ્રજ કોમને છે. માઝ અહીંથી જાણુ કે જગ્યાનું નિર્મય છે. ત્યાં ને થક મને ન રહેશે. ‘જાપખાનું’ સ્થાપના વિચાર કરે તો ન મને કદી તેની સ્થાપ જેવી.’’

‘‘તમે કામ કામ નેમો ને ને, પત્ર બાંધે કોમ કોખાવી રહેશે...

ત્યાં’ ખગાડી અહીં અસ્થાનો લોભ ન રાખજો. ના. શાસ્ત્રી કહેતાં હતાં કે મને તેવું હોય તોએ ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ ની કામત તો છેજ.’’

‘‘જરૂર પણ રાય કયો વિના તમારો થી જે મવા થાય એ કયો કરજો, વિરોધ થાય ને સહન કરવો. વિરોધ થવા કરે નથી દારી કે કંટાળી જવું ન થરે. દારીને કે કંટાળીને ત્યાંથી ન બાગવું પડે એમ હું જુનું. ગાય મારી ઇચ્છા કરતાં તમારી સકતી જોએ.’’

‘‘હું મોતે એમ માનું છું ખરો કે તમારો જોવા અહીં વધારે મોસાય અને કામ કરી શકે... ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ ચાલ્યા કરે તો સાહે. પણ મને તેના લાયમાં જાય તેના કરતાં નાસ થાય એ વધારે સાહે. નામ તેનો નાસ કોઈક દિવસ તો જોજ નાઈ તો બસે તારે લાય થતો.’’

‘‘ના. રીઅ જામે છે કે શીનીક્સને તજ કલાય...અ.વે વખતે ‘ઇ.ઓ.’ બંધ કરવું ન શોભે એમ માનું છું...અહીં તો સાફવા કરશે. તું નિશ્ચિન થઈને રહેજે અને રહેવાનું જુગ ન માંનતા. ત્યાં પણ સંચાજ કરવી છે. સ્વાર્થને સાહે નથી રહેવું.’’

...દમળા જે ગાત્રી રહ્યું છે તેમાંથી તને બુદ્ધ જાણાય તો તારે નિકળી જવું બુદ્ધ ન જાણાય તો તારે મરવું પડે. કંટાળ થવું પડે તોએ તું તારા માર્ગને જાળી રહે જે...સકટ આવે તે સહન કરજે જાણુની હૂક શોધવાને ‘પદલે જાણુના...જાણુ પુણું રમેથરની મોડની હૂક શોધ એટલે તું જાણવાન થશે.’’

બાપુનું છેલ્લું પ્રાર્થના પ્રવચન

નીવામાંથી વિદાય થવાના આગલી ક્ષણોમાં પ્રાર્થનામાં પોતાના છેલ્લા પ્રવચનમાં પદ્માભાઈ બાંધીજી એ બાળાબાળા હવે કે: "આજે સાંજે બાપુની નાનીસ નિરાશ્રિતોનું એક પ્રતિનિધિમંડળ મને મળવા આવ્યું હતું. બાંધીજી તેકાણી કોવાથી મારી ચિનતીને માન આપીને પ્રતિનિધિમંડળના અધ્યક્ષે શ્રી. આનંદકૃષ્ણ પાસે તેમનાં નિવેદનો નોંધાવ્યા હતા. એમાં નો અંક બાળા એમ પોકારી ઉઠ્યો કે: "અમારા સ્વર્ગમાં દુઃખ તમારે સ્વીકાર્યું છે." એમ બાળાવીને આવેશમાં આવીને એ એમ પણ બોલી ઉઠ્યો કે: "અમે જો એકલા રહ્યા. તમે તમારે હિંમત રાખી આપ્યા છો." આ સાંભળી મને દુઃખ થયું. કદાચ ગાળા દેવાની હક સુધી પણ પહોંચ્યા બાળા પાસે નાના પ્રવાસોને ચંપાવ્યા હતા. એટલે મારે મારે એક માત્ર કરવા બાકી, જેના પાછી ના પાછીની જરૂરના કિસ્સામાં હોય કે. એનીજ આમાં અનુસરવું રહ્યું. પ્રતિનિધિમંડળના સભ્યોમાં આપણા પણ હતી. મેં એ સૌને મારા માન બહેન સમા મળ્યા હતા.

એક માત્ર સાચી ખીન

આપણે અંક માત્ર સાચી ખીન કહીએ છે. આપણે નાંખીએ અનાજ અથવા કાંઈ. હું પૂર્વે જ જાણતો છું. આના શાંતિ અનુભવવા નથી વાગતા. પણ મારી આસપાસના પદ્માભાઈ અને બાળામાંથી જે મને સાંતી મળી શકે તે મને સંતોષ છે. એટલા માટે હું તમારી સીના સ્પર્શ રહ્યો છું. જે બાળાજી હિંમત રાખી હોય તે હું તમને સેવક તરીકે તેમને અનુસરવા તૈયાર છું.

નિરાશ્રિતો

નિરાશ્રિતોનાં બાળામાં પોતાને મળેલી કેટલીક કસિયાદોનો નિર્દેશ કરવા તમને બાળાબાળા કે નિરાશ્રિતોને બારાક, આશ્રમ અને કપડાં આપવા છતાં તેઓ કોઈ પણ કામકાજ કરવા માટે તૈયાર નથી. માણસ બધારે દુઃખમાં હોય ત્યારે સુખતા એક માત્ર સાચી કેવળ પરિશ્રમ કરવામાં રહી છે. બાકી માણસને ખાવા પીવા અને મજા કરવા માટે પેદા નથી થયો. મીના એમ શીખવે છે કે હરેક જાણે પત કરવો જોઈએ, એટલે કે રાત્રીને માટે પરિશ્રમ કરવો જોઈએ. અને પરિશ્રમનાં જ કામ આપણાં જોઈએ. જે કાષ્ઠાધિપતીઓ મહેનત કર્યા વગર ખાપ છે તેઓ પણ સમાન છે. કાષ્ઠાધિપતિઓએ પણ કાં તો પરિશ્રમ અને પરસેવાઓ આ મેળવેલું અન્નજલ ખાવું જોઈએ. અથવા તો તેમણે બ્રહ્મા રહેવું જોઈએ. જે અપંગ હોય, જેગનાથી મહેનતજ ન થઈ શકતી હોય તે લોકોજ આ નિયમને અપવાદ હોઈ શકે. એમને માટે સમાજને નિયત કરી જોઈએ. નિરાશ્રિતો માટે સ્વતંત્ર મનનું કામ છે. જેમકે જાતક સાક કરવાથી માંડીને સાદસરી કરવાનો, કાંતવાનો, અને બીજાં કામો નોંધેલા છે. નિરાશ્રિતો અત્યારે પરિશ્રમિયાં મુકાયા છે તેમાંથી તમને અને એટલું સાદમાં સાદું પરિણામ નાંખવવુંજ રહ્યું.

કિસાનો

કિસાનો વિષય બોધનાં બાંધીજીએ રાખ્યું. "તમે મને કાંઈ કહેવાનો અધીકાર હોય ના હું તો કહીશ કે આપણા મવરનર-જનરજ અને આપણા વસાવવાના પસંદગી કિસાનોમાંથીજ ચર્ચા જોઈએ. બાળાબાળા હું મારાં પાદ્ય પુરવઠામાં એમ શીખવો હતો કે બધી

પરતા સામાજિકતા વંશવારસો હોય તેને કિસાનો છે, જમીન પર જે જે પરિશ્રમ કરે છે અને ઉત્પન્ન કરીનેજ ખાય છે તે સૌ કોઈને આ વસ્તુ લાગુ પડે છે. મવરનર-જનરજ અને વડા પ્રધાન જેવા કિસાનો માટે પસંદ કરવામાં આવતા કિસાનોમાં જે સારી જેવી સામાન્ય અક્ષર હોય, જે તેમનામાં નિજનું શૈર્ષ હોય, નિર્દોષ પ્રમાણીકતા હોય અને કાંકાથી પર દેશાધિમાન હોય, તે તેઓ અમુક હોય તેનો કંઈજ વાંધો નથી. સમૃદ્ધિ તો સાચા ઉત્પાદક તરીકે તેઓજ ખરા માલીક છે, બધારે આપણે તેમને મુક્તિ આપવા છે. મને એવું પણ સુચવવા માં આવ્યું છે કે સેક્ટરીયટમાં સારી સારી ઉચી જગ્યાઓએ પણ કિસાનોને નોમવા જોઈએ. જે એ બોલો કાવડ હોય અને એમના પાસેથી જે કામની અપેક્ષા રાખવામાં આવે તો તેમને જાન હોય તો એ સુચનને જરૂર મારે રોકો છે. આ જાનનો પ્રાસાદ જે આગળ આવતો હોય તે પ્રધાનોને અને બીજાઓને મહેર રીતે કહીશ કે એને મારે જરૂર કરે."

હરદોજ સવારે આપણે આ દિવાલ કરીએ. જમીન પર કોઈને પણ હર તક શીખવે. માત્ર પ્રશ્નરતોજ હર રાખીશું. કોઈને છુટું તકિ પ્રશ્નરતો, કોઈને અન્યાયને તાળે તકિ થઈએ. અસત્યને સત્યથી જીતીશું અને અસત્યનો સામનો કરવા મને તે સંકેત સહીશું." —ગાંધીજી

સત્યાગ્રહ અને નેટીવો

સત્યાગ્રહનું શબ્દ નેટીવોના હાથમાં મુકવા વિશે માંધીજીના વીચારે. ૨૪-૧૨-૧૯૪૬ રેવરન્ડ જી. જી. કોકે લખેલાં 'એન્ડ ઇન્ડિઅન પ્રેક્ટીસ્ટ ડ્રીમ સાઉથ આફ્રીકા માંથી ઉતાર્યા છે. માંધીજીની દલીલો હુંકમાં આ હતી :

(૧) નેટીવો પર અન્યાય થઈ રહ્યો છે એનું જાગૃત હોય તથા કોઈ પણ કંટાળાથી સમયમાં લડવાનો માર્ગ મેળવે જલ્દી જો તેઓ સત્યાગ્રહના માર્ગે જ નો આપણે મહાજન આભારી થવું થશે. તેનો અર્થ એ માત્ર કે જલ્દી અને બાકાતે જ્યો સાંતીબચી પગલાં લેવાય. દીઘદષ્ટિ વાળનારો લોકો માને છે કે નેટીવોને જગતના પ્રશ્નોએ અવિચ્છિન્ના પ્રશ્નો થઈ પડવાના છે અને સાઉથ આફ્રીકામાં ગેરોન પોતાનું સર્વોપરીપણું ટકાવી રાખવું નિઃશંક થઈ જાય છે. અચડામચળની દાણ આવી જાયશે ત્યારે નેટીવો જલ્દી અને બાકાતથી તાત્કાલ કરવાની જુની પ્રથા અદ્યક્ષ કરવાને જલ્દી જો સત્યાગ્રહ ની નીતી અદ્યક્ષ કરે તો આ દેશમાં અતિ સુદર પરિવર્તન થયું મળાશે.

(૨) સત્યાગ્રહની સફળતા તોજ ધાય જો સવાસ ન્યાયી હોય. આ નીતી સ્વિકારનારાઓમાં દુઃખો નાખવા કરતાં દુઃખો ઉઠાવવાને નૈતિકત્વના એટલું જોઈએ કે કોઈથી તેનો અન્યાય સવાસ માં સફળતાથી ઉપયોગ કરી નહિ શકાય. અન્યાય અને સત્યાગ્રહ વચ્ચે સુમેળ ન હોઈ શકે.

(૩) નેટીવો ત્યારે યુદ્ધના રાક્ષસી માર્ગે ત્યજી નકરારનું સમાધાન જાવવા આ ધીમી રીત અદ્યક્ષ કરવા જેટલા સુધરેલા થયા હશે ત્યારે તેઓ રાજકીય જાગૃતોમાં મન આપવાનો હક મેળવવા જાયક મળાશે સત્યાગ્રહને જગત

પ્રશ્નોના આ મોટામાં મોટા ઉકેલ થએલો મળાશે. આ પરિસ્થિતિને પહોંચી તથા રાનો અછત માર્ગ જોઈ છે કે નેટીવ ને ન્યાય આપવો અને તેઓના હોતને જગતના પ્રશ્નોનું સમાધાન કરવા સીધી વા આડકતરી રીતે અપાજ આપવો.

(૪) ખરો સત્યાગ્રહ કરી હોંસાનું સ્વરૂપ પકડતો નથી. હોંસાની રીતની કે પ્રાન્તિવાદીઓ જેવી હોંસાપત કરી રહ્યા છે તે રીતની ને ખસુસ કરી વીરોધી છે. યુદ્ધની માવનાની ને પેલી પાર છે. ને પછી હોંસાઓમાં એટલા પ્રચલિત થઈ પડ્યા છે એ સિદ્ધિતો જો નેટીવો સ્વિકારે તો સાઉથ આફ્રીકા તત્કીય યુદ્ધ જગવાના બચી મુકલ રહી શકશે. નેટીવો પર થાક મેસાડવા તરફ રાખવાની તેને જરૂર નહિ પડે. તેના જુન કાળના કરતા તેનો અવિચ્છિન્ના વધારે ઉજ્જવળ થાયશે.

જેઓ આ વસ્તુને વીચાર કરી રહ્યા છે તેઓ આ વિચારવાન હોંસાની સાથે વધારે ઉજ્જવળા દિવસેનો ઉપકાળ જોઈ શકે છે. તથાવાર દળમાં અને બાકાતે જાડ કાપવાની છરીઓમાં કાં ન ફેરવાયા લોકો યુદ્ધના જાનને નિર્જાળવી કાં ન આપે? અને કોણ જાણે છે કે હોંસાઓની આ કાંથી આવેલી પીડા એ બધા સાંતીના અનુભવનો આરંભકાળ ન જાને?

હોંસાને માટે પણ એજ શબ્દ

રેવરન્ડ રેવરન્ડ કોકે આ પુસ્તક દારા હોંસાના નવયુવાનોને સંદેશો પાઠવવાનું માંધીજીને આમંત્રણ આપ્યું ત્યારે માંધીજીએ તેનો નીચે પ્રમાણે પ્રત્યુત્તર આપ્યો હતો. ૧૯૦૬નો એ સમય હતો : "જેમના અંગત સમાગમમાં હું નથી આવ્યો તેમને સંદેશો મોકલવાનો

મને કશો હક છે કે એ એ વીંમ મને ખાતો નથી. પરંતુ માનવી ધર્મ છે તથા હું આપું છું. મારા વીચારો આ છે

દાસવાસની જગતને હોંસ સાથે પણ સંબંધ રહ્યો છે. અમે એવા માણસો હિંમ કરી રહ્યા છીએ કે જેઓ દુનીયાના કાં પણ ભાગમાં પોતાનું કાં પાડી શકશે. નીચેની માન્યતાઓ પરથી અમે આ લડત ઉઠાવી છે.

(૧) સત્યાગ્રહ એ હમેશાં શારિરિક જળાશી પર છે.

(૨) હોંસાઓ અને અંગ્રેજો વચ્ચે ખરી રીતે કશો કોઈ પણ જાનના બેઠ નથી.

(૩) હોંસામાં ખોટીશ શાસકોના કેવુ ઓ નહિ મને તથા હોંસ પરંતુ અંગ્રેજ પ્રાન્તની મુશ્કેલી ન્યાય આપવામાં આવે એજ જોવાની છે. ખોટીશ પ્રજા અને નીંદની પ્રજા વચ્ચેના સંબંધ તુટે તો આકલકારક થઈ પડે. હોંસમાં કે હોંસની વધાર આપણી તરફ સ્વતંત્ર જાનવીઓ તરીકે જનામાં આવે અથવા ને પ્રમાણે જનાના આપણો હક આપી એ તો ખોટીશ પ્રજા અને હોંસની પ્રજા વચ્ચે સંબંધ અરસપરસ કાળદાયા થઈ પડે એટલુંજ નહિ પરંતુ ધાર્મિક રીતિ અને નથી સામાજિક અને રાજકીય રીતિ દુનીયાને પણ થણો જ કાપેલા થાય. મારા મન પ્રમાણે પ્રત્યેક રાષ્ટ્ર યોગ્ય રાષ્ટ્રની પુરતી છે.

આ કારણથી દાસવાસની જગતના સંબંધમાં સત્યાગ્રહને હું વાળવી માણું છું. એ માર્ગ બલે થીમો હશે પરંતુ દાસવાસના અમારી કૃતિવાદોને માટે જ નહિ જલ્દી હોંસમાં પણ આપણા લોકો પર રાજકીય કે અન્ય તકલીફો પડી રહી છે ને હું કરવાને માટે પણ એજ આકસ માર્ગ છે."

બનાવોથી ભરેલાં ૭૯ વર્ષની તવારીખ

ગાંધીજીના ૭૯ વર્ષના સાંખાં જીવનમાં એક પણ એવું વર્ષ ન હતું કે જે સ્થાનીક, રાષ્ટ્રીય કે આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય અગત્યના બનાવોથી ભરેલું ન હતું. જે નીચેની તવારીખપરથી જોઈ શકાય છે :

૧૮૬૯-અક્ટોબર ૨, પોરબંદર માં જન્મ

૧૮૭૬-માનપિતા સાથે રાજકોટ ગયા; પાંચ વર્ષ પ્રાથમિક શાળામાં અભ્યાસ કર્યો.

૧૮૮૧-રાજકોટની કાઠીપાવાડ હાઈ સ્કેલમાં દાખલ થયા.

૧૮૮૩-કરેતુરખાઈ સાથે લગ્ન કર્યાં.

૧૮૮૭-મેટ્રીકમાં પાસ થયા અને બાવનગરની સામળદાસ કોલેજમાં દાખલ થયા.

૧૮૮૮-ઈંગ્લેન્ડ જવા ઉપડયા.

૧૮૮૧-જુન. પારિસ્તર ખાનપા. હિંદ જવા ઉપડયા; જુલાઈ: હિંદ પહોંચ્યા; માતાનું અવસાન થયું.

૧૮૯૩-વકીલાતને અંગે સાહિય આદીકા જવા ઉપડયા.

૧૮૯૪-નાટાલની સુપ્રીમ કોર્ટના એડવોકેટ તરીકે સહાયી પહેલાં હિંદી તરીકે દાખલ થયા; નાટાલ ઇન્ડિઅન કોલેસ સ્થાપી.

૧૮૯૬-હિંદ પાછા ગયા. સાહિય આફ્રિકાના હિંદીઓ પતી ચળવળ શરૂ કરી. નવેમ્બર: પાછા સાહિય આફ્રિકા જવા ઉપડયા.

૧૮૯૭-ડરબન ઉતરી, હિંદમાં તેઓ ના બાવજોના આવેલા એટા કેવાલો થી ઉચ્ચેરાયેલા ગોરાઓના તેઓના પર હુમલો થયો.

૧૮૯૮-બોમ્બે કાઠમાં બાગ સેવા હિંદીઓની એમ્પ્લોયમન્ટ કોર્ટ ઉભી કરી; વાહીઓમાં તેઓનું નામ આપ્યું અને વોર મેડલ એનાયત થયો.

૧૯૦૧-હિંદ પાછા ફર્યા; ઇન્ડિઅન મેજિસ્ટ્રેટ કોલેસમાં સ્વયંસેવક તરીકે નોંધાયા.

૧૯૦૨-ટાંસવાલમાં હિંદીઓના હકો ને માટે લડવા ફરી પાછા સાહિય આફ્રિકા બોલાવવામાં આવ્યા.

૧૯૦૩-ટાંસવાલની સુપ્રીમ કોર્ટના એડવોકેટ તરીકે નોંધાયા, ટાંસવાલ પ્રીવીય કન્સિલ એસોસિએશન સ્થાપી.

૧૯૦૪-‘ઇન્ડિઅન એપિનિઅન’ પત્ર સ્થાપ્યું અને તેનું તંત્રીપદ લીધું; પ્રીવીય કન્સિલ સંસ્થા સ્થાપી.

૧૯૦૬-નોટીવેનો બળવો જાગ્યો, તેમાં સેવા આપવા હિંદીઓની ટ્રેચર-એર કોર્ટ ઉભી કરી; પતિની સંમતિ થી આજીવન ‘અલ્સવર્થ’ જત લીધું. સપ્ટે.: ટાંસવાલના એશીયાટીક સો એસોસિએટ એક્ટ સામે સલામતની લડત કરવા બેદાનીસમગ્રમાં હિંદીઓએ પ્રતીજ્ઞ લીધી. અક્ટ.-કોલોનીયલ સેક્રેટરી સમક્ષ હિંદીઓના કેસ રજુ કરવા કેપ્ટુરેશન સાથે ઈંગ્લેન્ડ પહોંચ્યા.

૧૯૦૭-સાહિય આફ્રિકા જવા ઈંગ્લેન્ડ થી ઉપડયા; સલામતની લડતની તૈયારી કરી; સત્યાગ્રહ અને ગેવામાં જીવન અર્પણ વકીલાતનો ધંધો જાગ્યો, ૪૮ કેસમાં ટાંસવાલ છોડી ચાલ્યા જવાનો હુકમ થયો.

૧૯૦૮-જાન્યુ.: ટાંસવાલ નહિ છોડી જવા ખદત્ત બે માસની કેદની સજા થઈ; જાનરુ સમટસ સાથે સમાધાની થતાં છોડવામાં આવ્યા. ફેબ્રુઆરી: સરજીવાલ આંગળીઓની છાપ આપવા બાબત સમજુતી કરી એ હિંદીઓનું અહિલ કયું ગણી ઉચ્ચેરાયેલા પદોએ એ સમજાવ મરજીતાલ માર માર્યો. એપ્રિલ: જાનરુ સમટસે સમજુતી નો બંધ કર્યો તેથી સત્યાગ્રહની લડત પાછી શરૂ કરી. અક્ટ.: રેજિસ્ટ્રેશન

સર્ટીફિકેટ નહિ બતાવવા માટે બે માસની સખત કેદની સજા થઈ. ડીસે.: સંજમાંથી છુટવા.

૧૯૦૯-જુન: સાહિય આફ્રિકાના ચારે પ્રાંતોનું યુનીયન સ્થાપવા સામે વિરોધ કરવા કેપ્ટુરેશનમાં ઈંગ્લેન્ડ ગયા. નવેમ્બર: સાહિય આફ્રિકા પાછા ફર્યા.

૧૯૧૦-બેદાનીસમગ્રની તરફ ટાંસવાલ દોષ ફાલે સ્થાપ્યું.

૧૯૧૧-બે બિદારીઓના તખતિક પાતળ અંગે ઉપવાસ કર્યો.

૧૯૧૩-નવે.: ગીરમીટીયા હિંદી આપરનો ૩ પાઉન્ડનો કર યુનીયન સરકારના વચનબંધ અંગે હુમલો હિંદી મજુરોની હઠતા પડી. હડતાળીઆઓને ૩૫ ટાંસવાલની સરદાર પર કુચ કરી, પકડાયા જાળીન પર છોડવામાં આવ્યા, ફરી ત્રણ મુના માટે પકડાયા અને ત્રણ માસની સખત કેદની સજા થઈ. ડીસે.: બીનશરત છોડવામાં આવ્યા.

૧૯૧૪-જાન્યુ.: કામગીરાઉ સમ જુની થઈ અને સત્યાગ્રહની લડત મોકુફ રહી. જુન: સમટસ-ગાંધી સમાધાની થઈ અને લડત બંધ થઈ. જુલાઈ: ઈંગ્લેન્ડ જવા ઉપડયા. એપ્રિલ: વુલ્ફ જાન્યુ. લંડનમાં હિંદીઓની એમ્પ્લોયમન્ટ કોર્ટ ઉભી કરી.

૧૯૧૫-જાન્યુ.: ‘પુરસાનું’ દફ થયું; હિંદ ગયા, કપસર ઇન્ડિયનું સુવર્ણ ચંદ્ર એનાયત થયું. મે: સાયરમતી માં સત્યાગ્રહ આશ્રમ સ્થાપ્યા.

૧૯૧૫-૧૯૧૬-ગીરમીટીયા મજુરો ના સવાલનો અભ્યાસ કરવા હિંદ અને

ખીમની મુસાફરી કરી. અમીલ : અંધારણ (ખીલાર) મા ગંગીના ખેતરોમાં મજૂરોની સ્થિતિની તપાસ કરવા ગયા; પકડાયા અને પાછળથી છાંટી મુકવામાં આવ્યા; ખીલારની સરકારે રક્ષિતની કૃષિપદોની તપાસ કરવા નીમેલી કમીટીના સભ્ય તરીકે નીમણુંક થઈ.

૧૯૨૯-માર્ચ : અમદાવાદના મીલ મજૂરોના સવાલ અંગે ઉપવાસ કર્યો; પાક નિષ્ફળ ગળાથી ખેડૂતો પરનો કર મોકુફ રખાવવા ખેડૂતો સત્યાગ્રહ શરૂ કર્યો. અમીલ : દિલ્લીમાં વાઇસરોય ની હુકમ પરિપત્તમાં હાજરી આપી; ખા. છત્તીમાં બુદ્ધ માટે બરતીબું કામ શરૂ કર્યું.

૧૯૨૯ ફેબ્રુ. : રોલેટ બિલો પાછા ખેંચી લેવાવવા સત્યાગ્રહની પ્રતિજ્ઞા પર સહી કરી. અમીલ : અખિલ ભારતીય સત્યાગ્રહ ત્રણ શરૂ કરી; પંજાબમાં દાખલ થવાના મનાઈ હુકમનો બંધ કરવા બદલ દિલ્લી જતાં પકડવામાં આવ્યા અને પાછા મુંબઈ લઈ જવામાં આવ્યા; મારફતેના જતાવો બન્યા; અમલસરમાં જલ્દીયાવાસા બાગ માં લોકોની કતલ યજ્ઞ. સાબરમતીમાં પ્રાચલિત તરીકે ગણે દિવસ ઉપવાસ કર્યો; પંજાબમાં માર્શલ લો બંધેર થયો; સત્યાગ્રહ મોકુફ રખાયો. સપ. : મુંબઈની માસિક 'નવજીવન' ના નંબરો બન્યા, પાછળથી હોદીમાં પણ સત્યાગ્રહ ચલ્યું. અંગ્રેજ સત્તાધિક 'વંગ ઇન્ડિયા' ના નંબરો બન્યા; પંજાબમાં સરકારી અમલદારોના અત્યાચારોની તપાસ કરવા નીમણેલી ખીન-સરકારી કમીટીના સભ્ય નીમ્યા. નવે. : દિલ્લીમાં અખિલ ભારતીય ખીલાફત પરિષદનું પ્રમુખસ્થાન લીધું. ડીસે. : મોન્ટેગ્યુ-એસ્ટન સુધારા સ્વિકારવા અમલસરમાં કેમિસને સલાહ આપી.

૧૯૨૦-જાન્યુ. : છત્તીમાંના પવિત્ર સ્થળો પર તુર્કીના સુલતાનની હુકમત બીનવી લેતાં બ્રીટીશ સરકારને અટ-

કાવવા વાઇસરોય પાસે પ્રેમુરેશન લઈ ગયા. ઓગસ્ટ : બુદ્ધમાં સેવાઓને અંગે મળેલાં અંદકો પાછા સુખન કરી દેવા અંગે વાઇસરોયને કાગળ લખ્યો. સપ. : કલકત્તામાં મળેલી કેમિસની ખાસ બેઠકે પંજાબ અને ખીલાફતના અન્યાયો દુર કરાવવા ગાંધીજીની અસહ કારની લીલચાલનો સ્વિકાર કર્યો. નવે. : અમદાવાદમાં મુંબઈના વિદ્યા પીઠ સ્થાપી. ડીસે. : નામપુરની કેમિસે સ્વરાજ્ય સિદ્ધ કરવાના કેમિસના ખૂબ નો ગાંધીજીનો દરાવ સ્વિકાર્યો.

૧૯૨૧-અમીલ-કેમિસના સભ્યો કરવાનો અને આખા દેશમાં પીસ ગ્રામ ચર્ચો પુરા પાડવાને કન્ડ ઉભું કરવા નો કાર્યક્રમ શરૂ કર્યો. જુલાઈ : ૫૨ દેશ કાપડના બહિષ્કાર કરવાની ત્રણ શરૂ કરી. મુંબઈમાં પરદેશી કાપડની વેચાઈ કરી. ડીસે.-કેમિસે કાર્યાવાદી ની પુણે સત્તા ગાંધીજીના હાથમાં મૂકી.

૧૯૨૨-ફેબ્રુ. : બારડોલીમાં સત્યાગ્રહ શરૂ કરવાનો હરિદો વાઇસરોયને ગળાવ્યો; મોરિયારાના રમખાણ બાદ સત્યાગ્રહ બંધ કર્યો અને પાંચ દિવસ ના ઉપવાસ કર્યા. માર્ચ-રાજકોહ માટે પકડાયા અને છ વર્ષની કેદની સજા થઈ.

૧૯૨૪-જાન્યુ. : એંગ્લો-સાઈટીસ માટે એપરેશન થયું. ફેબ્રુ. : નેલ-માર્ચ છુટ્યા; અમીલ-વંગ ઇન્ડિયા 'નવજીવન' નું નંબર ૫૬ લીધું; સપ.-હોદ્દા-મુસ્લીમ અધકચ માટે ૨૧ દિવસ ના ઉપવાસ કર્યો; ડીસે.-એલગામ કેમિસનું પ્રમુખસ્થાન લીધું.

૧૯૨૫-સપ્ટે.-અખિલ ભારતીય ચર્ચો સંઘની સ્થાપના કરી. નવે.-આશ્રમવાસીઓની ગૃહલત્ને અંગે સાત દિવસના ઉપવાસ કર્યો.

૧૯૨૬-ડીસે.-૧૯૨૬ ની આખરી સુધીમાં કોમીનીયનનો દરબનો ન અપાય તો સ્વતંત્રતાનો કેમિસમાં દરાવ મુકાયો.

૧૯૨૬-ડીસે.-કેમિસનું સ્વરાજનું ધ્યેય એટલે પુણે સ્વરાજ એવું બંધેર કરનારો જાહોરની કેમિસમાં દરાવ મુક્યો.

૧૯૩૦-ફેબ્રુ.-ઓલ ઇન્ડિયા કેમિસ કમીટીએ સચિનય બંગની લડત શરૂ કરવાની સત્તા આપી. માર્ચ-કેમિસ ની માગણીઓ સ્વિકારવામાં ન આવે તો ગાંધીના હાથલોના બંધ કરવાનો હરિદો દર્શાવનારો વાઇસરોયને કાગળ લખ્યો. અમીલ-ડાંડી કુચ. મે-૫૬-ડાંડા. ગર તપાસે કેદ કરવામાં આવ્યા. સમરત દેશમાં હડતાળ પડી.

૧૯૩૧-જાન્યુ.-ખીનશરતે છાંટી મુકવા. માર્ચ : ગાંધી-અરવીન કરાર. ઓગસ્ટ-ખીજ રાઉન્ડ ટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સ માં હાજરી આપવા ઈંગ્લેન્ડ જવા ઉપડવા. સપ.-ડીસે. : રાઉન્ડટેબલ કોન્ફરન્સમાં હાજરી અને હોદ પાછા કર્યો.

૧૯૩૨-જાન્યુ. : પકડાયા અને ગર તપાસે કેદ કરવામાં આવ્યા. સપ. : કોમી સુકાદામાં હરિજનો માટે રાખવા માં આવેલી ગુદી મનદારી રદ કરાવવા નેલમાં આમરણ ઉપવાસ." સર કારે માગણી સ્વિકારી.

૧૯૩૩-ફેબ્રુ. : અંગ્રેજ અને ક્રીડામાં સત્તાધિક પત્ર 'હરિજન' ની સ્થાપના કરી. મે : આત્મશુદ્ધિ માટે ૨૧ દિવસના ઉપવાસ કર્યો; ૭ અડવાડીયા માટે સચિનય બંગની ત્રણ મોકુફ રાખ્યા અને સરકારને ઓડીન-સા પાછા ખેંચી લેવાની માગણી કરી. જુલાઈ : સચિનય બંગ કરી શરૂ કરવા અમદાવાદથી રાસ કુચ કરવાનો મુંબઈ સરકારને હરિદો ગળાવ્યો. પકડાયા અને ગર તપાસે કેદ કરવા માં આવ્યા. ઓગસ્ટ : છુટા થયા, પરંતુ મનાઈ હુકમનો અનાદર કરવા બદલ ફરી પકડાયા; અરપૂરના નિવારણ નું કાર્ય કરવામાં અટકાવત થવા બદલ ઉપવાસ શરૂ કર્યો; ખીનશરતે છાંડવામાં

આવ્યા. નવે. હરિજનોના ઉદ્ધાર માટે પર્વટજી શરૂ કર્યું.

૧૯૩૪ અ.ક. : મુંબઈની કેમિસ જોડી, આમોદાર, હરિજન સેવા વિગેરે "રચનાત્મક કાર્યક્રમ" માં રોકાયા માટે રાજકારણમાંથી નીકળી આવ્યા હતા. અખિલ-આરતીય આગેવાનો સંઘની સ્થાપના.

૧૯૩૬-સંવાદામ પોતાનું મુખ્ય મથક કરવાનો હવા. ૧૯૩૭-વર્ધામાં કેળવણી પરિષદનું પ્રમુખસ્થાન લીધું અને પાવાના ઉચ્ચોગ દ્વારા શિક્ષણની યોજના થઈ.

૧૯૩૮-રાજકોટના કોર્ટ પાસે રાજ્યમાં સુધારા કરવાનું ત્યાં પાસનું માટે "આમરણ ઉપવાસ" વાલ્મીકીય પદ્ધતિ ઉપવાસ છોડ્યા.

૧૯૪૦-ગુલામ : બુદ્ધની પરિસ્થિતિ પર વાલ્મીકીય સાથે વાલ્મીકીય. અ.ક. વ્યક્તિગત કાર્યનું અંગેનો હવા; કમળા પ્રસિદ્ધ ચાપ ત પહેલાં સેનસર કરવાની સરકારી માગણી થતાં 'હરિજન' અને તની સાથેના બીજાં સંપાદકોની પ્રસિદ્ધિ મોકલ કરી.

૧૯૪૧-વર્ધામાં કમળાની કેમિસના મૃત્યુમાંથી મુક્ત કર્યા.

૧૯૪૨ જા.ન્યુ. : 'હરિજન' વિગેરે સંપાદકો દ્વારા ચાલુ કર્યા; માર્ચ ન્યુદિલ્હીમાં સર રેકેટ કોપ્સના મુલાકાત કીધા માટે કોપ્સની ઓફિસને "પોલીસ યાત્રા" તરીકે વર્ણવી. ઓગસ્ટ : "કવીટ ઇન્ડિયા" પરના એ. આર્. સી. સી. ના હવા માટે પદ દાવા અને પુનામાં આગાખાન પેલેસમાં પરફેક્ટ કરવામાં આવ્યા. ઓગસ્ટ ૧૫ તેમના સેક્રેટરી મદદદેવ દેસાઈનું આગાખાન મહેલમાં અવસાન. ડીસેમ્બર કોઈમાં રમખાણોપર વાલ્મીકીય અને કોઈ સરકાર સાથે પત્રવ્યવહાર.

૧૯૪૩-૨૧ દિવસના ઉપવાસ; માર્ચ તા. ૩૯ના ઉપવાસ છોડ્યા.

૧૯૪૪-ફેબ્રુ. : આગાખાન પેલેસ માં કરતુરવાનું અવસાન. એ બીજા શરણ ઓડવામાં આવ્યા; સપ્ટ. : માર્ચી-ક્રીષ્ણ મંચળા. અ.ક. : ૧૪ માં વર્ષ માંડના પ્રસંગે કરતુરવા રમરક માટે ૧૧૦ લાખ રૂપીયાની થેસીની બેટ.

૧૯૪૫-જુન : વેતન યોજના પર સામ્રામાં પરિષદ; પરિષદ પુરી થતાં પહેલાં સીમત્રાથી વિદાય.

૧૯૪૬ ફેબ્રુ. : અનાજની સ્થિતિ પર વાલ્મીકીય સાથે મંચળા અપ્રાસ : કોની શાંતીના પ્રચારઅર્થે અંગાળાં મુસાદરી; બિહારના કોઈમાં ૧૫૬; ક્રીષ્ણ સાહેબ અને નેમની સંબુકત

અંગીય : 'હરિજન' પરથી પ્રતિષ્ઠા મેળવી લેવામાં કોઈ વેતન સાથે વાલ્મીકીય; કોઈમાં કમળાની મીશન સાથે મસતના; નવે. : ક્રીષ્ણ સાહેબ આગાખાન નવાબ અને કોઈ વેતન સાથે વાલ્મીકીય.

૧૯૪૭-જા.ન્યુ. : કોની સુલેહ શાંતી માટે નોઆખલાની મુસાદરી; દિલ્હીમાં અશીયત રીનિશન્સ કોન્ટ્રેન્સ સમક્ષ આપણ; કલકત્તામાં "કોઈમાં કોની શુદ્ધિ ન આવે ત્યાં સુધી ઉપવાસ."

૧૯૪૮-જા.ન્યુ. ૧૩ : કોઈ મુલ્કીમ અમલક માટે દિલ્હીમાં ઉપવાસ; પ્રાર્થના સભામાં બોમ્બે ફેક્ટો. જા.ન્યુ. ૩૦ : ગોળીબારથી દિલ્હીમાં મરણ.

પોતાના ભાઈના અવસાનપર ગાંધીજી

[૧૯૪૪ ના માર્ચમાં પોતાના ભાઈના અવસાનના દુઃખદ પ્રસંગે ગાંધીજી એ બી. એચ. કેલનબેક, જે તેમના ઓફિસ બુક્કેટ અનુવાદી હતા, તેમને લખેલા પત્રમાંથી નીચેનાં ભાગ આપવામાં આવ્યો છે.-ત.વી.]

".....આ આઘાતો મારામાં મરણ વિનાની ભગવંતના વધારે અવધાન કરે છે. એ બનાવથી મારે બેચેન શા સાડ થવું જોઈએ! એ શોકમાં સ્વાર્થ નો અશ રહેલો છે. એ કુ મરણને જોવા તૈયાર ફોઈ અને તને છવત નો ઓફ પરમ અને આપદરકાયક અવસર મળ્યો. કોઈ તા મારા ભાઈના મૃત્યુને માં એક આશ્વસન મળ્યું નહિ જોઈએ. આપણા પોતાના મરણનો આપણને એટલો બધો અવ લાગે છે તથીજ બીજાઓના મરણપર અંદર સારીજી છીએ. હું ન દેહને નાશવંત સમજું છું અને આત્માનો નાશ નથી થતા એમ સમજું છું તેનાથી આત્માથી દેહ મુદો પડે તેના શોક એમ કરી શકાય! પરંતુ તેને માટે ખરી શકા કોવી જોઈએ. એ એમ માને છે તેજી દેહને આળખવાળા કરવો નહિ જોઈએ

પરંતુ તેનાપર કાણ મળવાનો જોઈએ. તેજી પોતાની કાળજી નાખમમાં રાખવી જોઈએ : જેથી ન દેહને વધત વાત પરંતુ દેહની સેવા અર્થે તેના ઉપયોગ કરે. બીજાઓના મરણનો શોક નહિ કરવો એટલે જગજગ કાયમના શોકની દિશામાં ચિત્તકર કરવો એમ દેહ અને આત્મા વચ્ચેનું બંધન એજ એક શોકજનક પરંતુ છે.

".....દેહ કરવાને માટે આપણું મર નાજ પ્રાપ્તવતના મુલ્યનું રમરણ કરી આપણામાં ઉતારીએ એથી એઓ આપણામાં જીવે છે એમ કહી શકાય. નાર્તિક દ્રષ્ટિએ દરેક આત્મા અમર છે એમ નહીં."

—ગાંધીજી.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER

FATHER OF THE FATHER OF THE NATION

રાત્રિ પિતાના પિતા



The Late Mr. Karamchand Gandhi

ગાંધીજીના પિતાના પિતા

2(ONLY SISTER OF THE FATHER OF THE NATION

રાત્રિ પિતાના એકમાત્ર એક સહ



Shriamati Gulabai, Gandhiji's only eighty year-old sister, who is at present in Rangoon

ગાંધીજીના એકમાત્ર એક સહ

ગાંધીજીના એકમાત્ર એક સહ

ગાંધીજીના એકમાત્ર એક સહ



Gandhiji's Birth Place

The lane wherein stands the house in which Mahatma Gandhi was born in Porbandar. The house is marked X.

ગાંધીજીનું જન્મસ્થાન

પોરબંદરમાં ગાંધીજીના જન્મ થયેલો ઘરો તે મકાન જાણી શોધીનું ચિન્હ, ગાંધીજીના જન્મ સ્થાન હતું.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER

MEMORY
OF
1896

૧૮૯૬ માં મહાત્મા



MAHATMA GANDHI and KASTURBA when they came to S.A. in 1896
૧૮૯૬ માં મહાત્મા અને કસ્તુરબા સા. આ. આવ્યા તે વખતની છબી

Gandhi during the Historic Strike in 1913, with his two staunch co-workers, the late Mr. H. Kallenbach and Miss S. Schlosser.

મહાત્મા ૧૯૧૩ ની આઘિતિયત્વીક ઇસલામી વખતે નેમના એ ચુરેન સહકારીઓ સ્વ. મી. એચ. કેલેનબેક અને મીસ સ્લોસર સાથે.



IN THE SERVICE OF SOUTH AFRICA

સાહેબ આફ્રિકાની સેવામાં



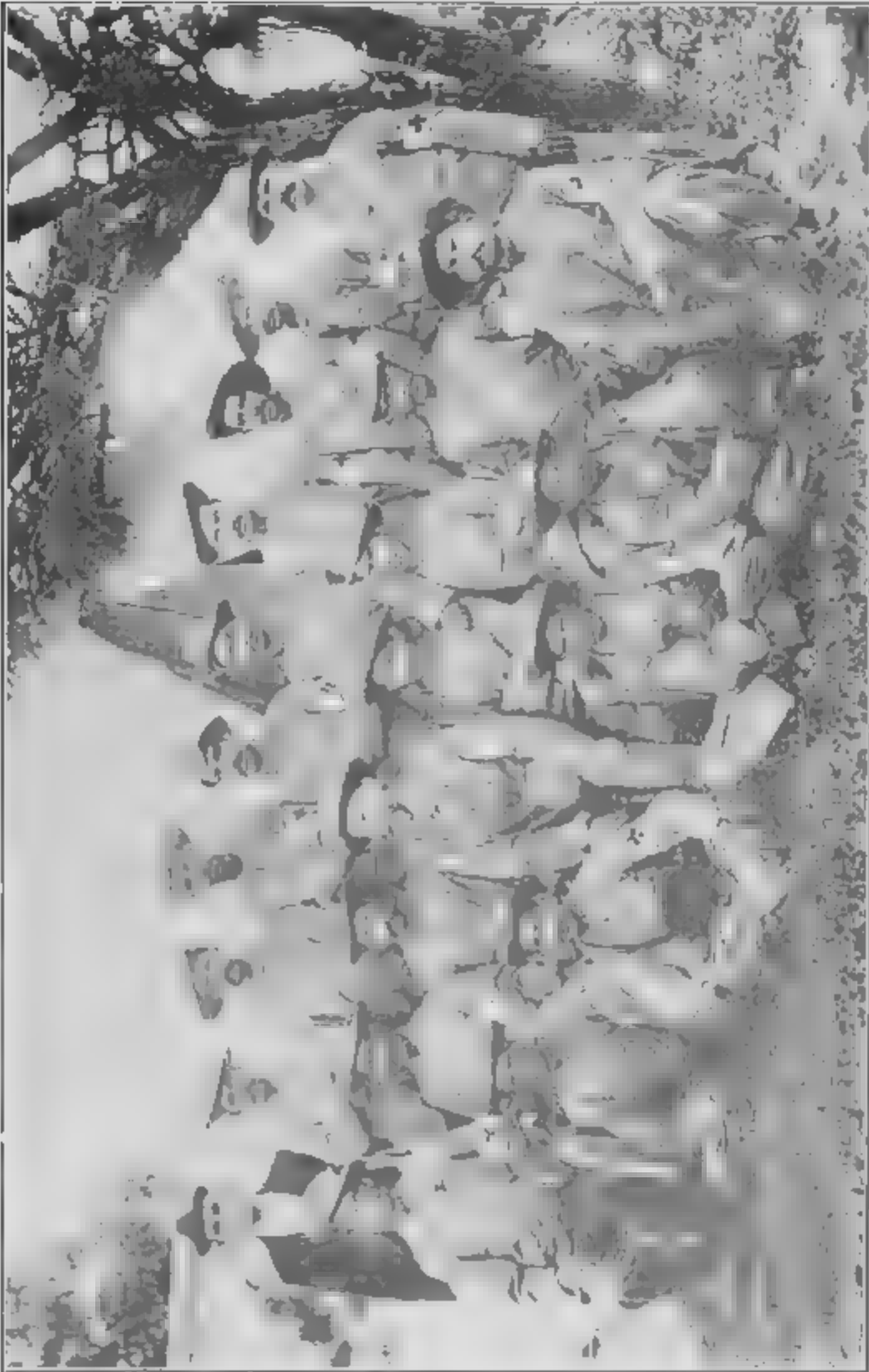
Gandhiji raised a Stretcher-Bearer Corps to serve during the Native Rebellion in 1906.

Gandhiji is seated fourth from left in the middle row.

૧૯૦૬ માં ગાંધીજીએ નેટીવ અગ્રવા વખતે સેવા આપવા હિંદીઓની સ્ટ્રેચર-બેરર કોર્પસ ઉભી કરી હતી. ગાંધીજી વચલી હારમાં ઠામી આગુથી ચોથા ભેડેલા છે.

IN THE SERVICE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

ઑડીશ સદ્ગતની સેવામાં



Gandhiji raised a Stretcher-Bearer Corps to serve during the Boer War (1899-1900)
Gandhiji is seated fifth from the left in the middle row with the late Dr. Booth on his left.

૧૮૯૯-૧૯૦૦ માં બારે લગતમાં સેવા આપવા ગાંધીજીએ હિંદીઓની સ્ટ્રેચર બેરર કોર્સ ઉભી કરી હતી.
ગાંધીજી વચલી હારમાં ત્રાબી બાજુથી પાંચમાં બેસેલા છે. તેમની ત્રાબી બાજુપર મરદુમ ડૉ. બુથ છે.

વિવિધ વિષયોપર ગાંધીજીનું માર્ગ દર્શન

કેળવણી

માણસગતતા ખરી ધંધા એજ છે કે તેણે પોતાનું ચારીત્ર ઘડવું. કમાવાને અર્થે કંઈ ખાસ શીખવુંજ પડે એવું નથી. જે માણસ નીલીની રજો કદી છોડતો નથી તે માણસ કદી મુળે મરતો નથી.....

ગીજની સેવા કરવી ને તેમ કરવા માં ઝડપે મોટાક ન માની લેવી એ ખરી કેળવણી છે.

જે માણસ પોતાની દરજ્જા જાનવે છે ને અગ્વાસ કરે છે, સારી રહેણી રહેતાં શીખવું એ અગ્વાસ છે. ગામી પણ ગીર્યાગ્વાસ.

ગત સમુદ્રીમાંથી આપણે નિર્વાહ કરતાં શીખી શકીએ તેા અધુ કમાવા અને અધુ શીખ્યાં.

...મા, તારે જ્ઞાન આપવું જોઈએ... નિશાળને મોહ છોડવો. નિશાળમાં શુદ્ધતા નિષ્કાસે બધે મળે પણ ત્યાં ચારીત્રનું પડતર નથી ઘટું... પોતાના કાકરાઓને નિશાળમાં મોહકતર મા તાર પોતાનો ધર્મ નથી માનતા... પ્રત્યક્ષ કરી એ ધર્મ રીકાંચો હોય તેા તેના સર્કાર અને મનને ધડવાનો ધર્મ પણ જીકારવો થોડે...

જમ ખીજન કાંચા કરવાનો મા આપને વખત મળે છે તેમ જાણશે મરે પણ રોજ વખત આપવાનું રાખી તમારા પ્રત્યેક કાગમાં તેમને રસ લેતા કરો. તમારું જીવન એવું ઘડો કે જાણક તે ડારા શીખે. ખંડે જાનવ એ છે. અસરજ્ઞાન મળે ત્યારે મેળવી શકાય.

વિવાહીન જીવન

વિવાહ ભોગને અર્થે નથી પણ સંપન્ને અર્થે છે એ વાત લાક તેા સાચુ જુદાઈ મહેલી છે. મનુષ્યો—જી પુરુષને ત્યારે વિકાર પ્રાપ્ત થાય ત્યારે તે વિકારને નિયમીત રાખવા તેની

મર્યાદા બાંધવા તે વિવાહ સંબંધમાં પડે છે. આ વધુ અને આપણી વચ્ચે બેઠે છે. આ પ્રમાણે જો કે વિવાહને પરીણામે વિવિધ ભાગ રહેલા તો પણ સાચો એમ સીધવે છે કે વચ્ચે પ્રતિદીન મેળવી કરવાનો દંપતીનો ધર્મ છે. મોગાર્થે રચાએલા સંબંધને પણ સાચા મોહાર્થે વાપરવા મળે છે અને આજા કરે ને મોરલે જગી કે મુમુક્ષુઓએ આત્મા અને પરમાત્માના સંબંધને પ્રજ્ઞા વિવાહરૂપે વર્ણવેલા છે. જે શુદ્ધ દેવતા કલ્પના નથી પ્રમત વિધિ રહેલી નજર કરવાના જ્ય શીવના અદા ન વિધિ છે. એટલે વિવાહ એ સમાજ સેવાનું એક બાર સાધન બની શકે છે....

...વિવાહની દેવતા મોગલમાં છે પણ મર્યાદાઓ તેને સંપન્ન સાધના કરવાના પ્રયત્ન દ્વારા અચવા કહો કે અમર્યાદીત સંબંધને વિવાહથી મર્યાદીત કરો.

અહરચરોના ધર્મ

કુટુંબ એવા પ્રથમ નેત્રી એ વાક્ય પરમાય કલ્યાણ વડે વાસ્તવિક છે. તે જીવાથી પણ સાર તજ કામ સેવા કે દેશ સેવા કરી શકે છે. કુટુંબ સેવા કોને કહી નજર વિવાહવાનું રહી છે આપણી લગ્નના આહવા બાંધવા રાખવી અને શ્રેયસ્કમાં લખાવવું.

જે માનુસ પોતાની પાસ નીચર પોતાને સાકે પસે નીકરમાથી ન ને સરમાવાનું છે. ને લગ્નની લાગળ કરતા જ્ઞાન તે તેને વધુ... માં એટલે મિત્રો મળે નવી રીત વાપરવાના પોતાને હક છે એવો મદ માનુસને આવી જાય છે તેમણે શુદ્ધ રહે... પોતાની વાટલી નિશાળ વધાર કમાવા નો હક્કને કોને છે?

ત્યારે નીલીની સાંકળોના આપણે આવી પડીએ ન્યા આપણ વધુ વગલા બરવાનો આપણા મા તાર

તા પાડે તેા મુગા ખેસવા બંધાવા છીએ પણ અમુક વાપ કરવા માગે ત્યારે ના રહેવી... વડીલોના હુકમથી શારીરિક હાનિ હિતાગીએ આત્મીક નહિ.

રામગાના આદર સરકાર તુરત અને પ્રેમપુરક કરવો.

પિતા પુત્રનો સંબંધ ત્યારે જ ગમ્યાવ કે ત્યારે જાનવું જીવન અને હોય અને જાને એક ખીજનો આધાર બન કોમ... ને બાંધવારી સાકળ તુટતા પિતા પુત્રના જીવનનું સાધુપ તાર.

શુદ્ધ કહેરતા એજ ખરી દવા બને છે અને કોમળતા નીકળતા બને છે.

પણ આપણે બધા દેવોથી બરકાતલા છીએ નથી શુદ્ધ કહેરતા કેળવી નથી શુદ્ધતા આપણે પોતે દવાને તજ કોમ બોલી દવા ખીજત પ્રત્યે આપણે છીએ ...જે કામ આપણે તોક કલ્યાણ ને શુદ્ધ બુદ્ધીથી આગળ રાખીને કરીએ તે સમાજ સેવા છે. તમારા પર સંસાર લસાવતા તમ બોમનેજ પોતાના હો ને સમાજનો તીચાર ન કરા ના ન સ્વાર્થ સેવ થઈ. પણ ને લસાવતા ને સમાજને બાતરે દાવા રાપરો. પાદ કપ્તાન ને જસાડા.

જેનું લેતા ધર્મ ધર્મનો તીચાર ને ના ન સમાજ સેવા થઈ. તમે જે કંઈ કામ કરા તમા જેનું સત્તાનજ અર્થે ને ને જસાવવાના તર ને સ્વાર્થ સેવા થઈ.

વેપારમાં રહી નીલી જાળવી શકા તમા ને નીકળ મળશે... તમે પ્રમા તુકવળ જાળવવાર નીલીથી કરશે ના વેપારી સમાજ પર ઉપકાર કરવા એ વ ને સજા છે.

જે આત્મના નેત્રી ને ને નીલી જુદો ને એજ જાળ ને ને ને ને રહા ને ને કરે... ને રહા ને ને જાળમાં સાં અચવા ખરાય કામ કરી શકે છે એ માનવતા વડે તજ નેત્રી છે. તમા થી ફનીવામાં અધાર તાર તાર ને હક એ દમન કરવા આ ને મળે છે.

આપુનું બલિદાન

: અંદાશંકર પ્રાણશંકર શુક્લ :

ગાંધીજીના સહેજ પણ નિકટના સમાગમમાં આવેલા કોઈ પણ માણસને એમને વિષે આજે કંઈ મોઝવું કેટલું મુશ્કેલ હોય એ આપ મને સમજો છો. ગાંધીજીએ એકવાર કહ્યું હતું: "મૃત્યુ તો હરકોઈ વડીએ ધન્ય વસ્તુ છે. પણ પોતાના કાર્યને અર્થ, અર્થોત્ત સત્યને અર્થે તેની બેઠ કરનાર વીરને સાડ ત વીરોળ પાંચ ધન્ય છે. મૃત્યુ વડનકત નથી. એ તો આપણે સાચામાં સાચો ખંડુ છે. એ આપણને કદને નવી નકે અને નવી આશાઓના પ્રદેશમાં મુકે છે. ઉધની પેઠે નવું જીવન આપનારી એ ગાંધી માયા છે." છતાં તેમનો માનવપ્રેમ એવો અગાધ હતો કે નિકટનાં પ્રિયજનોના વિશેષગતી ઉપી અસર તેમના મન પર પડ્યા વીના રહેતી નહીં. પંડીત મોતીલાલજીનો સ્વર્ગવાસ થયો ત્યારે તેમણે કહ્યું: "આજે સહપરાશી કરતાં વિશેષ દૈવધન્ય તો મને આવેલું છે." ૧૯૨૮ માં મગનલાલભાઈ ગાંધીનો સ્વર્ગવાસ થયો ત્યારે આશ્રમની પ્રાયનામાં ગાંધીજી પહેલે જ વાક્ય આપ્યું કે "હવે જો પ્રધરને વિષે ઉડી જઈ ન હોય તો હવે આજે પાગલ પત્ની મળત." પણ તેના પાંચ વીરાંત્રીની રૂમ કરતાં પાંચ પી શકું એમ નહું. સરખ માં મારે મળે તોડણિ તો હું સહન કરી શકું મ છું. પણ આ નિયોગ એ કરતાં વધારે આશરો છે. મહાદેવભાઈ મયા ત્યારની ગાંધીજીની મનોબળના વચન બેઠ નહિ. પણ મહાદેવભાઈની અત્યંત સમર્થ તેમણે કહ્યું વધારે હતું હતું કળી શકતા નહીં. પાળવાના પ્રયત્ન તો કેટલીયેવાર કરી તેવો. પણ શક્યાન કરવા કલમ કાષમાં ને. અને હું જ અરહા આવે. એટલે કલમ

અટકી ગય. ધણા પ્રયત્નો પછી કહ્યું કે 'આ અરિત ગારાથી નહીં કળી શકાય.' બાને વરસો પર કેટલું કે નું જેમમાં મરી જમશ તો જમદ'આની જેમ હું તને પુછશ.' અને પાના મયા પછી ગાંધીજીએ તે વેળાના વાહસરોવ ને એક કાગળમાં કહ્યું: 'એની જીવની વદેનામાંથી એને મુક્તિ મળી એ કારણે તો એના મૃત્યુને જો એને કાળે વધારી લીધું છે; પણ એના વીરોળનું દુઃખ મને કેટલું લાગશે નહીં એ માન્યું હતું એના કરતાં મને વધારે લાગે છે.' એમના જેવા નિર્મળ, વીરરાગ રિયતિ પ્રજાની એ રિયતિ હતી. તો આપણ અહીં માનવીઓની તો વાત જ શી કરવી?

કોઈમાં આજે કોન નથી લાગતું કે મેં પિતા શુભાષ્ય છેડે આપ્યા હોઈ શિરચ્છેદ શુભાષ્ય છે. દેશના એકએક ગામમાં દાનના માળાના નાનાં લેમજ ગોરા પુરવા લેમજ રમિત—એવાં કે જેમને એવું બાન નિરતર હતું કે અમે આ કામ કરીશું તો આપ મુ કેટલેક આપને એ મમશે ખડે 'આ સાહે કહ્યું' અથવા 'આ પરાપર છે.' એટલું વાક્ય ગાંધીજીના મુખમાંથી સાંભળવા કેટલાં માણસ આમુરે હતા. અને એ વાક્ય સાંભળવા મળે ત્યારે કેવો સત્તાપ અનભવના આપુની કસોડીમાં પસાર થઈ પણ સમ હતું. જુન હોય ત્યાં પર એમની નજર અત્યુક પડ્યા વિના ન રહે. પણ આપુ જેવા કામ લેનાર પણ દુનિયામાં કોઈ નહીં હોય. કામ ન આપે. તો પીરજ રાખીને સીપવે, કળેલું હોય તે સુધારી આવે. અને જરાક પણ સાહે કામ કહ્યું હોય તે તદ રાખે. તપકે આવે તે પણ પેટના મોટે કે કામ

કરનાર સુધરે. એમની નીકટનાં કામ કરનારામાંથી બાળ્યે જ કોઈ એવું હશે જેને એમની આગળ ધમધમતાં આંસુ ડાઘવાનો પ્રસંગ ન આવ્યો હોય. તેઓ કપકો આપે ત્યારે ધણું બોલે નહીં, પણ તેમની આંખ જ તેમના દિલનું દર્દ બતાવી આવે. પણ એમનો આ કપકો એમની આશાનું માપ બતાવતો. જે માણસ પાસે કેટલી વધારે આશા નેટલી તેને મોટી કસોડી આશરો. ને તેને કપકો પણ તેટલો વધારે. ને તે આશરો કપકો નેવી જ વીસાળ ને અનદદ કળ્યા. સહુને જીવનમાં મોટા માં મોટા આધાર આપુનો. કલક માંલં એ દુર પડ્યાં પડ્યાં આપુની. ખેચાર લીટીની મિટી આવે તે વાંગાને સાજ થવાની સહુની મેળવે. કલક દુનિયાં એમાંથી દિલાસો મેળવે. કોઈ પણ પરિચિત માણસનું કુટુંબીજન મરણ પામે તો આપુનો દિલાસોનો કાગળ મળે જ હોય. કલક બહેનને આપુનો એવાં આશાઓ બારે દુનિયાં સહેતાની શક્તિ આપતાં. એક બહેનને તેમણે લેલ સર એમ કળેલું: 'નું વરસે મજ રાખશ નહીં તારી સાજા હું કિલેલો જ જીવે' આપણા દુનિયા આપુ બાગ લેનાર છે, આપણને એમનો આધાર જ નેટલી પણ જ ધણું માણસેઈ કાગળ નેટલાનું પણ આપતી.

લેમની નીક કામ કરનાર નાના મોટા માળે લેમજે કામ લેનાર માળા નથી. કલક વાનીસરે લેમજે માળા લિખ એક જ છે મેને લેમજ નાના મા નાના કામ કરનારને વીંચે પણ તેઓ 'સારી' એ ગીરવવાળો સખ્ત વાપરતા. નાનામાં નાના માણસનું સ્વમાન સાચવે, એટલું જ નહીં પણ બીજે પણ તે માનવાય એનો આશર

જાણે. પણ આ 'સાથીઓ' તો માણસા છે પાંચ ફુટ ઉંચા માણસ અને ગોરી શિખર વચ્ચે હોય એટલું અંતર પોતાની અને આ માનવમેરુની વચ્ચે છે. ગાંધીજી આ સફળતા બેઠે પીનાદ કરતા. ને મરકરી પણ કરવી ન ચુકતા. પણ તેઓ કહેતા કે 'મારા દરેક વિનોદ પાછળ પણ કંઈક પાડ રહેલો હોય છે.' એકવાર કલાક સુધી ગરખાં માપો પછી કહે: 'હું તો આવી ગમસગમથી જ દેશનું વાતાવરણ માણી શકું છું.' બીજા એક પ્રસંગે કહે 'દેશની તાડ પર મારા દાઢ નીરંબર હોય છે.' પણ કોકવાર આવી વાતોમાંથી જ રંગ દેતો જતા, ને શિવજીનું ત્રાજુ આચળ ઉઘડતું—તે પણ એટલા માટે કે સામે બેઠલાંમાં ને કંઈ ક્યારે હોય ન બળી જાય, ને સુધ્ધ કુંદન જ બાકી રહે. એવાં કલક સુધ્ધ કુંદન એમણે દેશને આપ્યાં છે તે જાણ તમારું. આ પારસાનો રૂપક કરીને કમંઠે સાકા સુવચ્ચ થયાં છે; અથવા, તુલસીદાસજીના રાખ્દ પાપરની કલોએ તા, 'લાગમાંથી તુલસી' થયાં છે.

તમણે ૧૯૨૦ માં કાળજી: 'મારા ધર્મને કાચની, જુગાળની મર્યાદા નથી' ઉપનિવરતા એક મહત્ત્વ કહી ગયા છે કે આપણે વધુ એક માળો જ—ગાંધીજી નું કુટુંબ—અંગનું આશ્રમ છેક સહ-આતમી એવો માળો બનેલું રહ્યું છે. એમના આશ્રમ છેક દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના કાળથી જમતળી નાનો આદરિસાફ રહ્યો છે. એમાં હોંદુ, મુસલમાન, પારસી, ખ્રિસ્તી, હીંદી, અંગ્રેજ, જર્મન, ફ્રેંચ, ઇતીરા, આમેરીકન, ચીની, જરૂની, સહ જાતના એ દેશના માણસો જુદે જુદે વખત આવીને કુટુંબીજનની પોરે રહ્યા છે એમનો સાથે રહેતાં માતંગતળી, ધર્મજનની કે ઉચનીચ આરની દીવાલ કદી આંકે આવી નથી. હોંદુસ્તાન પણ હનિદાસના આરંભ કાળથી અવુજ રહ્યું નથી એમાં અનેક દેવદેવીઓને માનનાર આવા ન

અનાયો, બૌદ્ધ ને જાહાણ, શૈવ અને બૌદ્ધજીવ, શિવતી, મુસલમાન, પારસી, શીખ અને વહુદી કાળાંતરથી હયાંગળીને રહેતા નથી આખ્યા 'એકમ સત પીમા બહુધા વંદતિ' એ દેહવચનને અનુસરનાર હોંદુ ધર્મની બાવના એથી જુદી નથી—જુદી હોય પણ ન સહે.

એ સવાંગ બાવનાથી ન હોંદુ ધર્મની આફ્રિકા પણ દક્ષિત થાય છે. અફ્રિકા એટલે પ્રેમ. ગાંધીજીએ એક વાર કહેલું: 'નસવારનો ત્યાગ કરો પછી, મારો વિરોધ કરનારને આપવા મારે મારી પાસે પ્રેમના પ્યાલા સીવાય બીજું કશું રહ્યું નથી. એ પ્યાલો આપીને હું તેમને મારી નજીક ખેંચવા ની આશા રાખું છું. માણસ પત્ય સાચવ ભેર રહે ન મારી કલાના બદાર ની વાત ન અને હું પુનર્જન્મમાં માનનારા રહ્યો, એટલે હું અતી પણ આશા રાખી રહ્યો છું કે આ જન્મે નહિ તો બીજા કોઈ જન્મે હું સમસ્ત માનવજાતને પ્રમપાકમાં લઈ શકીરા.' અમની આફ્રિકા તો અત્યંત આગળ ગઈ છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના ફિનીક્સ આશ્રમના સર્પી ઘણા હતા. માડપરે થી લટકતા હયાપ. પણ ત્યાં સાપ ન મારવાના અણુજળ્યાં નિયમ હતા. સાગરમતી આશ્રમમાં પણ સર્પોતી વસતી ઢગી. પણ ત્યાં સર્પોને મારવા મા ન આપતા. છાંદરાઓ સાજાસાચી સાપ વરડાવામાં એવા તમેજ યહ બચલા કે સાપ પકડીને દૂર સુકી આવ; પણ અન માર નહીં. સવાસાનમાં તો નાંચાજ અત્યંત એક ડગલું આગળ ગયા. ત્યાં તો સાપ પાછા ફરે. પણ ત્યાં તો અમણે ખુદશામાં સોંપ ૧૨ (પાટલા પણ નહીં) પચારી કરીને જ તાતાનું રાખલું. બીજાં ટકાવે માયુરો પણ આસપાસ સ્થર રહેતાં.

આની પાછળ ગાંધીજીની અદમ બદ્ધ રહેલી હતી. એકવાર તેમણે કહ્યું: 'હું તો સર્વશક્તિમાન પરમેશ્વરના આશ્રમમાં માનનારા છું.' અને જ્યાં

સુધી એની ઇચ્છા દર્શો કે આ કાપને મારે મારે આ શરીરમાં રહેલું, ત્યાં સુધી તમામ જીવમતી તે મારી રક્ષા કરશે; અને જ્યારે એ શરીરની એને જરૂર નહીં રહે ત્યારે આખી દુનીયાનાં બળે તેને ઉગારવા મથશે તો પાનું તેમનું કશું જ સાધવાનું નથી.'

બીજા એક પ્રસંગે કહે: 'સત્યને રસ્તે ચાલતું એ તો ખોડાની ધારપર માસવા જેવું છે, જેને કશું સિવાય બીજા કોઈનો ડર નથી તેજ એ માગે માલી સહે.' હોંદુમાં એમના પર ધુમસા થવાના પ્રસંગો અગાઉ નથી આખ્યા જમ નથી. ૧૯૩૪ની દરિયાના પાના દરમ્યાન પીદારમાં દેવગઢ—જશીદીમાં એમના પર નિષ્વળ ધુમસો થયો ન પછી એમણે નિશવ કવા ન હવે તો પમપાળા જ પાવા કરતી. એજ વરસે જુનમાં પુનામાં તમની સામે બોળ ફેંકવામાં આખ્યા ત્યારે પણ તેઓ ઉમરી ગયા. ન બેળાએ મળે કામ્યુ: 'મન સહીદ થવાની નાજાવેલી નથી ઉપડી. પણ જેને હું પરમ ધર્મ સમજું છું એવા કલંબને આશરતા. અને કરોડો હોંદુઓની સાથે જેને હું સના-તન ધર્મ સમજું છું તેની રક્ષા કરતા એ માર સહીદ થવાનું પાટમાં આવતું દર્શો તો ન ખરી કમાળી જ દર્શો. બોળ મને તેણે નાખ્યા કોમ, મન તો તના પ્રત્યે ઉંડી વધા સીવાય બીજા કશી કામણીજ ઉદ્દજાવતી નથી. વળી કહેલું: 'જેને હું સર્વથા સતકામ' માણું છું તે માનવનાં મને નહતી દોસિ ન જાન મને કરવાનો ધરદો રાખવામાં આતા દર્શો તો પણ નથી ન બાંચ જ અટકી સહે.'

બીજા એક પ્રસંગે આકળા જુવાના તેમના પર ધરતી પાડ્યા, ને પછી કહેલું: 'જ્યારથી ન સેવાનું મન હોય ત્યારથી મારે માથું હું માનવજાતને આપણ રતી ચુકેલો છું. મારે માથું ઉઠાવી દેલું એ દુનિયામાં ને તમા સહેલી વરતું છે. એને મારે જરૂર નહવારી કે સંમનની જરૂર નથી. બદારનું

રક્ષણ તો મેં કદી ગોળ્યું નથી. ખરું
તેનાં માંડે રક્ષણ કરવાનો પીચાર
કરવો એ અર્થ છે, કેમકે રક્ષણ કરવા
નું સામર્થ્ય તો એકલા હાથરમાં ન છે.
કેમકે તે સર્વશક્તિમાન છે. ત્યાં
કહ્યું : 'એમ ન કરે તો નેઓ મને
ભરે હજી, પણ ગાંધીવાદને તેઓ હણી
શકવાના નથી. એ સત્યને હણી
શકાય તો ગાંધીવાદને હણી શકાય.
તે અહીંસાને હણી શકાય તો ગાંધી-
વાદને હણી શકાય. કેમકે ગાંધીવાદ
એટલે સત્ય અને અહીંસાને મારો
સ્વરાજ મેળવવા સીધા પીછું શું છે?'

હરતામની તવારીખમાં અનેક સદા-
દનોની બબ્બ કથાઓ છે. હજરત અલી
નમાજ પઢતા હતા તે વખતે તેમનો
શીર-છેદ થયા, પણ નમાજમાં બંગ
ન પડ્યો. આ કથા ઘણીવાર વાંદ
કરતે ગાંધીજી કહેતા કે 'એકામ

બક્તિ ત આત્મ નામ.' તો કથાની
હતી : એવો પ્રસંગ અમને મારે પણ
આવશે. આપુ પ્રાર્થનામાં હાથ નેત્રી
ને હિબા છે, તેમનો દેહ ગોળાયા વીધાય
છે, ને જે રામ ન અંતિમ શબ્દો
સાંધે તમના દેહ દળી પડે છે. તે
અંતિમ ક્ષણ આત્મ કાળને મારે રહી
પણ તે હૃદયનેકે એ ચિત્ત! ૧૯૩૨
મા રામમા ઈસુની વધસ્તંભે ચડેલી
મુર્તિ એમને ગાંધીજીની આંખમાં આંસુ
આવી ગયાં હતાં. એમના આ અંતિમ
પરિવાનવું ચિત્ત તેમને માનવવર્તનને
જમાનાઓ લગી મનમાં શું ધરે?

કુપ્પે એમના મહા પરિનિર્વાણ વખતે
શિષ્યોને કહેલું : 'આત્મ : તયામન
ની પૂજા મારે મગ વદાઈ દિવસ પાણી
ચગાડા, તોપણ નેટચાથી તેની પૂજા
થનાર નથી. તયામનની પૂજાનો મારો
મા તેણે ઉપદેશ આપ્યો : 'આત્મ રીતે
અનુસરવો એ જ હોશ શકે, મારે,

આત્મ, તમે મારા ધર્મને અનુસરીને
વર્તન રાખજો. મારા પરિનિર્વાણ
પછી મારા દેહની પૂજા કરવાની માથા
ફોડમાં નને પડશે નહિ. મેં જે
સન્માર્ગ ગતાઓ છે તેને અનુસરીને
આપવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરતો. સાધવાન
થતો, ક્ષીયી થતો. અને શાંત થતો.
પૂજના શુદ્ધતા મારા શિષ્ય છે. તે
મારા શરીરની યથાયોગ્ય વ્યવસ્થા કરશે.'

હસુ ક્રીસ્ટે એમના શિષ્યોને કહ્યું
હતું : 'તમે મારી ખંડી આજ્ઞાઓ
પાળશો તો મારા મિત્રો મળીશો.'
(You are my friends, if you
do whatsoever I command
you.)

ગાંધીજીએ પણ તપ્પુ ને પુ નો
કોળને મારા અનુયાયી ગણ્યા નથી.
મારા વિચાર જેને પસંદ પડે તે તેના
અનુયાયી. એ પીચારની પીછા વર્તન
કરનારા ન મારા કે ન મારા વિચારના
અનુયાયી ગણાય.

ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠનો ઠરાવ

ગુજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જન્મસદના તથા
આજીવન કૃષ્ણપતિ, આપણા રાષ્ટ્ર
પિતા, પુ. આપુજીના આર્હાદેન, ગુજરાત
વિદ્યાપીઠના પુના તથા તરસ અધ્યાપકો,
કાર્યકર્તાઓ તથા વિદ્યાર્થીઓનો આ
સખા પાતાના એ પૂજ્યવરના અદ્વા-
બક્તિની અંજલિ આપે છે. તેઓથી
રાષ્ટ્રીય શિક્ષણના સવકાળા હતા,
સ્વરાજ કે રામરાજ્ય અને રાષ્ટ્રના
શિક્ષણનો વિકાસ. મન મન પયોય
તેનાં હતાં. ના વિકાસને અર્થે છ,
સ. ૧૯૨૦ મા. સ્વરાજસભિની સદના
મદ અંગ તરફે તેમણે આ વિદ્યાપીઠ
રચાવી અને ત્યારથી આજ સુધી તેઓથી
તના માર્ગદર્શક અને અધિકારી રહ્યા
છે; અને તેનાં નાનાં મોટા બધા કામો
માં તથા તેના આખાપ વતનની રજે
રજમાં, એક કેકુળના રીકને ના

એવી વગમરી નગરે મન ચીપટ રાખી
દોરવણી ત્યાંથી ન એમની પ્રેરણા
સંસ્થાના પાળા હાલમાં જોનિયાન
જરૂરી છે. તેઓએની ના મદાન
મા તની અગાડી ને એની ખુસિયર
રહતા ના રજા કરા નગર આજે
આપણા આપે એમનાં પાલી-
ના સમારંભનાં તથા પીળા વ્યાખ્યા
ને તથા પ્રવચના સાપણા હાલમાં
તરફે પણ શુંકે છે. એ બધાથી
એમને આપણને સ્વરાજ અને વતનના
ના પ્રજા આપી ને આપણા શિક્ષણ
ને તથા તેમને તરફે પાતાવ્યુ
ના ને ના પણ સવકામાં નાને
એમણે જે આપ્યુ. ત્યાંથી આપણુ
કરના રજા આપ આપણ
જન્મસદના માળાપના કરતા એમની
તમથી આપણ અધિક જીવનભાથુ

અને મોટા વારસા મેળવ્યા છે. આપી
નને ન એવા તો આપણા તથા પ્રાંત
અને દેશના જીવન સાથે જડાયેલા
કા ના ના છે એમ માનતા ના એ
વાર ના મન અચકાપ ન પરેશુ ન
મગ અને એ એક આપણા ના
આપણા હાથની ગોળી ખાઈને ના
આ સવાને અતિ દુઃખ યાવ ના
વદાઈ ના સરમગી કરા નગમગ
ધર્મ આપે છે. ત્યાં આપુ તો અમર
છે. એમના આજીવ તથા અમર મંદેશ
આપણને ન તરફ આપણ તેના તથા
માનવજનને સદાકાળ પ્રેરણા અને મોધ
પાવશે. તે નામ રાજદારી પૂરક
તરફ ન પરેશુ આ વિદ્યાપીઠને ત્યાપની
વખતે તો નમ્રભાવે રજુ હતું નેના,
ન સપિ હતા. ધર્મ ના ના. અર્થોચીન
માળા વિરત પુમમર્તન હતા ના

સંદેશો લખવા માત્ર રજાનું મંદિર ને
સુધી ગયા છે. એ નમના સંદેશોને
તથા તેના અમલ કરવાના માટે રાજ
દરેકાં સેવાકાર્યો અને સિદ્ધાંતોને તથા
કમલ અને કમળીથી આગળ ચલાવ
વાનું કામ નમના અવસ્થાની દુખી
ધનાર સૌને માથે આવે છે. મનુ
ખઈ સમારક તો તેમણે સોંપેલા કામને
અપનાવવું એ છે. અને એજ અમને
આપણા સાચા શ્રદ્ધાસ્થિ હોઈ શકે

એમાં એ મહાપરમારના સાચી શક્તિ
અને આ દેશની ખરી નામ રહેતી છે.
આ સખા માને મુજરાત તેવા
પીર મહાન રાષ્ટ્રપિતાને એ એક
સાચું અને મુક્તિમાં આરક છે. અને
તે તરીકે તેને મુજરાત અને દેશી હવે
ખીતવા જેમએ. આ કામમાં આપણે
સૌ સાથ અને તળો આપીએ તો જ
આપણે આપણા કલ્યાણને પ્રત્યક્ષ
મનુ શકીશિય તમા અદા તમે

મનુપ. આ સખા સ્નાતક સંધને
સુચના કરે છે કે, ઉપરની આપત આન
માં કમલ તેને અમલમાં આણવાને માટે
ધરનાં પગલાં ખરવા ને પ્રબંધ કરે,
અને વિશ્વાસી મંડળને ને વીનંતિ કરે
છે કે, વીઘાપીડને હવે આપણના જીવન
સમારક તરીકે મળી તેમણે દર્શાવેલા
સિદ્ધાંત અનુસાર ખરી કલાવણીના ધામ
તરીકે તેને મુજરાતની સેવા માટે ખીતવ
સને નિરધાર કરે.

“રતન ગરુ રેખાઈ—”

(૧)

દિધિગિએ દેવેના મારવા
હરણ આપ્યા હાડ,

(૧) બાળાબરી ખુન અર્પિયા,
દૃશ્મન જ્યાંકયા મળ;

ધાપ્યા નવસાં રાજ,
દુષિયાંતા દરબારમાં.

(૨)

તું ગીતમ-મહામહાશય,
તુ સવક દનમળ,

ધરનીપર આવી કલુ
મનુખ્ય જાતીનું માન.

તું સૌથીય મદાન,
નાર-સમ કોષ તહિ.

(૩)

સનની તેં રવાધો સીમા,
શૌચ-દયા-તપ-સૌચ,

તું સેખ્યા સૌ સદગુણ,
ખની મલ વધુ ઉચ્ચ;
સનની નારી કુચ
મરનાયે ચંચા નાહ.

(૪)

પામરમા તુ પ્રકા શે,
પામલ વચ્ચ વિરાદ.

આવીને ચાલ્યો ગયો,
તપના પડીને પાદ.

માનવતાને કાળ
સંદેશ આપી ગયા.

(૫)

મદ દિલ્હાના ચાકમાં
ખિરલાને મંદિર

નારાં વચાં કધિર
બકત જનોનાં પ્રદમાં,

ઓચિંતાંજ વિમાન,
સરગાપરથી આવિયા.

(૬)

રાજચાટની રેતમાં,
શ્રી જમુતાને તીર.
પંચત પાખ્યાં શરીર,
કેમણો દશપી રહ્યો.

અક્ષ ચાલ્યો તીર,
સંઘાથી સુના મુકી.

(૭)

નિરાધાર નાઆખલી,
સેવાગમ સુનકાર
દાદાકાર કાષ રહ્યો,
મહાભારત મોઝાર,

દિલ્હાને દરબાર,
મદારથીઓ કક્ષી રચા.

(૮)

સંત ગયા સૌરજ રહી,
રચા જીવન બચુકાર,
મંદન ગાપુ માંધોજી
લાખ કળારા વાર

ગાંધીજીનું સ્વપ્ન

તા. ૧૪-૧-૪૮ ના રોજ દિલ્હીમાં સાયંપ્રાર્થના ખાત્ર પ્રવચનમાં ગાંધીજી આ મહત્વના શબ્દો બોલ્યા હતા :

... જ્યારે હું નાનો હતો અને રાજકારણમાં કશું જ જાણતો નહોતો ત્યારથી હું બ્રહ્મસમાન વર્ગોના હિંદુના અધિકારનું સ્વપ્ન જોતો આવ્યો છું. મારાં જીવનના સંખ્યાકાળે, મારે એ સ્વપ્ન હજોડું વેળેએ હું નાના પાણક જેવું નાચીશ. ત્યારે પુરે આયુષ બોગવ વાની મારી આશા-કે જે આપણા ક્ષતિઓએ ૧૨૫ વર્ષનું કહ્યું છે-ને ફરીથી જીવતી થશે. એવા સ્વપ્નની સિદ્ધિને માટે પોતાનું જીવન કર્યાન કરવાનું કોણ પસંદ નહીં કરે? એ મારે સ્વપ્ન સિદ્ધ થશે ત્યારે આપણને સાચું સ્વરાજ મળશે. ત્યારે કાયદાની નજરે ૧ જુઓળની નજરે બંધે આપણે એ રાજ્ય રહીએ, છતાં રોજના જીવનમાં આપણે એ નહીં હોઈએ. આપણું દિલ એક હશે. આ દૃશ્ય મારે માટે તથા તમારે માટે પણ એવું બન્યું છે કે તે સાચું પડી ન શકે. છતાં પણ એક પ્રખ્યાત ચિત્રકારે તેના એક બાળીતા ચિત્રમાં બતાવેલાં જાળકની પેઠે, જ્યાં સુધી એ દૃશ્ય હું ન પામી શકું ત્યાં સુધી મને સત્યાગ્રહ નહીં થાય. એનાથી ઓછાને માટે હું જીવું નહીં ને જીવવા માગતો નથી. પાકિસ્તાનથી સવાત પુછનારા વાઈસરોયે આ આદર્શની નજીક પહોંચવામાં મને વચાસકિત મદદ કરે. જ્યારે આપણે આદર્શ પર પહોંચી જઈએ ત્યારે ને આદર્શ નથી રહેતો પરંતુ એની નજીક આપણે જઈએ ત્યાં સદાએ છીએ. દરેક માણસ આ આદર્શ સુધી પહોંચવાને માટે કાષ્ટ બનવા માટે આત્મશુદ્ધિ કરી શકે છે,

૧૯૪૬ માં દિલ્હી કે આમનેના કિલ્લો જતવા હું ગયેલો, ત્યારે મેં એક દરવાજા પર એવી કડીઓ વાંચી હતી. જેને કયાં જન્મત હોય તો તે અહીં છે,

અહીં છે, અહીં છે." તે કિલ્લાની બહોળસાલી નો હતી, છતાં મારા મનથી તે જન્મત નહોતો, પરંતુ જે પાકિસ્તાન એવું કાષ્ટ બને કે તેના દરેક દરવાજે આ કડીઓ લખી શકાય, તો મને ખુબ ખુબ ખુશી થાય. એવા સ્વપ્નમાં-તે પાકિસ્તાનમાં થાયો કે બુનીયનમાં થાયો-ત્યાં કોઈ મરીય નહીં હોય, કોઈ બાખારી નહીં હોય; કોઈ કિચ નહીં હોય, કોઈ નીચ નહીં હોય; ન કોઈ કરોડપતિ શેઠ હશે ન કોઈ જખ્ખો નોકર હશે. ત્યાં સરાય નહીં હોય, ન કોઈ બીજી નસાની ચીજ. સૌ પોતાની ગેજે ખુશીથી અને ગર્વની સાથે પોતાના રેહલો કમાવાને માટે મહેનત મજુરી કરશે. ત્યાં જીવોને પણ પક્ષો જેવું જ સન્માન હશે, અને તેમના શિષ્ય તથા પવિત્રતા તી રક્ષા થતી હશે. પોતાની પત્ની સીવાયની દરેક જાને તેની ઉંમર મુજબ, દરેક ધર્મના પુરો મા, બહેન કે બેરી સમજશે. ત્યાં અસ્પૃશ્યતા નહીં હોય, અને જ્યાં ધર્મો પ્રત્યે સરખા આદર રખાતો હશે, હું આશા રાખું છું કે, જે બધા આ સંબંધે પા વાચે, તેઓ મને હાથ કરે કે, જીવન દેનારા સુપના પ્રકાશમાં પડ્યો હું આ કાળ્પનિક આનંદની મદદીમાં વળી ગયો. જેઓ શંકાશીલ હોય તેમને હું ખાનરી આપવા ચાહું છું કે મારા મનમાં જરાય એવી પ્રિય નથી કે ઉપવાસ જતરી છૂટે. મારા જેવા સુપના તરંગના લીધે ખામ કરી ન હોય અને મારા ઉપવાસ કદીય ન છૂટે, તો તેમાં મને જરાય વાંધા નથી. જરૂરી હોય ત્યાં સુધી રાજ બંધાની મારામાં ધારજ છે. પરંતુ

મને બચાવવાનેજ માટે લોક એ કશુંય કરશે તો મને દુ:ખ થશે. મારા દાવો છે કે, ઉપવાસ ધર્મરની પ્રેરણાથી શરૂ થયો એ અને ધર્મરની જે મચ્છા હશે અને જ્યારે હશે તો અને ત્યારે જ તે છૂટશે. એની પ્રિયને આજ સુધી કોઈ દાળી રાક્યુ નથી, ને કદી કોઈ દાળી રાકનાર નથી."

બાપુ

મોટા સરનો મોજ તુટ્યો આ?

કે વ્હાણનો કપા થ'ભ?

કાટ્યો પ્લાડનો પ્લાડ હિમાલય?

કે આ કો ધાર બુક'પ?

બની લોમ ગાંધી વિનાની

તુડી હાય દાંડી ધરાની,

સાગર આખો ધાર બેડીને

નાથા ક'ઝાવાત;

નાય વેન જ્યાં આવ્યો કીનારો,

ત્યાં આ શો રે આધાન.

ખરાબે કાવી પછાડી,

વિષુ ને નાય લમારી.

બપા બાપુ! ત્હન મયુ શું?

મયા પ્રેમ ને ત્યાગ?

બપા ગાંધી! સાય મયુ શું?

મયા શીલ સુદામ?

મનુ કુલ બાણ બુ'સાયા!

ધરાનો પ્રાણ હણાવો!

—રુનેલ્કરશર્મા.

પુજ્ય બાપુ

સુશીલા ગાંધી

હસાવળુ કોમળ મુકત હાસ્ય
આનંદ પપો ઝડીઓ ઝરી રહે.
આંખ બંને પ્રેમ તણી પ્રકાશ
અમકાવતો માનવ મોટી વહે
અને અનરેથી તપ વારી કેરા
અનેક ધારે ઉડતા કુવારા.

એ પ્રેમળ મુકત હાસ્ય આપણી સમક્ષ
થી સદાને મારે હ્રાંત થયું. અને
પંચ મહાભુતોમાં વીલીન થયું. મહાત્મા
ગાંધીને જમતે ઘણી અઠણીઓ આપી.
એમના હવન કરતાં એમના અલીદાને
એમને મહાત્મા બનાવ્યા. એમની મહત્તા
વધી. એકોએ એમની મહત્તા બેદર-
ગાથી હતી. એમનું હવન ઉઘાડી
જીતાળ ફલું. જે કે ઘણા તેમના
નિચારો, તેમના કાર્યો, સખાણો, સમજી
નહોતા શકતા. છતાં સર્વેને મન તેઓ
એક મહાત્મા અદ્ભુત વ્યક્તી—મહાત્મા
ગાંધી હતાં.

બાપુને જેમ જમત મહાત્મા પુગ પુરુષ
માને છે તેમ અમે પણ માનીએ છીએ.
બાપુ ત્યારે ટોળાંઓથી ઘેરાયેલા હોય
અથવા કામ કરતા હોય ત્યારે અમને
એમ લાગતું કે બાપુ અમારાથી ઘણા
દુર છે—બાપુ મહાત્મા છે—તેઓ એવી
ટોચ ઉપર છે કે જ્યાં જઈએ અમારે
માટે અસંકલ્પ છે. ત્યારે શ્રદ્ધાથી તેમના
ચરણોમાં અમે ખસતાં, અને જાન
અવણ કરતાં. પણ જ્યારે બાપુ સુવા
જતાં અથવા જમતાં એકલા હોય
ત્યારે અમે પાસે બેસતાં, પગ ઠાપતા,
ત્યારે અમને લાગતું કે અમે અમારા
બાપુ પાસે છીએ. ત્યારે અનેક મીઠી
મશકરીઓ જેમ બાળક મા પાસે કરે
તેવી કરતાં. અનેક લાડ કરતાં આવે
સમયે જ બાપુ પાસે રહેનાર ને બાપુને
મીઠા પ્રેમ મળતો.

ગાંધીજીના બે રૂપ હતાં. “એક
મહાત્મા ગાંધીને વિશાળ રૂપ અને
બીજું અમારા બહાસરોવા બાપુનું
સૂક્ષ્મ રૂપ. મહાત્મા ગાંધીને ધણીએ
મળવા કે બાપુને બાળવાનો સ્વાદો
ઘણા ઘોડાને મળ્યા છે.

બાપુ અમારા બાળકોના પ્રેમળ
દાદા હતા. અંધકારમાં ઘેરાયેલા માર્ગ
ના તે માર્ગદર્શક દીપક હતા. અને
અમારા કુટુંબના—અને કુટુંબ એટલે
ફક્ત અમે જ નહીં પણ તમોના વિશાળ
પરીવાર—કે જેઓએ તેમને બાપુ
માન્યા હતા—તમના પૂજનીય વડીલ
હતાં.

બાપુ દમેશાં ઘણા કામમાં રહેતા.
અમને વાતા કરવાનો બાગ્યે જ વખત
મળતો. ધણીવાર અમને એવી જમણા
થતી કે અમારા બાપુને જનતાએ
અમારી પાસેથી બુચરી લીધા છે. પણ
તેમના અમારા પ્રત્યેના અતુલ પ્રેમ—
અમારે માર્ગની તમની ચિંતા અમારી
જમણા બાંગળી. અસંખ્ય કામમાં
પણ અમે ક્યાં જઈ રહ્યાં છીએ, શું
કરીએ છીએ, અમારા બાળકો કેમ
ઉછેરે છે, તેમના બાવા-પીવા-શરીર
આરોગ્ય—અને બહુતર તીંગરેની સતત
કાળજી રાખતા. અને જ્યારે જ્યારે
જરૂર જણાય ત્યારે ત્યારે અમને સલાહ
ફરકો કે હીમ્મત આપતા. અમારા
અળેરા બાળવા તેઓ હરોશાં આતુર
રહેતા. નોઆબલીની પાના વખતે
ઘણે લાંબે માળે મેં પત્ર લખ્યાં. અને
તેમાં ઘણે વખતે પત્ર લખ્યાનું કારણ
જણાવ્યું કે “આપ ઘણા કામમાં રોકા
છો. પત્ર લખી નહીં આપવાની
હચકા ન થઈ...” તેના જવાબમાં
બાપુએ લખ્યું કે “મારા ઉપર
દયા બાઈને કાળજી લખવામાં સંકાય

ન શાખવો, કોઈ બાપને મેં જણ્યો નથી
જે પોતાના દીકરા દીકરીના કાળજીથી
કંટોળે, તમારા કાળજીથી અને
તમને મળીને સ્વભાવીકર મને આનંદ
થાય.” આમાં તેમના કેટલા પ્રેમનીતરે
છે? આજે એવા અસંખ્ય મીઠા
પ્રસંગો આંખ આગળ તરે છે અને
આંખ બંની થાય છે.”

સૌથી ખેડકું મીઠું અમરણ મેં તમા
સંબંધી તરિકે આશ્રમમાં પ્રવેશ કર્યો
ત્યારે જ્યારે આંખ આગળ ખડું થાય
છે. બાપુ સાથે સંકળાયેલા મારા છેલ્લા
ચોકવીસ વર્ષના જીવન અમરણ આંખ
આમેથી ચિત્તપટની જેમ સરી જાય છે.
અનેક કામમાં હોવા છતાં મેં જ્યારે
નવવધુ તરિકે આશ્રમમાં પ્રવેશ કર્યો
ત્યારે ત્યાની બાંહેલી રસોઇ મારે મળે
નથી ઉતરતી એ બાપુએ બોલ્યું. મને
નહકે બોલાવી પ્રેમભરી વાણીમાં
જણાવ્યું: “સુશીલા હું તારો સસરા
નથી. બાપુ જ છું. તારે મને વગર
સંકાય તારી જરૂરીયાતો જણાવવી
જોઈએ.” “મારા પતીને બોલાવી મીઠો
ફપકો આપના કહ્યું, “મેં તને પરણાવ્યો.
દરે તારે સુશીલાને સંબાળવી જોઈએ.
પારકી દીકરી લાવ્યા છીએ તે કાચવાવ
નહીં એ બેવાનું તારે રહ્યું.” હું
લાગુબર વિચારમાં પડી. બાપુને આ
પ્રતિવાદના કરવાની શી જરૂર પડી?
ત્યાં બાપુએ મને કહ્યું: “શું જોઈ
રહ્યો છું કે તું અહીં યરાયર બાઈ
નથી શકતી. તને આવું બાવાની ટેવ
તવી હોય.” ઘણી દાસ્ય સાથે વીનોદ
કરત કહ્યું: “તું તો મોટા ઘરની દીકરી.
રોજ પંચ પકયાન ખાતા હશે. પણ
મેં તો તને ખેડાજ જણાવ્યું છે ના
કે હું ફાર છું?” અને મંબાર થતાં
ઉમેયું. “તને આ ન દાવે એ હું
સમજી શકું છું. અહીં જે ખાતગી

રસોડા ને તેમ તારી ગાલવાળ દુ કરી
કરશે." મેં સહાય સાથે જલ્પવ્યુ
"આપુ હે અહીંજ જમીશ, ધીમે
ધીમે બાવનું થય. "આપના મહેરા
કિપર આનંદ જગાડ્યા હિંચો તેમજ
મંતાપ સાથે વ્યુ "અને એ બાદ
અમ્યુ." અમનો એ આનંદ એ દાસ્ય
અમને ધન્ય કામો કરવા પ્રેરતાં. અને
એ બાદેલી રસોડા મને માન્યતાથી એ
વધારે મીઠી લાગવા માંડી.

અમારાં બાળકોને પ્રેમથી પડખામાં
બેસાડતા, દાસ્ય વિનોદ કરતા, શીખા-
વણો આપતા-મહેને બે મીનીટજ-પગ
અમને એ મીનીટો ધન્ય લાગતી. અમે
દેશ દત્તા ત્યારે અમારા બે મોટાં
બાળકો-સીતા અને અરુણી-અખાસ
ની ખતે પરીક્ષા લીધી. અને મું શું
સાહે છે, શું શું સુધારવાની જરૂર છે
એની ન્દાની મોટી સુચનાઓ આપી.
અમારી સૌથી ન્દાની દોઢરી હમેશાં
"આપુ પાસે દોઢી જતી અને વિનોદ કરી
આવતી. એક વાર "આપુ જળી રથા
હતાં.

હજા એ જાણ આપુને પુછ્યુ "આપુ તમે
ન્દાના હતા ત્યારે પણ અથા તમને આપુ
કહેતા "આપુ હરવા, અને રમુજથી કહ્યું.
"ના, ત્યારે તો કોઇ મોહજ કહે તો કોઈ
મોહનીયો કહે." કહેતાં જુગ મગ
પડી તેને તા "મોહનીયો, મોહનીયો."
કહી નાચવા માંડ્યું. તેના વિનોદ
જેઠ "આપુનું દાસ્ય પણ ખીલી કિડ્યુ.

આશ્રમમાં અમારાં એક બાળકને
નાવ આપ્યો. આપુને ખજર પડતાજ
મને ખેલાતી. ઝીણી ઝીણી ખાવા ખીરા
ની અનેક સુચનાઓ આપી. તપ સાત
સાધારણ હતા. છતાં આપુની ચિંતા
મેં જોઈ. તાવે તો ખીજે જ દીવસે
અરુણને યાડવો. પણ આપુના પંજ
માંથી તે પાચ છ દીવસ ન છુટ્યો.
તે પાંચ છ દીવસ ઉપવાસ કે અર્ધ
ઉપવાસ ઉપર તેને રાખ્યો હતો. મહા
એનેત કહવા કરી છહે દિવસે "આપુના

ખાખરામથા એક ખાખરો ખાવાની
રત તેને મેળવી. તે વિનોદમાં
આપુને વ્યુ: "આપુ હે ને મોટી
પડ તા તમને તા જલ્પવ્યુજ નહીં.
આપુએ દેવન હસતા હસતા મેં હસાવી,
અજી કહેતા ન હોય "જોઈ કહીશ."

આપ આજે આપણી વચ્ચેથી ચાલ્યા
મયા જે આપણે કરી કરી તેમને જેવા
નથી પામવાના. તમને પ્રમાણે દાય
આશીર્વાદ આપતા હા આપણા વાસા
ને કપકારવાનો નથી છતાં આપુ આપણાં
હૃદયમાં મહા અમરજ રહેશે

આપુ પાસે રહેનારને હમેશાં નક્ક-
રાશની ધારે ચાલવું પડતું. તેઓની
જુલોન પ્રાપ્તિપત આપુ પોતેજ કરતા.
આવા અનેક પ્રસંગોએ સાચીઓને
આંસુ પણ સારવા પડતા સદગત
મદદદેવબા જ્યેનિ પણ આંસુ સારવા
પડવા હતા. સાચીની જુલથી "આપુને
ચણું ફાંખ થતું. તેઓ કદી મુઝે ન
યતા. પણ તમના દુઃખબયો વેણ
હૃદયમાં સોસરવા કિતરી જતા અને
માખસને હમેશ નજીવ રાખતા. પોતા
ની પાસે રહેનારની કિપર તેઓ જુગ
કહક રહેતા. એજ ત્યાજ તેમને હીંદુ-
મુસ્લીમ એકથ માટે લીધા. અને તે
એમનો પ્રાણ હરનાર થત પડ્યો.
મારનારે ધર્મની રક્ષા જરૂર કરી પણ
ત હીંદુ ધર્મની નહીં પણ રક્ષના ધર્મની.

શી કૃપાળને બાળપણથી અનેક
દાવતરાં કરી મારવાનો પ્રયત્ન ચંચા
હતા. તબ અંતકાળે પારખીના ખાખ
યા તમને દીપક લુગ્યો.

આપુ મટે પણ તેમજ પા-વુ. આ
દેશમાં મેવા સ્વીકારી ત્યારથી તેમના
કિપર પ્રાણ હરનારા અનેક હમજાઓ
આ દેશમાં અને હીંદમાં થયા. પણ
આ બહીદાને તમને કૃષ્ણ અને હજુની
પંકતીમાં બેસાડી તેમની અમરતા ઉપર
એકેર મારી અને આપુ અમર થયા.
આપુને અનેક કપે જનતાએ નીહાળ્યા
એમ એક કવી કહે છે.

"પિતા છે દિવ્ય કાતીના વિરાટ
નવ યુગના.
તે છે માતા, અહીંસાની ગાદે જગ
કપેદતા.
પદ્મ છે સી ગુલામના, દેવ છે
દુઃખીયા તથા,
આરા છે વિશ્વ આખાના, છે
સર્વસ્વજ હીંદના."

અમારા પણ સર્વસ્વજ હતા. ।
જતાં આનંદ અમે અનાથ થયાં છીએ.

અમના અનેક નીહા રમરણો અમાર
માટે અને અમારા બાળકો માટે એક
અમુલ્ય ખજાનો છે. તે સદા અમને
પગ અને પ્રાત્સાદન આપતો રહેશે
અને અમારી અહાને અચળ રાખશે.
આરા યુગ પુરના યુગમાં જન્મવા
માટે અને તેમની થોડી ધણી સંવા કરવા
માટે અમે ખરજ નાખવામાં છીએ.
પણ ખરો નાખવાળી ત્યારે જ યજ
ત્યારે તમને ખતાવેલે માગે જગ બરતા
ખરતા તમના આશીર્વાદને ત્રાપક થશુ.

—પારથીએ લેખ કોચને માર્યું—

વાલમીકી ના ના કહેતા રથા અને
વાતકા પારધિએ કાચની જોડીમાંથી
એકને માર્યું, અને કીચિને ને ફાળ
થંચું તેવા દુઃખમાં આજ હીંદુતાન
ફળી ગયું છે. આ કણ ઘટના જોઈને
વાલમીકીનું હૈયુ જે રાજદોષા દલવાકુ
તના સંગીત અને સ્વરૂપે થી રામચંદ
ની કથાને સંગીત અને સ્વરૂપ આપ્યુ.
આપણા વહાલા આપુ તપ અને ચાહિસા
કે પ્રેમને માટે કરવાન થયા, તે કહણ
પ્રસંગે દુઃખનું જે આખ દાટ્યુ તેના
નાદના મેળમાં આપણો ઇતિહાસ-હીંદ
ની બાપી કથા રચાઓ. સદગતના
આત્માની સાતી ગમડ એવું કોઈ આપણે
ન કરીએ. કેમકે, તે કે એમનું શરીર
પંચજૂતમાં મળી ગયું છે પરંતુ જરૂર
અમનો આત્મા ઉપરથી આપણને જુએ છે
—શ્રી, રાજગોપાલાચારી.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER

HISTORIC MARCH

અહતિદાશીક કુચ



Scene of the historic march of strikers into the Transvaal in 1913.

૧૯૧૩ ની ઇંગ્લેન્ડની અહતિદાશીક કુચમાં ગાંધીજીની હાજરી.

GETTING ARRESTED

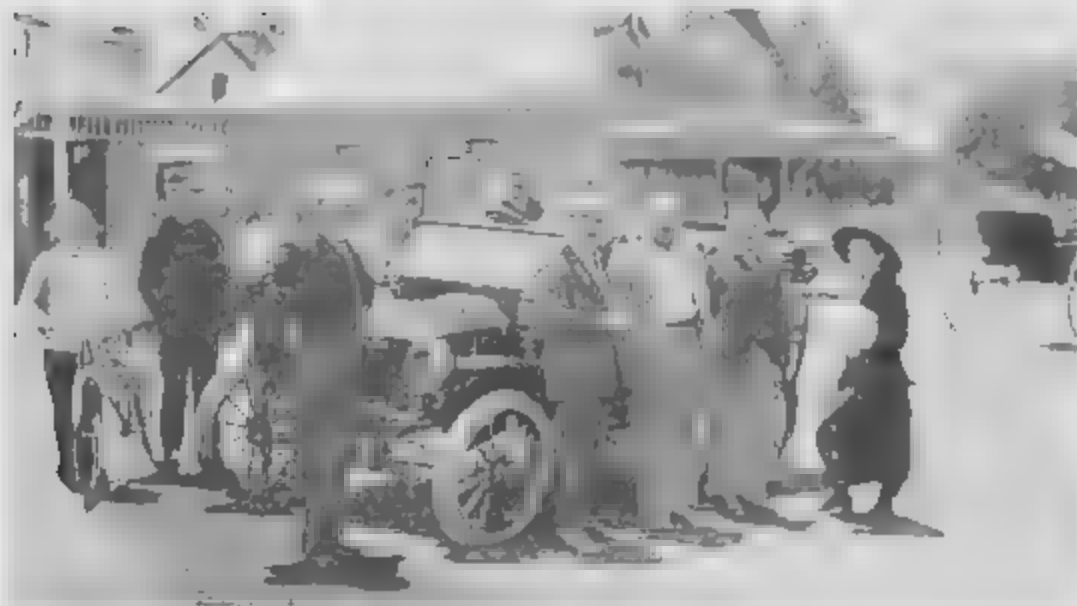


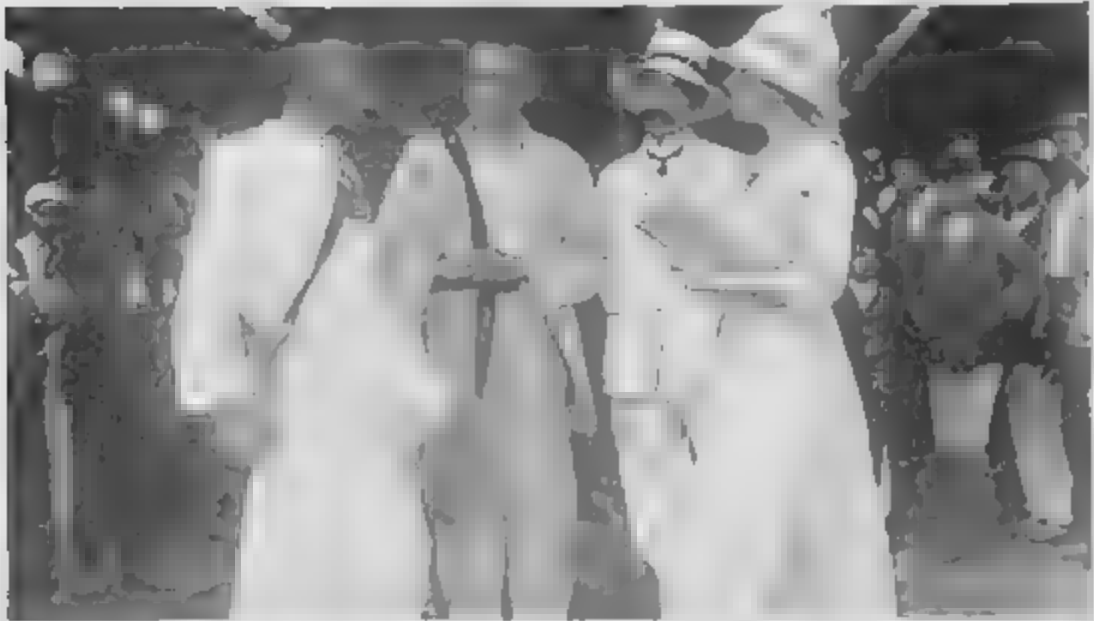
Photo of Gandhi taken in Volksrust at the time of his arrest in connection with the 1913 strike. On his right is Miss Schlesin and on his left is Mr. Kallenbach, two of Gandhi's staunch co-workers.

૧૯૧૩ ની ઇંગ્લેન્ડની અહતિદાશીક કુચમાં ગાંધીજીની હાજરી. ગાંધીજીની હાજરી બાદમાં મિસ સ્લેસિન અને મી. કાલેન્બેચ, ગાંધીજીના મુખ્ય સાથીઓ હતા.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL NUMBER

THE GENERALS CONFERRING

ସମ୍ପାଦକ : ଡ଼ି. ରଘୁନାଥ ମହାପାତ୍ର



The picture shows Gaudin and Mr. Kallenbach conferring during the Great Strike in 1913. The lady is Mrs. H. S. J. Polak, the author of "Gaudin The Man."

이제부터 시작하는 이 책은, 이렇듯 다양한 관점의 연구자들이 이 책을 통해 자신의 연구 성과를 소개하고, 이를 통해 학제적 접근의 중요성을 강조하고 있다. 이 책은, 이렇듯 다양한 관점의 연구자들이 이 책을 통해 자신의 연구 성과를 소개하고, 이를 통해 학제적 접근의 중요성을 강조하고 있다.

PIONEER SETTLERS OF TOLSTOI FARM

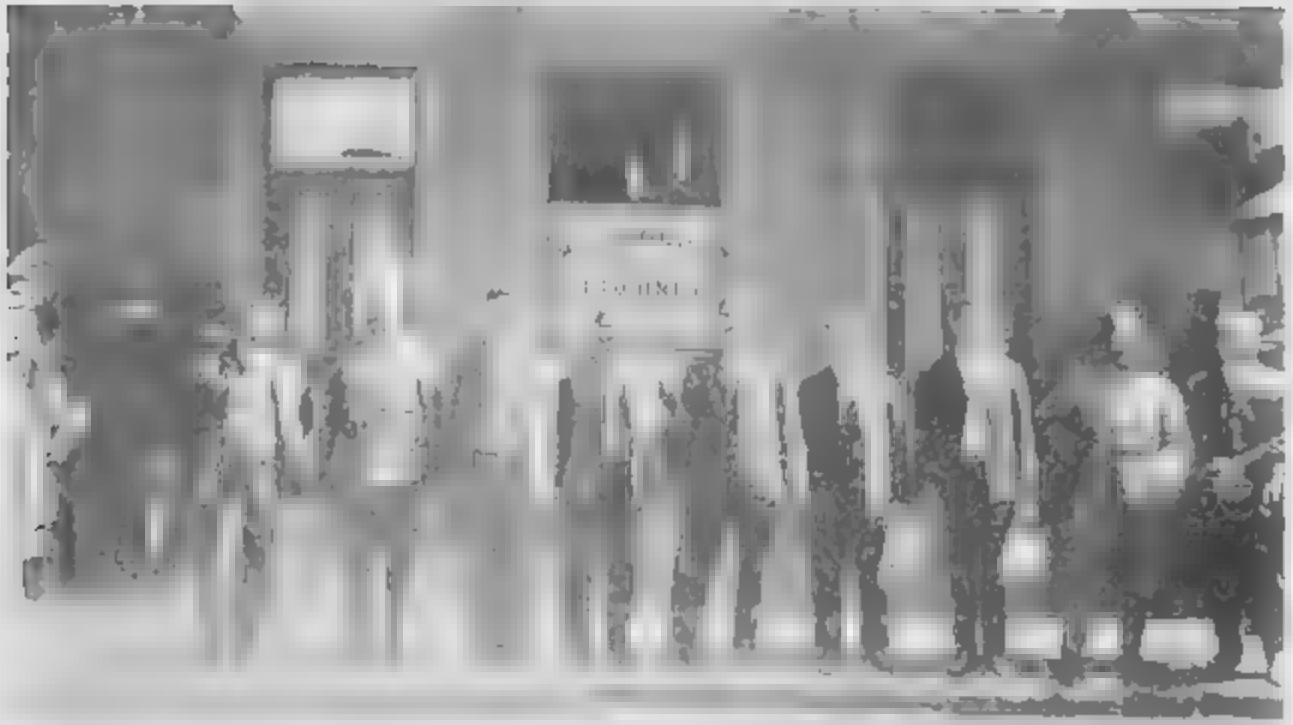
પ્રેરણાપ્રેરણ કાર્યના પ્રથમ સિદ્ધાંતો



The Tolstoi Farm was founded by Gandhi to house the family members of the Passive Resisters. Mr. H. Kallenbach who is sitting next to Gandhi in the centre was the donor of the Farm and also a settler.

한편, 이 연구의 한계점은 다음과 같다. 첫째, 본 연구는 단면연구로서 인과관계를 규명할 수 없다는 한계점이 있다. 둘째, 본 연구는 자살의 위험을 평가하는 데에 초점을 맞추어, 자살의 원인과 결과에 대한 심층적인 분석을 제공하지 못했다는 한계점이 있다. 셋째, 본 연구는 자살의 위험을 평가하는 데에 초점을 맞추어, 자살의 예방과 치료에 대한 실질적인 제언을 제공하지 못했다는 한계점이 있다.

GANDHIJI'S OFFICE



Gandhi outside his office in Shantong during the Passive Resistance movement in 1908. On his left is the late Thantli Naidoo, one of Gandhi's staunchest lieutenants. Sixth from the left is Mr. Feng Quinn, the Chinese leader who took an active part in the Passive Resistance movement.

[illegible]

FAREWELL TO SOUTH AFRICA



Last photo of Gandhiji and Kasturba in South Africa taken in Capetown in 1914, when they left these shores.

[illegible]

સમદર્શી વિધાતા

“સમદર્શી વિધાતા દરેક માણસને પોતાનું કર્તવ્ય અને પોતાના વશ બંધ છે. જે કોઈ જગતના જીવનનો ભાગે હોય છે અને પોતાના જીવનની આકૃતિ આપે છે તે એ રીતે મરીતે પણ જીવે છે.

“જે કોઈ જગતમાં અન્યાયનો ભાગ બનેલાઓનો સંઘળા ભાગે હોય છે અને પોતાના અંતરમાં સંઘરે છે તેનું એ યાતના બેઠવામાં શ્રેયજ છે, પછી બંધે તેને માણસના બાવિને બેઠવું પડે. તે કેવી રીતે મરવાનો હતો ?

“એના પર મૃત્યુની આકૃતિ હોય રહી નથી, એ જાનાં સ્વરૂપકાળમાં તે અમરત્વનો અધિકારી બને છે અને તે મરણવશ થયો હોતો નથી.

“કલાક મુધી તમે એને જોયા પણ એટલા વખતમાં એ જડતો નથી. અને પછી ઉત્પત્તિથી તમે એના તરફ નજર કરો તો અમરત્વમાં પ્રતિષ્ઠિત થયેલું એનું મુઠા તમે ભાગશે.

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—એ. સી. સ્વીનબર્ન.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1905

No. 13—Vol. XLVI

FRIDAY 10TH APRIL 1948

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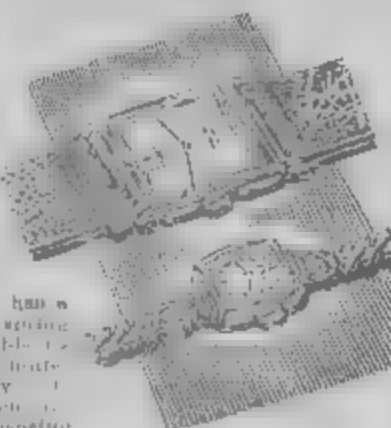
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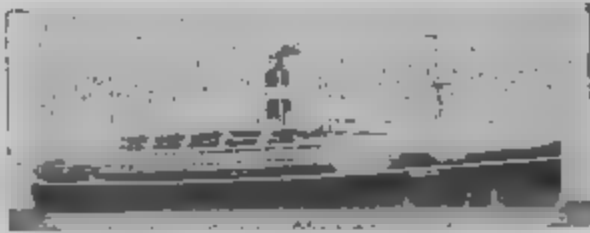
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૧૩ (એ) કોર્ટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ

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INDIAN OPINION

Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 15 VOL XLVI

Friday, 10th April, 1948

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
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Indian Opinion

Friday, 10th April, 1948

Is This Justice?

WE are supposed to be living in a civilised age. We shall, however, have to leave that for posterity to judge. Those of us who have not lost our senses completely can feel and see that there is something radically wrong with us human beings. Instead of progress there is retrogression. We seem to be becoming more and more inhuman than human. "What is becoming of the world?" It seems to be coming to an end. This is the feeling one has when one witnesses the things happening around him. Is there no way of salvation? There is. Christ, Socrates, Buddha, Gandhi have shown us the way by their own lives. But our vision is blurred, our senses have become numbed. We have yet to receive many a hard knock and it will be perhaps just a little too late before we wake up. Who knows, it is perhaps destined so. However much we can boast of the atom bomb no power is yet born that can stay the hands of destiny. If that thought could only humble us and bring us to our senses,

there would be peace in the world instantly. But those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad, and that is what we are finding to-day almost throughout the world. The clouds are gathering fast; there is no knowing when they will burst and what havoc they will play.

These thoughts have come to us from a local little incident. The Volksrust Magistrate has sentenced a twenty-one-year-old Indian youth to three months' hard labour and to solitary confinement and spare diet two days in a week for the first month. And for what? Did he commit a murder? Did he assault anybody? Did he rob anybody? Did he steal? Did he swear? Did he injure anybody knowingly or unknowingly? No. He committed the grievous crime of exercising his God-given freedom of movement within the land of his birth. Mark the contrast! While he received such a harsh sentence, one who had seduced and abetted him to commit the crime was not even touched by the police. The reader can judge which was the more

serious crime. If the first can be called a crime, the second is comparatively a Hinduism crime. We are referring to the case in which Mr. Manilal Gandhi had led a batch of Passive Resisters to unlawfully cross the border from Natal into the Transvaal on April 11, since at which Mr. Gandhi were arrested and each received a sentence of three weeks' hard labour, and the one mentioned above received the extra penalty for having repeated the crime for the second time.

The least we can say about the Magistrate who sentenced him is that he seemed to be lacking both in human feeling and sense of humour. If he had any human feeling he could have seen that what was described as a crime was in fact no crime at all. It was a natural thing for any person to do or to wish to do and his self-respect would be hurt if he were not allowed to do it. If he had any sense of humour the Magistrate would have admired the pluck the young man had in quietly uttering rather than submitting to what was glaringly an injustice, and his sense of justice might have led him to treat the whole matter with a little more sympathy than allow-

ing himself to be led away by prejudice which he seems to have done. It will be interesting to hear if the Minister of Justice will confirm this sentence which, in our view, is beyond the power of the Court to pass under the law.

To our own people we would say, let this not frighten us. We must be prepared for much worse things. A Satyagrahi fears nothing—he fears only God and marches onward with faith in Him. Let us therefore think of the great cause we are fighting for, of those who are languishing in gaol and let us not rest until freedom is won.

RESISTERS SENTENCED

ONE TO SOLITARY CONFINEMENT AND SPARE DIET

THE nine resisters who had crossed the border into the Transvaal from Natal with Mr. Manilal Gandhi, appeared at the Magistrate's Court at Volksrust on Monday on a charge of illegally crossing the border. Eight were sentenced to three months' hard labour. The ninth was sentenced to three months' hard labour with spare diet and solitary confinement for two days each week for the first month. (Spare diet consists of watery mealie-meal gruel.)

Five resisters led by Mr. Gwendolyn Soobas of Pretoria, who had crossed the border into Natal from the Transvaal at the same time as Mr. Gandhi and his party had entered into the Transvaal, were tried in the Newcastle Court on Monday and were each sentenced to two months' with hard labour.

MR. MANILAL GANDHI NOT ARRESTED

ON Sunday, April 11, Mr. Manilal Gandhi, accompanied by nine Passive Resisters, crossed from Natal into the Transvaal border without the necessary permit required under the Immigration Regulation Act, 1913, which prohibits free movement of Asiatics from one Province into the other. On their way to Volksrust, the border town of the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi and party were entertained at Ladysmith by leaders of the Congress. The nine resisters, who had reached Ladysmith the previous night were accommodated by Mr. Jamalooddeen. Mr. Manilal Gandhi who arrived on Sunday morning, had breakfast at Mr. Vithal Lala's residence. A meeting was held to wish Mr. Manilal Gandhi and the batch of resisters good-speed. Dr. Saday presided. Mr. Manilal Gandhi, in the course of his speech, said he regretted to see that the enthusiasm among the people was waning. The time had come, he said, for less speech and more action. If they now backed out they would not only be betraying those who were languishing behind prison walls, but they would be doing incalculable harm to the cause and mar the future of all the oppressed people of the whole of Africa. "We must be courageous and carry on the struggle valiantly until our goal is reached."

Among the other speakers were Dr. Saday, Mr. Vithal Lala, Mr. Nanshalai, an enthusiastic old man of Ladysmith. Mr. M. P. Naicker, the organising secretary of the Natal Indian Congress headquarters, who wished Mr. Gandhi and the resisters every success.

After lunch at Mr. Jamalooddeen's residence, Mr. Gandhi and party left by car for Volksrust halting for a few minutes at Newcastle and Charlestown.

A large crowd of Indians had come from all over Transvaal to receive Mr. Manilal Gandhi and the resisters accompanying him. The police too were awaiting their arrival. The nine resisters immediately on crossing the border, were taken under arrest and a warning duly given to quit being refused, they were marched to the charge office and kept in custody. Mr. Manilal Gandhi was left alone by the police. He had actually to ask the police officer why he was forgetting him. He said he was free to go wherever he liked. Mr. Gandhi asked why he did not want to arrest him and was simply told that he did not want to arrest him. Asked whether the police had received instructions not to do so there was no reply. Mr. Gandhi

was not even asked whether he carried a permit or not.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi was then taken to the store of Mr. Essop Suleman, where the large crowd was served with tea and cold drinks. Mr. Nana Sita, on behalf of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council, welcomed Mr. Manilal Gandhi, who in return thanked them for coming in such large numbers to receive him and his party.

Mr. Gandhi then proceeded to Johannesburg where he met the officials and members of the Passive Resistance Council. After a brief discussion the meeting was adjourned to the following day.

On Monday the whole policy of the Council was discussed and it was decided that Mr. Manilal Gandhi should lead a batch of resisters from the Transvaal into Natal and court arrest for aiding and abetting. Mr. Gandhi left by car for Durban on Tuesday

and is returning to Johannesburg today (Friday) where he will address a public meeting.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi's Statement

Mr. Manilal Gandhi, who was not arrested when he crossed the border last Sunday, issued the following statement:

"In my statement last week I made it known that I was going to lead a batch of resisters today (Sunday.) With nine others I crossed the border and all of them have been arrested. Presumably, the police did not arrest me because I have the Transvaal domicile rights, but I had expected to be arrested on the charge of aiding and abetting the resisters to cross the border. I may further state that I came against me for aiding and abetting is still pending. This case was adjourned sine die on the day that Drs. Dadoo and Naicker were sentenced. As the leader of the batch I take the full responsibility for the actions which my batch took in contravening the Immigration Regulations Act.

EAST AFRICAN UNION

THE Central Legislative Assembly for Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda—which may be regarded as the first definite step towards the Union of these territories under one Government—was constituted and opened in Nairobi on April 7.

The Assembly ceremonially received the newly-created East African High Commission, consisting of the Governors of the three territories.

Addressing the newly formed central legislature of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, Sir Phillip Mitchell, Governor of Kenya and chairman of the high commission for the three territories, is reported from Nairobi to have said that the present arrangement was not perfect especially the basis of representation, but declared it was based on a mutually acceptable compromise.

He emphasised there was no question of closer union or fusion involved in the present changes and that the territories retained their existing constitutions. Before the end of 1951 the whole question of the future of the central assembly and its function would have to be reviewed. It was no use speculating about this now. But, for the present, the very own position of the unofficial delegation indicated it was becoming more clearly realised that the problems were not racial but what was good for these complex multi-racial communities as a whole.

Communities differed among themselves in many ways but he believed the assembly would em-

phasise the single fact that, whatever differences there were between races of origin, culture, etc., they were thrown together in East Africa, committed to a joint enterprise, dependent on each other and on good will, good sense and on the collaboration of the common people. He was sure that would be forthcoming, otherwise there would be no prosperous future.

MR. MANILAL GANDHI'S NEXT MOVE

MR. MANILAL GANDHI, who was not arrested on April 11, when he aided and abetted nine resisters to enter the Transvaal unlawfully, will now commit the same offence by leading a batch of resisters from the Transvaal into Natal on Sunday, April 18.

In a message to the assembly, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, said the Assembly would not interfere with the political development of the three territories, but would ensure a constitutional backing for the operation of inter-territorial services in East Africa and for associating representatives of the public in their control. This constitutional framework was necessary if the general and economic development of East Africa was not to be hampered.

Indo-European Council's Tribute

TO MAHATMA GANDHI

THE following minute was adopted at a meeting of the Executive of the Durban Indo-European Council under the Chairmanship of Mr. Maurice Webb.

The Durban Indo-European Council meets under a deep sense of loss through the recent death of Mahatma Gandhi. It sends its sympathies to the sorrowing relatives and to Indians everywhere. The Council, founded to promote understanding and good relations between European and Indian, feels that, in losing one whose friendship knew no boundaries, whether of religion, race, or nationality, it is itself bereaved while, at the same time, it is encouraged by the memory of a life so nobly lived. From time to time there arise in the world persons who lift humanity to higher levels, who, by their spiritual insight, their unwavering devotion to an ideal, by rising above the passions and jealousies and prejudice that divide man from man, point us forward to a far goal in human relations that we hope may one day be achieved. Mahatma Gandhi was such a man. We are strengthened by his example and aided by his abiding spirit. Conscious of our loss we yet press forward to the goal which he achieved; the realisation in all our relations of love and Mercy and Peace.

COLOUR BAR IN THE CAPE

A PROPOSAL for a clause to be inserted in the lease of the Round House at Camps Bay compelling the tenant to provide tea and other refreshments for non-Europeans, was defeated at a meeting of the Cape Town City Council.

Mr. S. Khan moved and Mrs. Z. Gool seconded that it be a condition of the lease that the tenant shall not refuse refreshments to customers because of their race or colour.

Mr. L. Gardner contended that the council had not the power to insert such a clause in the lease.

If the council carried out the proposal the Round House, a show place, would be almost deserted by Europeans.

The proposal was defeated by a show of hands.

OUR INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Baroda, April 3, 1948.

"REMEMBER GANDHIJI"

REFERRING to the imminent danger to world peace, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Chancellor of the Calcutta University, said at the annual convocation: "What we wanted now is someone who will explain America to Russia and Russia to America, and keep off war—one who commands respect and influence and is trusted by both. So far as India is concerned, if Pakistan and India join hands, they can both be saved from being involved in the tragedy that threatens the world. Other wise it will be impossible to escape entanglement." Every time you find yourself tempted to stray from the path of truth and love, remember Gandhiji, the man who was so eager to guide us and who was so full of wisdom and love, and who was snatched away from us so cruelly. May the blood that flowed from Gandhiji's wounds and the tears that flowed from the eyes of the women of India when they learnt of his death serve to lay the curse of 1947, and may the grim tragedy that year sleep in history and not colour present passions."

Terrorism in Hyderabad

A message from Hyderabad says that 150,000 people, men, women and children, are reported to have been killed by the Nizam's police and Razakars in villages. A large number of rape cases are also reported. Thousands of people have left their homes.

"The Government have received reports that certain firms in Hyderabad, with the assistance of the Nizam's Government, have for some time past been engaged in the manufacture of bombs, rifles and ammunition," said Pandit Nehru in Parliament. India's Agent-General in Hyderabad had been asked to take up the matter with the Nizam's Government. His report is awaited.

Muslims in India

The Central Council of the All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema has decided to exclude politics from its activities and to delimit its scope to religious, cultural and educational spheres of activities. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that there was no need of any communal organisation having a political programme after the independence of India as the new constitution provides for communal electorates. If the Muslim in India wanted to keep their communal entity intact even after independence, the majority community would also insist on having communal political organisations. Maulana Ahmed Saeed said that if the non-Muslims and Muslims could not win the confidence of 100 crores of non-Muslims it would not be possible for them to live in this country. There

was not enough land in Pakistan to absorb all the Muslims of the Indian Union. He appealed to the Muslims to be loyal to the Indian Union, and advised them to join the Congress with which the Jamiat had fought shoulder to shoulder in the battle for freedom. The Muslim League Parties in the U.P. and Bihar Legislative Assemblies have been dissolved.

Mufti Fakhr-ud-Din, a prominent member of the former Muslim League Party—now titled People's Party—said in the U.P. Assembly: "We are now opening a new chapter forgetting what each of us—you and we both did in the past. We assure the House that we are children of the soil, and we will resist Pakistan or any other Power that invades India to the last drop of our blood."

A Joint Declaration

The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan say in a joint statement: "Both the Governments hope and trust that minority communities will remain in their homes. Indeed they are anxious that they should do so. They intend to do their utmost to help members of minority communities to stay. They are convinced that this is in the best interests of all concerned. This does not mean that the Government intend to put any obstacle in the way of those who, of their own will, decide to migrate from one Dominion to another."

On The States' Front

The 562 Indian States and thousands of semi-independent chieftains, estates and talukas that lay across the map of India like an unassembled jigsaw puzzle on August 15 will be reduced to about twenty-five sizeable political units when the present process of union and integration of States with the Dominion is consummated, said Shri V. P. Menon, Secretary of the States Ministry. He emphatically reiterated India's bigger Princes, Rulers of 'visible' States—'that the Government of India had no desire to compel them to merge either among themselves or with the Dominion against their own wishes. "We shall not touch Travancore, Cochin, Mysore, Bhopal, Jaipur, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Patiala and a few other States which can stand administratively and economically by themselves," he stated. State covering an area of nearly 100,000 sq. miles and having a revenue of more than Rs. 10 crores, would be involved in

the Unions and mergers which had been or were likely to be consummated in the near future. Shri Menon revealed that Kathiawad was prepared to surrender all her six ports to India for a fixed sum. "That is being negotiated now. With very few exceptions," said Shri Menon, responsible government had been introduced in the states since August 15. So far as the Union was concerned, the Government itself said that the constitution should be framed on a fully responsible basis.

Sardar's Message

The following message was sent by the States Minister, Sardar Patel, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Rajasthan Union on 26th March: "Placed as they are today, small units unable to support themselves according to modern requirements cannot afford to remain in precarious isolation. The history of the world in the last two centuries amply demonstrates that it is only by coming together that smaller States can retain their distinctive culture and safeguard their economic interests and also take their due share in the political life of the country. I am delighted to feel that the Princes and the people of the Rajasthan Union have decided to benefit from this lesson of history. For this happy culmination of their determined voluntary efforts both the Princes and the people deserve highest praise. Both have realized that in their mutual accommodation and co-operation lies the future prosperity of the state in which they have so much at stake. Both have felt that in the timely adjustment of their respective viewpoints lies the ultimate good of each. May this spirit of comradeship in common endeavour and their mutual interests continue to guide them in the many and completed affairs of State which it will be the common responsibility of all to dispose of."

Appeal To Sikhs

An appeal to Sikhs to lend their full support and co-operation to the Union Government was made by the Defence Ministry, Sardar Baldev Singh, and the Maharaja of Patiala. They called upon the Sikhs to work jointly with the Hindus for the good of the country. The newly won independence, said the Maharaja, would be miserably aborted if Hindus and Sikhs were to pull apart. He added that he could speak from personal knowledge that the Gov-

ernment of India had taken full measures for the defence of the border. Sardar Baldev Singh said though it was difficult to forget atrocities perpetrated on their brethren, they should concentrate on the future and not brood over the past. He deplored that, notwithstanding the innumerable assurances given by Pakistan to protect minorities, no Hindu or Sikh was safe there.

Here is an instance of this—nearly 25,00,000 members of the minority community have left Eastern Pakistan so far according to a spokesman of the Eastern Bengal Minority Welfare Committee. "The Hindus of Sind have made up their minds to go as they have become convinced that there is no place for them in Sind," said Shri Sri Prakasa, India's High Commissioner in Pakistan.

Nehru Before Merchants

Pandit Nehru, speaking on 29th March at the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi, said: "All our bi-industrial plans will become useless if there is war or even large scale preparations for war in Western countries." The problem he said, was to see that labour was satisfied, which could only be done by assuring the workers that justice was being done. He suggested a sort of conscription, not in the military sense to make it compulsory for people to do social work. In this connection he laid great emphasis on the large-scale development of cottage industries as the only way of meeting the present crisis. Instead of worrying about capital goods, the country must begin to think of using existing things to the utmost.

Indians Abroad

With regard to Indians in various areas of South East Asia, Pandit Nehru said that there were two difficulties. First, Indians there had to decide whether they would like to be nationals of these countries or aliens. The second difficulty was that those countries were trying to change their social structure, and it would not be wise to stand in their way. What was more, their legislation applied equally to all people, and that made it a little more difficult for India to do anything. All the same it was for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of Indians abroad.

Warning Against Provincialism

The Prime Minister gave a warning against the growing provincialism among the people of India. "We have seen the outcome of communalism. It divided our country, and then ultimately it led to the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhiji. We are trying

ing our union to put an end to the poison of communalism and shall continue to do so. But almost as great a danger as that which now steeled them in the face was that of provincialism. The people of one province were becoming antagonistic to those of another, and their mutual distrust was becoming serious. If they did not check this evil quickly and effectively, then they would have a united India only in name, and there would be a large number of units always on the war path among themselves.

MRS. ROOSEVELT ON FOUR FREEDOMS

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT urged Britain and the United States to make their

friendship serve to guarantee more and more, as the years go on, the human rights of the individual man, which true democracies hold to be inalienable. She was speaking as the guest of honour at a dinner given by the Pilgrims' Anglo-American Friendship Society, which organised the national subscription for the memorial to President Roosevelt which she unveiled earlier in the day. Among those present at the dinner was Mr. Winston Churchill.

Mrs. Roosevelt said: "I would have the friendship among the great English-speaking people used to constructive purposes. The freedom of men throughout the world should be ours because of our friendship."

"Our goal still consists of the four freedoms: Freedom of conscience and religion; freedom from fear of aggression; freedom from want; and freedom of speech and assembly."

"To these, I should like to see added freedom of movement for men throughout the world, so that we could go, without red tape of any kind, to see one another and grow to know one another better."

India And England

"If India is not to be split up into innumerable political units as before the advent of British power, it is essential that various units are brought together into one political structure," said Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India, replying as the toast proposed by the Maharaja of Cochin at a banquet. "I am sure a nation which could forget its old grievances against England and choose an Englishman as its head will have vitality to survive the tribulations it is suffering now and ultimately to create a great India

by following the teachings of the beloved leader it has lost," said the Maharaja of Cochin, proposing the toast. "Both India and England," he added, "will be eternally grateful to the great soul, Mahatma Gandhi, for this attitude of the Indian nation. It is a marvel in this age of hate and strife how Gandhiji led this nation to independence without engendering in them hatred and animosity towards England. In this task Mahatmaji was undoubtedly helped by Your Excellency's wise and courageous statesmanship and the nation paid its tribute to you by making you its first constitutional head."

The navy is the country's ambassador abroad, and so here in the Royal Indian Navy it is for you to maintain that spirit of goodwill which should bind all

communities—Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims—and it is by example of the services that so much has been done in the cause of communal peace," said Lord Mountbatten addressing officers and men of the R.I.N. when he visited R.I.N. establishments at Ernakulam here.

He added: "One final word and it is this: You all know of the troubles and riots that have occurred and that no one man by his own efforts had done more to restore peace and communal harmony than Gandhiji. He gave his life in this cause and I remember when speaking to him one day about riots that he said he felt sure that the spirit of comradeship which bound all communities of India's defence forces together was a splendid example for the country."

THOUSANDS OF BULAWAYO NATIVES ON STRIKE

THOUSANDS of Bulawayo Natives struck work on Wednesday. The strike came after a week of unrest among Native workers, particularly those in industry. Unrest began when awards were made to Native employees of the Rhodesian Railways, who are not concerned in this strike.

At a conference of the Rhodesia Federated Chambers of Commerce at Salisbury on April 6, representatives of more than a dozen national employers organisations and large employers of Native labour agreed to recommend that the basic wage for an adult Native in urban areas should be 30s. a month and 25s. a month in rural areas.

This conference also agreed on minimum ration scales, extra rations for the wives of married Natives, 10 days' annual leave with pay and the principle of payment for overtime.

Native Municipal workers refused to await the result of this conference and their strike arose over the rejection of these principles by the employers of Bulawayo Natives.

A mass meeting in the Bulawayo location on Tuesday night was estimated to have been attended between 10,000 and 50,000 Natives in every type of employment.

The power station continued with European labour, but the steel works and later the cement works eight miles out of town, stopped operations. The sugar refineries continued with a mixed labour force of Europeans and Natives.

Domestic Servants were forced

to leave their work and join the strikers.

As the rubbish and night soil removal Natives are on strike, the medical Officers of Health has asked the public to burn or bury their refuse and bury their soil.

The Minister of justice and International Affairs, Mr. T. B. W. Beadle, who said that the Govern-

ment would not negotiate with the Natives until they had returned to work.

THE COLOUR BAR AND TRAFFIC SIGNS

WITH one dissentient the Traffic Advisory Board in Johannesburg recently resolved to inform the Works Committee of the Johannesburg City Council that it considered the experiment of manually operated traffic signs manipulated by non-Europeans should be re-introduced at the earliest possible moment.

The chairman, Mr. J. J. Page, said the experiment had been discontinued by the Council owing to protests about Natives working the signs.

Mr. Page: "Anyone against?" All but the representative of the Cyrilidene Ratepayers Association raised an objection during. "Our association objects to the Natives directing European road traffic."

Mr. K. G. Collender: "They are not directing traffic, only operating the signs like clock-work. Public safety is more important than the colour bar."

After some further discussion the resolution was carried, the Cyrilidene Ratepayers' Association being the only one to vote against it.

MR. TRYGVE LIE'S APPEAL TO THE WORLD

SPEAKING at a memorial service for President Roosevelt at the Hyde Park home in New York, Mr. Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, said that all war talk should be stopped.

He did not believe that any Government anywhere in the world was so utterly mad as to contemplate starting another war. "The world's greatest danger was fear."

"For many months there has been no serious attempt by any one of the Big Five countries in negotiation over major differences in the peace treaties. Efforts of this nature should be continuous—they should never stop."

The United Nations Organisation was very much alive. "It is doing very well, indeed, except when one or other of the Big Powers fails to use it as it should be used, or to live up to the terms of the Charter."

Boycotting, by-passing or breaking down were not the ways to make the United Nations stronger, or to serve the cause of peace.

Mr. Lie appealed to the nations to act in accordance with President Roosevelt's statement that there must be a peace which rests on the co-operative effort of the whole world.

President Truman said in a message: "The troubled world to-day yearns for the four freedoms which President Roosevelt enumerated at the beginning of the fateful year which closed with Pearl Harbour. In those four freedoms, if the world will accept them still, is to be found the way to national happiness and enduring peace." Sirs Renter

FOOD MINISTER ADDRESSES REFUGEE CAMP OFFICERS

ADDRESSING officers of the Food Ministry, who had been appointed to be in charge of the food arrangements in various refugee camps in India, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, Food Minister to the Government of India, stressed the need for selfless service and of shedding provincialism.

The Food Minister pointed out the special circumstances, namely the need to supply foodstuffs to refugee camps which had necessitated the creation of their appointments and impressed upon them the need of their reporting themselves in such a way as to be of real service to the Government as also to the refugees for whose benefit they had been appointed. He advised them to forget that they belonged to any particular province, viz. Sind, for that province did not exist in the Indian Dominion. It was therefore imperative that they should shed their provincialism and identify themselves completely with the other citizens of the Indian Dominion. It was only when they regarded themselves as citizens of the Indian Union and shared the responsibilities of citizenship that they could look forward to their early absorption in the life of the Indian Union and thus help solve the problem of rehabilitation of refugees.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram advised Government servants in charge regarding themselves as

rulers. They must discard their superiority complex and break down the wall that had been erected between the people and Government servants under the old regime. He emphasised the need for treating themselves as servants of the people and not as their rulers. It was only when they came to have this attitude of mind that they would be of real use to the Government and to the refugees who needed selfless service being rendered to them to start their life afresh. The Government would judge its officers by the measure of such selfless service rendered and the degree of enthusiasm displayed by them in the discharge of their duties. Those who were going to be in charge of refugee camps had to cultivate a cool temper and sympathetic understanding of the difficulties of the refugees. Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram appealed to the newly appointed officers to work hard and win the hearts of the refugees. He cautioned them that if any officer failed to reach a reasonable standard of efficiency or did not act up to the advice rendered by him, it would not be possible for Government to retain him in service. If, on the other hand, they made themselves useful in the way the Government wished them to be, they could look forward to their future interests being safeguarded by Government.

Joint Secretary, Works, Mines and Power Ministry of the Central Government, who delivered a speech on the subject at the All-India Exhibition grounds in Calcutta. Contending that resource development in India was fundamentally a problem of administrative policy rather than of technology, Mr. Mazumdar warned against the danger, which existed in the country, of "patronism, which, operating under its past sense of domination and defeat and appressed with historic memories about the old effete bureaucracy, might turn impetuously to the new gospel of our technicians and the immense technological possibilities that it promised. He continued: "Any big scheme of resource development always implies the following stages—(1) Survey of the area to be developed in order to ascertain its physical characteristics in situ. (2) Preliminary investigations for the collection of the essential technical data on the basis of which alone a detailed plan of development can be drawn up. (3) Formulation of the plan. (4) Preparation of designs. (5) Construction of the Project. (6) Utilization of the end-services provided by a scheme. These various stages constitute a series of natural hurdles which impede the progress of resource development. They must be cleared by patient and hard work. Indeed these various stages constitute technological foundation for any sound scheme of resource development."

India And Atomic Science

"The existence of atoms was not unknown to Indian scientists. The concept of atoms was familiar to India several thousands of years ago" observed Dr. Kothare, Dean of the Faculty of Science, Delhi University, addressing men of the Royal Indian Air Force at Palam. The Arabic system of notation was an Indian discovery and great feat of mathematical genius on the part of Indians some two thousand years ago. Great strides were made in the field of astronomy also. Modern science which has achieved this wonderful discovery of the fission of the atom started its career in the West only 400 years back and armed with modern science, the West has been able to spread its influence and to dominate the world. For various reasons, India has lagged behind in this pursuit of science. Despite all the handicaps, she has produced jewels like Prof. Ranganathan. The formula of notation discovered by him in 1912 was made use of by Lord Rutherford in his experiments on Atomic fission in 1940. Dr. Kothare then dwelt at length on the structure of the atom and the enormous power that re-

sides in the infinitesimally small nucleus and the process by which the Mesonic force that holds the protons and neutrons together is unleashed. He sounded a note of warning. Humanity, he affirmed, cannot afford to play with this stupendous force which has fallen into the hands of men.

India And Italy To Exchange Envoys

The Government of India and the Italian Government have decided to exchange diplomatic missions at Embassy level. They are confident that the friendly relations existing between them will thereby be further strengthened to the benefit of the people of both countries.

Accommodation For Refugees

The Government of India recently issued an appeal to their employees for sharing the accommodation in their disposal with other Government servants or to spare their accommodation for a refugee family who may be without any shelter. It is understood that the response to this appeal has been fairly encouraging. Enquiries made reveal that a large number of officers and staff are already sharing accommodation either with their refugee relatives or other Government servants. It is further understood that out of nearly 4000 repatriated officers who had applied for accommodation to the Estate Officers 1,600 have been provided with accommodation in preference to the officers of the Government of India already on the waiting list.



Dr. Ranchhodbhai Mistry, M.B.B.S.

who has returned to the Union from India after taking his M.B.B.S. in Bombay and after two years' experience at the well known J. J. and Markandaya Hospital.

Things In General

Kashmir Deadlock

The Security Council is expected to resolve the Kashmir deadlock which now prevails in the dispute between India and Pakistan, by giving its direction to the Mediation Commission rather than to the two Dominions themselves.

As long ago as January 20, the Council, with the concurrence of both India and Pakistan, passed a resolution authorising the establishment of this Commission, which was to be instructed to go to Kashmir to investigate the situation and supervise a plebiscite.

The Commission was to consist of three members one chosen by each disputant, and the third, who was to act as chairman, by the other two. India nominated Czechoslovakia as her representative, but no one was appointed by Pakistan, and the completion of the body has been held in abeyance during the not at all unharmonious discussions which

have taken place during the last few weeks.

The Council feels it would be useless to give whatever instructions it may decide on to the two opposing parties, whose differences are now so wide they might well consider it impossible to carry them out. *Natal Mercury*

Indo-European Relations In The Army

Mr. K. Kirkwood, Lecturer in Native Law and Administration at Natal University College, who was attached to two Indian divisions during the war, will address the Council on "Indo-European Relations in the Army" at the International Club, Plowright Lane, Durban on Monday, 19th April, at 7-45 p.m.

India's Power Resources

A realistic approach is necessary towards the problem of developing India's power resources, according to Mr. D. J. Mahmood,

—२२ डेरट सोनाना हागीना—

हरेक जतना छेडनामा छेडती हमना २२ डेरट
सोनाना हागीनाथो जनाववानु तथा भेजववानु
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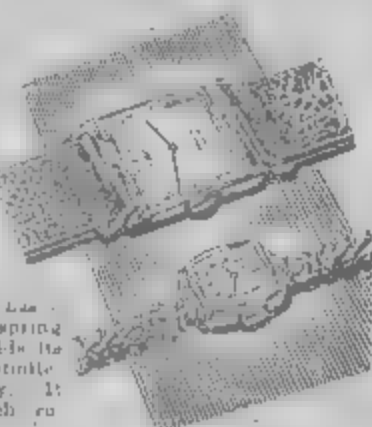
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Wanted: Sincerity

DURING my flying visit to Durban last week the Prime Minister, General Smuts, is reported to have told the United Party candidates for the General Election that the Asiatic Land Tenure Act was law and would remain. The Government would see that the provisions of the Act were carried out. This is food for thought for our friends at the Organisation, who call themselves "moderates." A round table conference with this emphatic statement on the point at issue and on which there are no two opinions in so far as Indians are concerned, whether they be "moderates" or "extremists," is unthinkable. More over the time is unripe as yet to talk of such a conference. Much suffering we have to be undergone before the rulers can be persuaded to see and to appreciate the justice of our cause. We can hardly blame the Government for that. We must blame ourselves and find. But primarily the blame lies with us. If we demand rights we must earn them and we can not honestly say that we have earned them. Our sacrifices, however admirable in so far as they have been made, are wholly inadequate for the goal we wish to attain. Greater sacrifice is needed in men and money and we are not prepared to make it.

Our future in South Africa seems to be uncertain. Let us read the writing on the wall which it will set eyes to see appear in bold letters. We who indulge so much in tall talk about fighting for democratic rights for all the non-European people would do well to remember that we cannot look after others unless we are careful of looking after ourselves. And if we can look after ourselves and succeed in doing so, our very action would be an example to be emulated by others. On the other hand, we attempt to hand the reins of others when we cannot control even we shall do harm to our selves as well as others. This is the lesson the present policy of the Government teaches us and the sooner we take it the better it will be for all concerned. Let us not suffer from the fear complex that we shall be menacing the displacement of the Europeans if we show our opposition to them. Such fear is totally unwarranted. Let us rather fear God whose inflexible law we are violating by our submission to a man-made law, which aims at degrading us to the status of slaves. This much for our selves.

And now for the Government. If we have to read the writing on the wall, then the Government has participated in the

murder. The scare of Nazism has scarcely subsided and the world is presented with the scare of anotherism, namely, Communism. Is it real or is it a danger set up by a third ism, namely, Imperialism or shall we say, Capitalism? We are far from being advocates of Communism. But we cannot say that we are enamoured by the present ism—call it whatever you will—which holds sway over us. If Communism is such a dreadful thing as it is made out to be—we do not wish to argue against it. But what is the alternative? The present Government would have us believe that the present condition should remain with promises which have remained unfulfilled. The Government to come into power—the Nationalist Party—desires the present condition to remain with a change for the worst. Both are unacceptable to the people concerned with their better experiences of the past. But what is to be? Communism is admittedly the root of certain evils. Its commitment is its breeding place. To quote the words of the *Natal Mercury*,

"Wherever there is oppression and the suspension of natural racial discrimination, wherever people are unfairly treated and neglected, wherever men and women are under-nourished and housed—then Communism finds its most fertile breeding place. Should not Communism then rather be 'considered' as a blessing

than a curse as it is stated to be? Would it not be better to curse the evils that gave birth to Communism and to sincerely endeavour to remove them than to curse Communism? We whole-heartedly endorse the view of the *Natal Mercury* that "if the Union is successfully to check the spread of Communism, it is imperative that our European legislators pursue an equitable and progressive non-European programme of uplift and development." But in our humble opinion, the time is no longer to do this half-heartedly as has been done in the past or, rather, shall we say, what has not even half-heartedly been done in the past. If the Government is really sincere, we have no doubt, it will find the non-Europeans equally responsive.

Parliament Dissolved

A proclamation gazetted on Saturday, April 16, dissolved the Union's ninth Parliament as from Thursday, April 15. General Smuts and the late Mr. W. B. Madsen shared the distinction of having been the only members to sit in each of the nine Parliaments. On May 26, 150 members have to be elected, and the tenth Parliament will be established. The three Native Representatives, Mrs. V. M. L. Ballinger, Mr. D. B. Molteno and Mr. M. Buchanan retain their seats pending the General Election. Any nominee who is unopposed on nomination day, April 26, automatically becomes the member for that constituency as from that day. There were 18 unopposed returns in the 1943 General Election, comprising 16 United Party, one Dominion Party and one Nationalist. Few unopposed returns, it is stated, are expected in the coming election.

MR. MANILAL GANDHI

AGAIN NOT ARRESTED

MR. MANILAL GANDHI led a batch of ten resistors to cross the border from the Transvaal into Natal, on Sunday, April 18. The party comprised, besides Mr. Manilal Gandhi, seven men and three women. This was the second batch from the Transvaal.

Four cars left Johannesburg at 1 p.m. Some officials of the Council and other friends accompanied the batch to give them a send off. At 4-15 p.m. they reached Volksrust. On the border were present the Immigration and police officers to receive the resistors. A large number of European spectators were also present.

As Mr. Manilal Gandhi crossed over into the Natal border with the resistors he was stopped by the police officer. Mr. Gandhi handed him the list of the names of the resistors, which he checked up and duly warned them to quit the Natal border since they were prohibited immigrants and as such had not complied with the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913. They refused to do so and were then taken under arrest.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi was again hit the second time left untouched. But on this occasion he was asked a question and was notified that his head was answered. He did not wish to but that if he did it might be used against him. The question was "Did you incite the people to commit this offence?" Mr. Gandhi replied, "I take the full responsibility having aided and abetted these people to do what they have done." When Mr. Gandhi asked why he was not arrested the officer replied that he was awaiting instructions. Mr. Gandhi further asked whether he was not arrested because they were instructed by the Government not to do so and was told again "we are awaiting instructions." "You are free to go into Charlesown," Mr. Gandhi said the police officer who was also the local prison officer. "So you are putting upon me the Freedom of Charlesown, are you," said Mr. Gandhi. "Yes you have the Freedom of Charlesown, Mr. Gandhi," said the police officer. The resistors who were arrested, were taken in a van to Newcastle, where they were tried on Monday and each of them was sentenced to the local Magistrate to three months hard labour.

Mr. Gandhi returned to Johannesburg on Sunday night. He was to have flown to Durban on Monday but due to the unserviceable condition of the aeroplane in Durban owing to the severe rain the previous night there was

no aeroplane service available and hence Mr. Gandhi left Johannesburg for Durban by train on Tuesday at 4-30 p.m. Mr. Gandhi will be going back to Johannesburg during the week-end to take part in a joint meeting of the Passive Resistance Councils of Natal and the Transvaal to be held on Monday.

India Rejects Kashmir Peace Plan

India told the Security Council at Lake Success that she could not agree to a plan for the

settlement of the dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir by the dispatch of a United Nations "Good Offices Commission" to supervise a plebiscite. This proposal was contained in a draft resolution submitted jointly by the representatives of Britain, Belgium, China, Canada, Colombia and the United States. Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar (India) said he did not wish to suggest any specific amendment to the resolution, but said he wished to place before the Council his strong opposition to the proposal being adopted as it stood. He said that conditions in Kashmir contained the potential of armed conflict

breaking out any day between the two Dominions. The Pakistan delegate, Sir Mohammed Zafarullah Khan, submitted an alternative resolution which resembled the six-nation draft proposal now before the Security Council, but in it he suggested that Pakistan troops be stationed in Muslim areas and Indian troops in non-Muslim areas. The Indian delegate found this also unacceptable, since it would place Pakistan troops in about 80 per cent. of Kashmir. Fighting broke out in Kashmir when the Hindu ruler agreed to join India, although the majority of his subjects are Muslims.

CRIPPS'S TRIBUTE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

Chancellor of the Exchequer, paid this tribute to Gandhiji in that ancient burial place of Britain's national heroes, the Westminster Abbey. "He stands out as a great example of spiritual strength which should help to guide us as well as his own people in the difficult years that lie ahead."

"His passage from us is a loss to all the world, for where can we find to-day the leaders who are able to emphasise by their own life and action the overpowering force of love in solving our difficulties. And yet that is the doctrine which Christ taught us and which we as Christians profess."

"May not the whole world learn from his life something of fundamental value, that it is idle to try and save ourselves from destruction by the use of force and that

our greatest weapon of salvation is the supreme and redeeming power of love."

"It is our earnest prayer that in his own country his example of patience, tolerance and love of his fellowmen may live on to bring their peoples through the troublous times which now beset them into that fair and happy future which was ever his wish and for which he so steadfastly worked and sacrificed his life."

Sir Stafford Cripps recalled that Gandhiji studied law and was called to the bar in London and was proud of his legal qualifications. It was while practising in South Africa, he said, that Gandhiji first came into contact in an intimate way with the difficulties of his people. He became the Indians' and the poor man's lawyer and had his mind strengthened in the will and the purpose of leading his people out of their

bondage into freedom. "Already, went on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his deep religious conviction of non-violence had taken shape, based upon the policy pursued in the great days of Hinduism in India."

"Non-violence for him was not a negative policy, it was much more than that. It was the determination that the power of love should triumph, a determination based upon a deep and unshakable belief in that power. He never took the view that he must divorce his religion from his everyday life. Religion was his life and his life was his religion. He knew, as no other man perhaps has ever known the spirit and character of the Indian people of all races and creeds. He understood how self-sacrifice appealed to them and he made his own self-sacrifice the central feature of his action."



Mr. Manilal Gandhi inquiring of the Police why he was not arrested

NO REAL PEACE WITHOUT ONE WORLD

PANDIT NEHRU ASKS NATIONS TO ADHERE TO MORAL LAW

THE Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in a broadcast on the night of April 4 declared that so long as "we do not recognize the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international relations, we shall have no enduring peace."

Pandit Nehru, who was broadcasting from All India Radio, Delhi, direct to America listening up with the Chicago University Round Table Radio programme, said that Mahatma Gandhi had made an outstanding contribution not only to the freedom of India but to that of world peace.

Pandit Nehru added that Gandhiji taught us the doctrine of non-violence, not as a passive submission to evil, but as an active and positive instrument for the peaceful solution of international differences.

He had no doubt in his mind, he stated, that world Government must and would come for there was no other remedy for the world's sickness.

Pandit Nehru said: "We live in an age of crises. One crisis follows another and even when there is some kind of peace, it is a troubled peace with fear of war and preparation for war. Tortured humanity hungers for real peace, but some evil fate pursues it and pushes it further and further away from what it desires most. Almost it seems that some terrible destiny drives humanity to ever-recurring disaster. We are all engaged in the mesh of the past history and cannot escape the consequences of past evil.

In the multitude of crisis political and economic, that face us perhaps the greatest crisis of all is that of the human spirit. Till the crisis of the spirit is resolved it will be difficult to find a solution for the other crises that afflict us.

We talk of world Government and One World and millions yearn for this. Earnest efforts continue to be made to realise this ideal of the human race, which has become so imperative today. And yet those efforts have thus far proved an effective even though it becomes ever clearer that if there is not to be a world order then there might be no order at all left in the world.

Wars are fought and won or lost, and the victors suffer almost as much as the vanquished. Surely there must be something wrong about our approach to this vital problem of the age something essentially lacking.

Way To Peace

In India during the last quarter of a century and more Mahatma Gandhi made an outstanding contribution not only to the freedom of

India but to that of world peace. He taught us the doctrine of non-violence, not as a passive submission to evil, but as an active and positive instrument for the peaceful solution of international differences. He showed us that the human spirit is more powerful than the mightiest of armaments.

He applied moral values to political action and pointed out that ends and means can never be separated, for the means ultimately govern the end. If the means are evil, then the end itself becomes distorted and at least partially evil. Any society based on injustice must necessarily have the seeds of conflict and decay within it so long as it does not get rid of that evil.

All this may seem fantastic and impractical in the modern world, used as it is in thinking in set grooves. And yet we have seen repeatedly the failure of other methods and nothing can be less practical than to pursue a method that has failed again and again. We may not perhaps ignore the present limitations of human nature or the immediate perils which face the present limitations of human nature or the immediate perils which face the statesmen.

We may not see the world as it is constituted today, even rule out war absolutely. But I have become more and more convinced that so long as we do not recognise the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international relations, we shall have no enduring peace.

So long as we do not adhere to right means, the evil will not be right and fresh evil will flow from it. That was the essence of Mahatma Gandhi's message and mankind will have to appreciate it in order to see and act clearly. When eyes are bloodshot, vision is limited.

World Government Only Remedy

I have no doubt in my mind that world Government must and will come for there is no other remedy for the world's sickness. The machinery for it is not difficult to devise. It can be an extension of the federal principle, a growth of the idea underlying the United Nations, giving each national unit freedom to fashion its destiny according to the genius, but subject always to the basic covenant of the world Government.

We talk of rights of individuals and nations but it must be remembered that every right carries an obligation with it. There has been too much emphasis on rights and too little on obligations.

If obligations were undertaken, rights would naturally flow from them. This means an approach to life different from the competitive and acquisitive approach of today.

Today fear consumes us all, fear of the future, fear of war, fear of the people or nation whom we dislike and who dislike us. That fear may be justified to some extent. But fear is an ignoble emotion and leads to blind strife.

Let us try to get rid of this fear and base our thoughts and actions on what is essentially right and moral, and then gradually the clouds of the spirit will be resolved, the dark clouds that surround us may lift and the way to the evolution of world order based on freedom will be clear.

A Blot On Mankind

THE following resolution was passed by the Conference of constructive workers which met at Sevagram on the 13th, 14th and 15th of March. Dr. Rajendra prasad, President of the Congress presided over the Conference.

"It is impossible to estimate the loss which the various constructive Sanghas have suffered by the passing away in New Delhi on January 30 of Gandhiji who was the very soul of these Sanghas. None can measure the harm done not only to our country, but to

the whole humanity by the man who committed the foul deed of taking his life and by those behind him. They have blackened the names of both Hindu religion and the Hindu community.

All thoughtful people must seriously realise that the dark savage mentality which led to the assassination of a great man—indeed, the world's noblest and most pure-hearted, one who was a friend of all mankind and father of his people who went about fearlessly and trustingly everywhere was a result of wrong education and narrow communal ideas which foster hostility and discrimination between man and man.

No resolution can wipe out this blot on mankind or undo the harm or diminish the sorrow of the people who were like members of Gandhiji's own family. The only way is to educate the people to follow the principles and ideas of Gandhiji, to popularise his Constructive Programme, to promote friendliness and co-operation between nations, religious and communities and to work for banishment of violent methods of war, tyranny and killing.

The Conference urges the people and those who revere Gandhiji and work on his principles in political, social and economic fields, that in their grief they should take heart together to determine how they should carry on the work started by him and fulfil his mission.

MR. MANILAL GANDHI URGES PEOPLE TO WAKE UP

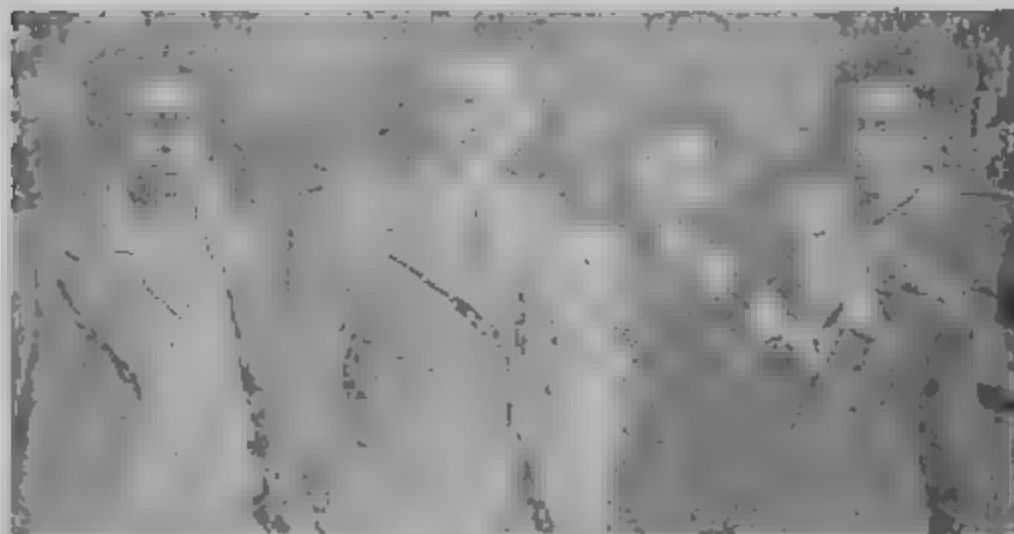
MR. MANILAL GANDHI went by Air to Johannesburg on Friday, April 16, and addressed a public meeting held under the auspices of the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council at the Gandhi Hall. The following are some points from his speech.

"The time has come, he said, for more speech and more action. We must not have gone to sleep when Dr. Bhabha's death and other recent events are laying upon us a burden to betray them and prove false to our leaders in India who have done so much for our cause and as the world who is supporting our cause? All the oppressed people of Africa are watching with keen interest our struggle. If we fail at this time we will not only ruin ourselves but posterity will curse us.

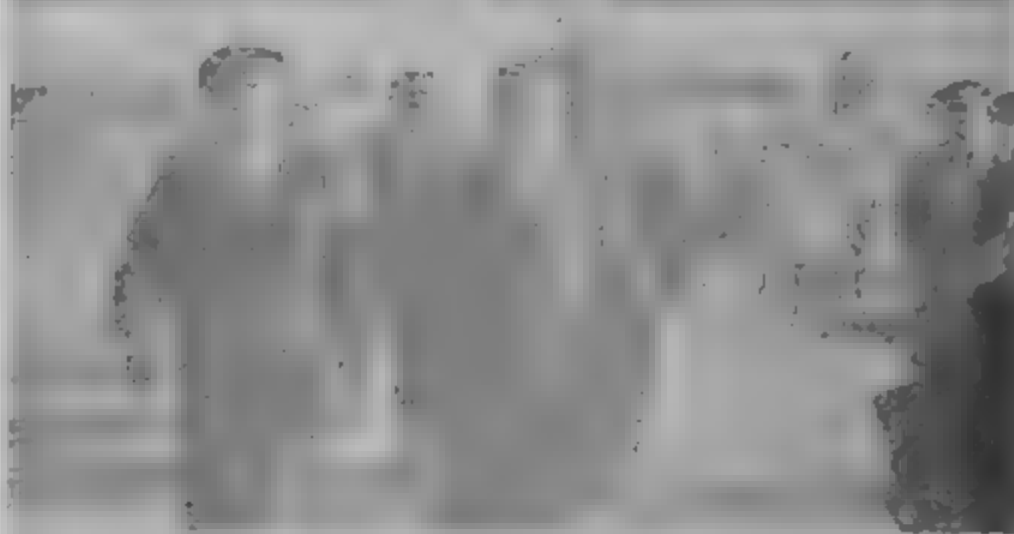
We have been saying quite a lot of harsh things against the Government and the ruling race. But the time has come when we require a thorough heart-search. Some of our people say that we should not antagonise the Europeans. Europeans are admirers of bravery and courage. What they despise is cowardice and we are by our behaviour proving ourselves cowards. We are so engrossed in materialism that we have no time to think of higher things in life. The battle of freedom is not won easily. It requires a great deal of sacrifice. We have accepted the weapon of Passive Resistance to fight against injustice. We cannot become passive resistors by calling ourselves passive resistors. We must have the qualifications. Just as a soldier has to master the art of wielding the weapons of war, a passive resistor has to master the art of wielding the weapon of passive resistance. A passive resistor must be brave, courageous, he does not injure anybody but is prepared to suffer and to die for Truth. We shout the slogan 'We Shall Resist' but we are not as eloquent in our action. Mere shouting of such slogans will not take us anywhere. Let us therefore wake up and be prepared to suffer the rigours of prison not in our fives and tens but in our hundreds. Let us not betray those who are in prison

TRANSVAAL AND NATAL BATCHES OF RESISTERS

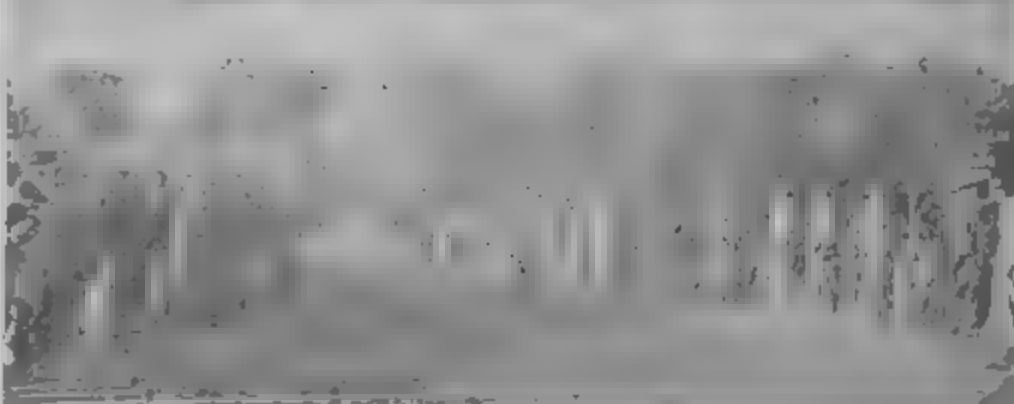
This batch of five resisters from the Transvaal was led by Mr. G. Sengco on the right. Second from the left is Mr. S. Asvat, son of the late Mr. E. M. Asvat who took a leading part in the Passive Resistance movement under Mahatma Gandhi.



This batch of resisters from Natal was led by Mr. Manilal Gandhi on April 11. The resisters are seen marching into the Transvaal border.



People awaiting the arrival of resisters from Natal led by Mr. Manilal Gandhi.



NATIONALIST PARTY INDICTS SMUTS-HOFMEYR GOVERNMENT

WILL the European race be able, but also want to, maintain its rule, its purity and its civilisation, or would it disappear along with it vanished for ever in the black sea of South Africa's non-European population? The leader of the Nationalist Party, Dr. Malan, is reported to have spoken these words at a public meeting in Paarl on Tuesday night.

Dr. Malan denuded a four point accusation by his Party "against the Smuts-Hofmeyr Administration" as follows:

"(1) We accuse the Government that, as far as the colour problem is concerned, they have shown an indifference and impotence which, in the face of deteriorating circumstances, is entirely reprehensible and fatal.

"(2) We accuse the Government also that, for his own Party political purposes, and in conflict with the true interests of South Africa, it has been in league with, and has afforded protection to, our most dangerous enemy, namely Communism.

"(3) We accuse the Government also that, in respect of our trade and other external relations, it has shown a weakness which has meant nothing less than the neglect and sacrifice of our own South African interests.

"(4) We accuse the Government further that in its internal administration it has shown a far-reaching incompetence, short-sightedness and impotence, which even in a private business would not be tolerated for a single day."

Outlining the Nationalist Party's policy, Dr. Malan said that the coming election would not and could not be fought on the question of the striving after, or the formation of, a republic in South Africa. This could be settled only by a referendum on this point alone.

"For this effective execution of the Apartheid policy, a general registration system of all Europeans, as well as that of the different sections of the non-Europeans, will be necessary," he said. "The Party aims at the introduction of this."

The Native reserves must be retained and in urban areas, outside the European area, Natives must be domiciled in their own residential areas.

"In view of the possession of their own national home in the Reserves, Natives in the European areas can make no claim to political rights," states Dr. Malan. The present representation of Natives in Parliament and in the Cape Provincial Council must therefore be abolished.

Representation in the Senate must, however, continue by the election of three European Senators by the different Native councils, and further through three others, nominated by the Government because of their particular knowledge of Native affairs, as is now the case.

The present existing Native Advisory Council must be abolished, and in its place a system of self Government, on the first rate and well-tried example of the Transkei Bantustan, called into being.

In place of their vote as at present exercised, special representation must be given to the Coloureds in Parliament through a Senator nominated by the Gov-

ernment, three members of Parliament chosen by the Coloured Advisory Council and three members in the Cape Provincial Council. All representatives must be European.

"The Party will strive to repatriate or remove elsewhere as many Indians as possible," he said. "The present ban on Indian immigration, inter-Provincial movement and penetration must remain and be more stringently maintained."

"Tending licenses to Indians outside their own residential areas must be reduced. Family allowances to Indians must be abolished."

The Party planned a thorough investigation into Communist activities in the Union to "purify" the State and public service of Communists and to dissolve the Communist Party.

APARTHEID WILL NOT WORK

SAYS MR. HOFMEYR

THE Nationalist Party's policy of apartheid (separation of the races) could not be realised logically, said the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, at a meeting of about 1,000 people in the Agricultural Hall at Worcester in support of the candidature of Mr. P. J. de Wier, the United Party candidate for Worcester constituency.

There would be difficulty of land, the shock to our economic system, the effect on our industries, our homes and every phase of our lives. The Fagan Commission by its recommendations, had left nothing of the Nationalist policy of apartheid.

At the last election the United Party had asked for a mandate to complete the war and to place South Africa in a stable post-war position. Today it asked for a mandate to work for the ideals of national unity—a mandate to see South Africa in a stable post-war position. The present period and to continue the good work of building up South Africa and the welfare of its people.

"We are not back to normal yet, but we have had a large measure of success. South Africa today is counted as one of the most fortunate nations of the world. The average standard of well-being of our citizens had increased considerably."

The achievements of the United Party on which the Government was going to the polls was one of which they had no need to feel ashamed.

Mr. Hofmeyr said that it seemed to him that the Nationalist Party were having difficulty about the ground on which they would fight the election. They knew

they could not win it without the English-speaking vote and their republican policy had, therefore, gone into cold storage.

They could not also fight the election on economic grounds. In the past they had said the Government policy would result in unemployment, but the facts had let the Nationalists down, as the facts were opposed to their prognostications.

For this reason the Nationalists had fallen back on the colour question. It was to be a colour election—as had been said, a "Hofmeyr election."

All this talk of a "Hofmeyr election" had merely strengthened his own position. He had said many times that he did not want to be General Smuts's successor, but if he did fill that position it would be Dr. Malan who had done most to bring that about.

"We all want to assure the position of the European in South Africa, but what is the way? Is it to take away the rights which have been solemnly pledged without, or is it to be on the basis of friendship? There was a middle way. He stood for Christian trusteeship. Without it the European would go under. It means that reasonable security would be provided for the coloured nations so that eventually those under trusteeship would be able to look after their own affairs."

A vote of confidence in the United Party was carried by a large majority.

Opposition's Political Bankruptcy

At an election meeting at Bonteheuwel last week, the Minister of Native Affairs, Major van der

Syl, said that the so-called "Black Danger" had been a recurring feature in South African elections for the past 20 years. Today it was recognised that the party which raised this cry did so because it was politically bankrupt.

During the last session of Parliament Dr. Malan had refused to define his apartheid policy when there was an opportunity for a full discussion on it.

"Apartheid," as conceived by the Nationalists, was an impossible policy for, if it were to be honestly implemented, the Union would have to be divided into four to provide separate areas for Europeans, Natives, the Coloured people and the Indians.

No Government had done more for South Africa than the present one. The Union was flourishing and was on the path to a united nationhood.

World At Decisive Point In History

Speaking at a dinner of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, President Truman said that the world stood at one of the decisive points in history. "Emerging from one of the most terrible of wars, people all over the world are fixing a new pattern of civilization," he said. The President appealed for support for the anti-inflation programme he recommended to Congress last November to strengthen the United States, which he described as the chief support of those people of the world who are seeking to rebuild their civilization in accordance with the principles of democracy and freedom. The heart of our support is economic assistance," he continued. "To be effective, it must be coupled with sufficient military strength to give the free peoples of the world some sense of security while they rebuild. These requirements must be met in a large part from the production of American mines and factories and farms. Thus a strong American economy is the bedrock upon which rests our hopes for establishing the peace of free men in the world. Without it we can provide neither aid nor leadership nor example. The strength and vitality of our economy are being undermined by inflation. If not checked, inflation will bring on economic consequences which will hurt everyone of us."

—Saps Reuter.

THE ban imposed on the Communist Party in West Bengal and the action taken against Communist workers in other parts of the country were our domestic affair, and had no relation to India's stand in international politics, said Pandit Nehru. It does not mean that we have aligned ourselves with one particular bloc or expressed our opposition to another. No Government worthy their name could watch a section of the people conspiring to overthrow them by violent means and then do nothing about it. The policy of the Communist Party of India had recently undergone a revolutionary change, and the Prime Minister Unrest among labour had grown considerably, and there were strikes in factories. A large number of arms was being collected, preparations were being made to overthrow Government by violent means, and the country services were faced with a grave danger of being sabotaged. The West Bengal Government had evidence to prove all this, and it had therefore to resort to the extreme course of banning the Communist Party. The Central Government had no desire to declare any party unlawful, but they could not tolerate any violent activities directed against them. I have sympathy for those who are against the Communist Party, but we had to put it down because the Communist Party had been using to create unrest among the people and seize power by creating chaos in the country."

Communal Policies Dangerous

"The atmosphere of religion and communalism is a very dangerous one," said Pandit Nehru in Parliament accepting a non-official resolution urging elimination of communalism in public life. This communalism was harmful to the country as a whole; it was harmful to the majority, but it was more harmful to any minority that sought some advantage from it, he added. "We have seen how far communalism in politics has led us not only to the fall of our great leaders but also to the terrible consequences after partition. Now there is no alternative and we must have it clearly in our minds that to mingle religion with politics will be a dangerous alliance. The resolutions which the Premier expressed these ideas said that no communal organisations should be permitted to engage in activities other than those essential for the bona fide religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community."

Vindhya Union

The Union of Vindhya Pradesh, comprising the 34 States of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, was inaugurated at Rewa, the Raj

OUR INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Baroda, April 10, 1948.

BIG COMMUNIST PLOT

which is the Rajpramukh of the Union. In a message sent for the occasion, Sardar Patel said that, on account of the division into small principalities under feudal rule, this tract of land, intended by a benevolent nature to flourish in wealth and plenty, has been one of the most backward tracts in India. Its potentialities are undoubtedly great. Only they require concentrated, well-directed and planned effort to be exploited to the service, and for the benefit of its inhabitants. "This is a decision," he added, "which both wise and patriotic Princes and their comprehending people deserve the highest praise and heartfelt congratulations. I send them on this historic occasion in abundant measure and with all my heart. I should like to emphasise, however, that while a great event has been achieved, greater tasks are still to be undertaken. Unity and the new democratic set up would be purposeless if they did not bring about improvement in the lot of the common man or did not secure the development of these backward tracts."

Returning From Pakistan?

Muslim League circles are perturbed over the reported return to India of a large number of Muslims who had recently migrated to Pakistan, says the Karachi correspondent of the *Times of India* in a message dated April 1. "It is reliably learned that the provisional President of the Pakistan Muslim League Chaudhri Khaliquezaman, had a long discussion on the subject with the Pakistan Premier, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, when he expressed on the latter the urgent necessity of checking this exodus which would undermine in some way or other Indian Muslims' confidence in Pakistan. In the course of his visit, Chaudhri Khaliquezaman is stated to have pointed out that the main reason why these Muslims were thinking of going back to India was the indifference of the Pakistan provincial Governments concerned to tackle their housing problem expeditiously. Explaining the possible repercussions on Indian Muslims when the refugees return to India, the League leader is reported to have told the Pakistan Premier that, apart from the demoralising effect it would produce on the Muslim community as a whole in the Indian Union, it would even lead to some movement for reunion of

Pakistan and India at no distant future. Maulana Shahid Ahmed Usmati, President of the Pakistan Muslim Refugees' Association, expressed grave concern over the decision of some refugees to return to India, and said it was a great blot on the fair name of the State."

A Hymn Of Hate

In the most virulent speech Mr. Syed Nazam Razvi, President of the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen threatened retributive action against the Indian Union. "We have been ruling the Deccan for the last 500 years, and we shall continue to rule it whether the Indian Union likes it or not. With the Quran in one hand and the sword in the other, let us march forward; our enemies to pieces, establish Islamic supremacy. We have been branded as goondas, because we are fighting for our supremacy. Our Muslim brethren in the Indian Union will be our fifth columnists in the Union. I can assure you, my brethren, that if you want to see again in the most of our life and death struggle you will see me slaying or being slain with the sword in my hand and the Quran on my head. Such rank poison is allowed to be poured forth in the Nizam State from day to day. Is the Muslim as unhappy as the Indian Union as they are reported to be by such speakers, why is it that they are returning to India from Pakistan?"

Atrocities Galore

The Committee of Action of the Hyderabad State Congress has advised the people of the State, who are unable to resist the atrocities of the Ittehad volunteers to migrate from the State in big groups or columns; each of its small batches to minimise the risk of being attacked on the way. A resolution the Committee sent "The Hyderabad Government is on the warpath. It has broken the Gandhian Agreement. It has refused to accede to the Indian Union or establish responsible government. It dare not try to put down the inhuman atrocities of the Razakars, the police and the military, one of its Ministers openly calls for looting, arson and killing of Hindus. The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen has a plan to drive out the Hindus in the State. It has organised and trained Razakars in thousands."

A network of these Razakars and police bands is being thrown all over the State, and the diabolical

plan of total destruction of the Hindus is being speedily completed and in places being put into action. During the past fortnight 81 villages have been raided by the Razakars supported by the police, property worth over a crore looted, 2400 humbles ruined, 114 persons murdered, and 20 persons burnt alive. Swathes in thousands are pouring in into the Indian Union. As the final custodian of peace and tranquillity throughout India, it is imperative that the Indian Union move immediately and effectively intervene."

"The Ruling Clique"

Candidus, discussing the problem of Hyderabad, says in the *Times of India*:

"There is yet another reason why the situation demands swift action by the Nizam to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of his people. Border raids, arson, forcible dispossession of property and large scale loot have become a matter of daily report. In spite of the serious repercussions in the neighbouring provinces, the Government of India have held their hand. They have not taken any military or police action, presumably because they feel that the presence of two entrenched camps on either side would be a source of conflict and might not facilitate a settlement. Delhi's restraint, probably too long sustained, has thrown the local population into the arms of a band of people who are as much devotees of violence as the Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, namely, the communists. The Nizam and his advisers must realise that communism will undermine not only the stability of society but also that of the Government in Hyderabad and the ruling dynasty."

"The reluctance of the Indian Government to act appears to be mistaken by the Ittehad as a sign of weakness. The ruling clique seem to hope that by persisting in their methods of terrorism they can coerce even the Government of India into accepting their demand for domination over the non-Muslim majority in Hyderabad. Those who know the Government of India's mind will readily see that Delhi cannot for long pursue its present policy of patience and consideration. If the Nizam fails to check this reign of violence, the Government of India will perforce have to intervene in order to restore peaceful conditions."

"It is their own security and to ensure that this important and vital portion of the peninsula does not collapse into anarchy and chaos and become a source of threat not only to the Government of India but also to the peace of the entire country. A network of these Razakars and police bands is being thrown all over the State, and the diabolical

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT REFUSED PERMIT TO ENTER S.W.A. RESERVES

THE Rev. Michael Scott told the Rand Daily Mail that the Administrator of South-West Africa, Colonel P. I. Hoogenhout, had refused to give him a permit to enter the reserves or locations in the Territory to give the National report on the situation of the United Nations at Lake Success.

He also intended to show the United Nations documentary film lent to him by the Director of the Film Section of the Visual Information Service of the United Nations.

This is a film entitled, 'The People's Charter', which describes the purpose of the United Nations Organisation in general terms and suggests that the tasks of peace are the responsibility of all nations and races.

"Admittedly," Mr. Scott added, "the film shows members of coloured races from different parts of the world sitting down at the same conference table as Europeans, but to suggest that there is anything subversive in that is ludicrous in the extreme."

Mr. Scott said that the National Government's proposals had not been accepted, and that it would continue to administer the territory.

Mr. Scott said that he was given a permit to enter the Gobaia location for four hours to see the senior Herero chief, who had asked him to make a report to a gathering of headmen from the various reserves.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

A trade delegation from Japan is expected shortly to visit India. The delegation will visit Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and Ahmedabad. It will hold discussions with the government and industrialists.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation stone of India's Institute for Science in Delhi on April 19.

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, will be given a Civic Reception by the Municipality of Bombay when he visits the City to attend a meeting of the A.I.C.C.

55 Raiders were killed and wounded in Poonch area in Kashmir when Indian troops repulsed the raiders and captured a strong hill position last weekend. Indian troops also captured 50,000 rounds of small ammunition.

The Kashmir Government have decided to nationalise Road Transport Services. These services will be run jointly by the Government and the public. The Government have purchased 350 vehicles for a run between Jathankot and Srinagar. The profits from these services will be spent on the welfare of the people stated the deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir.

Mr. Varma was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Rajasthan Union. Speaking on the occasion of the swearing-in ceremony he stated he would strive to abolish the inequitable taxes and would institute land reforms. The Rajasthan Government, he went on, would undertake economic and educational upliftment and hoped to establish a rail link between Cotta and Udaipur.

The Government of India has been urged to establish a University of Central India. This University should attain teaching functions and have Hindi as medium of instruction.

The Indian and Pakistan Governments signed an agreement on Monday to discourage any propaganda for the amalgamation of India and Pakistan, or parts of them. "In Pakistan and in India every citizen shall have equal rights, opportunities and obligations," it said. "There shall be no discrimination against minorities, whose cultural and religious rights will be fully safeguarded." Both Governments agreed to discourage the exodus of minorities from one Dominion to the other, and that a provincial minorities board be set up in the East and West Bengal for protecting minorities' interests and inspiring confidence in them.

Change Of Hours Of Attendance At Immigration Office, Pretoria

Owing to pressure of work and shortage of staff in the Immigration Head Office, Pretoria, it has been decided to change the hours of attendance to the public as follows: Monday-Friday: 9 a.m. to 12 noon, 2 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.; Saturday: 9 a.m. to 12 noon.

Natal's Indian Burden Too Great
Siddling, in support of the African Party candidate for

Newcastle, Mr. W. A. Marne at Glence on Monday night, Dr. E. C. Jansen said that Natal's Indian burden was too great for any province to carry unassisted any longer. He said the Indians, some of whom had great wealth, already outnumbered the whites.

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MR. S. V. REDDI SUMMONED ON CHARGE OF AIDING AND ABETTING

MR. S. V. REDDI, the recruiting officer of the Passive Resistance Council in Natal, has been summoned to appear before the Durban Magistrate's Court on April 27 on a charge of contravening section 20 (a) Act 27/1913 (Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913) "in that upon or about or during the period 17.2.48 to 23.2.48 and at Durban in the District of Durban the said accused did wrongfully and unlawfully aid or abet certain Asiatic persons in entering the Province of the Transvaal from the Province of Natal in contravention of section 6 (1) of the said Act, knowing that the said Asiatics were prohibited in terms of section 4 (1) (a) of the said Act read with the Minister's Minute of the 1st August 1913, from so entering."

The alternative charge against him is of contravening section 15 (2) (b) Act 27/1913 as amended read with section 6 (1) of Act 27/1913. In that upon or about or during the period 17.2.48 to 23.2.48 and at Durban in the District of Durban, the said accused did wrongfully and unlawfully incite, instigate or procure certain Asiatic persons who, having been restricted from entering the Province of the Transvaal in which they, the said Asiatics, were prohibited immigrants, prohibited in terms of section 4 (1) (a) of the Act 27/1913 read with the Minister's Minute of 1st August, 1913 to enter the Province of the Transvaal from the Province of Natal.

Mr. Manilal-Gandhi, who has committed the same offence repeatedly, has not yet been arrested.

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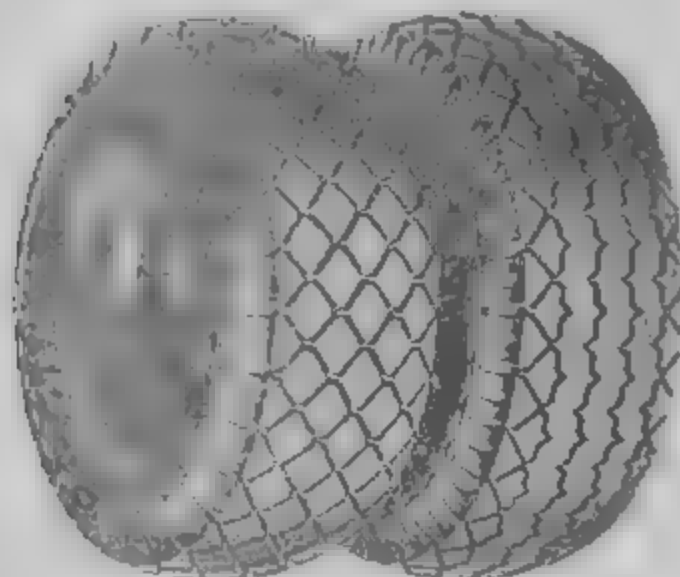


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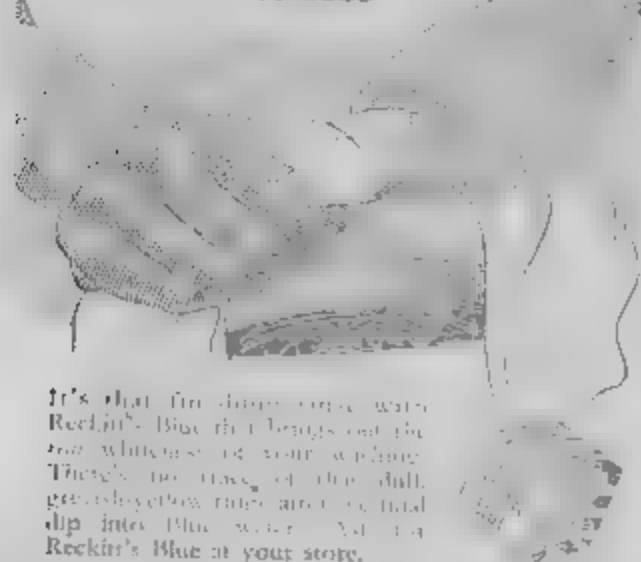
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— જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર —

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બઝાર—

એકાનીસબમંત્રી બહીત સાડી મલ

સસ્તા આવે આકર્ષક અને કળામય સાડીઓ ખા. શી.૨



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| કાપડો બેરબેટ ટ્રસ્ટ પત્રો | શી. ૮-૧૧ વાર | |
| સીલકની બરત બરલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડિઝાઇન | | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
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| સીલક સ્વાર. બે રંગી કાડીઓ, રંગીન નવીન ડિઝાઇન | | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

કાપડો વોપલ, સાડી મારે વળ પત્રો. આ કપડાં રંગીન, શી. ૧ વાર, બરત બરબેટ રંગીન, સાડી અને બહાવિલ મારે ટ્રસ્ટ પત્રો શી. ૧૨-૧૮. મરદ વપા કાકરાઓ મરદ સીલક શર્ટ, પાપબના, સેકસ, રંગીન વીધિરના બાવનાં બાવ બધા કપડો છે. પસેલ બેરબેટ ટ્રસ્ટ પત્રો શી. ૮-૧૧ વાર

કાકરાઓનાં
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કાકરા, કાકરા
સાકરાનાં મળીને
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૩૬ " " " પા. ૧૪-૨-૦,

મુસલામન વીરી: પા. ૬ ૫-૦, રપેરથલ પા. ૧૦-૧૫-૦,

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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
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IN 1903

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 30TH APRIL 1948

The Election And Ourselves

IT is indeed strange that while this country calls itself a democratic country the moulding of the destiny of ten million people is in the hands of barely two and a half million the former having no voice in making the laws of the country—not even those that directly affect them. The Union of South Africa is at present engaged in electing its new Parliament and this glaring truth could not, nor should it be, overlooked by the civilised world, if there is any meaning in the principles of "democracy," "human rights," "world brotherhood" etc., which are sworn by so often but not the least effort is made to put them into practice. It is the violation of these great and noble principles by those in whose hands lies the destiny of the world that has caused so much discontent among the people concerned and instead of making any sincere attempt to remove the causes of that discontent, forces are being gathered together to do away with the discontented, so that the world may remain safe for those who have exploited them. The wars in the past, in the living memory of mankind, have been between two evils, each striving to hold sway over the world. The masses were duped by these forces by solemn pro-

mises—that have remained unfulfilled to this day,—of milk and honey flowing after the war, and were used as cannon-fodder to serve their own purpose. The horrors of war have not taught these demons a lesson. But has it taught the world a lesson or not? Are they going to allow themselves once again to be used as cannon-fodder or are they going to refuse to do so with a firm and unswerving determination? Perhaps the new weapon—the atom bomb—which science has apparently produced for its own destruction, will play a prominent part and the services of the masses will no longer be required. And what will the result be? One dreads to conjecture. Can the world be saved from this calamity—a calamity which seems so imminent?

Passive Resistance

Mahatma Gandhi has taught the world a new way of life. He has given a new weapon for the removal of ills—a weapon which yields a rich harvest of the good things in life at the cost of the least blood. That weapon is Passive Resistance, which had its birth in South Africa, and was successfully used, to the amazement of the world, both in South Africa and in India. The need has arisen once again for its use in South Africa. If it is wisely used it will be a

more powerful weapon than the vote for the removal of all ills. It is a weapon which can be used by all oppressed people in South Africa and outside without causing the least harm physically to the oppressors, and comparatively little to the oppressed.

Truth The Basic Principle

The Indian community of South Africa has launched Passive Resistance against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, which is the climax to a series of laws passed by the Union Government. These laws do not only detrimentally affect the Indian community but discriminate against it on racial grounds and hence they are offensive to its national self-respect. The basic principle of this weapon is Truth. It can, therefore, be used only for the vindication of Truth, not by any means untruth. If it is wrongly used and fails, it is no fault of the weapon. It cannot be used to achieve an evil object. It will automatically tell if the user of the weapon is not as pure in mind and at heart even as the weapon itself is. A Passive Resister, to be pure in the true sense, bears no ill-will even toward his enemy. He fights not against him but against the evil he perpetrates. A Passive Resister therefore, while being himself prepared to suffer even death, does not seek to use any direct methods to embarrass his enemy in order to achieve his purpose. If he did it would be entirely against the principle of Passive Resistance. He relies on the righteousness of his cause

and upon his own strength to sacrifice his life to move the heart of his enemy by sheer love and not hate. We have made these remarks to bring home a point which seems valid to me at the present moment.

The Election

The Union is today engaged in the general election. It is true that the election does not in any way interest us. Whatever Party comes into power our lot is sealed with the particular Party, so long as we have no vote. We cannot stop the election taking place in the manner it is going to take place. The world is aware of the fact that ten million non-European people have no franchise in South Africa and whatever little indirect representation that is given is totally ineffective. But is it possible for any Government to grant us franchise just by a stroke of the pen? What is actually required is franchise, however small it may be in principle, but sound and just government. This will require a great deal of sacrifice on the part of Indians as well as on the part of all non-Europeans. In so far as we Indians are concerned, we would do well if we could, by our own behaviour both in word and deed, set an example which the rest of the non-Europeans can profitably follow in seeking to acquire their rights, which are more distinctive and greater than ours. It should never be the purpose of a Passive Resister to bring about chaos in the country. He should therefore valiantly guard

and are guided by the best of motives.

Suspend The Struggle

In the meantime, though slightly delayed we feel we should not hinder the Government or the European people of South Africa in their election work, and for that purpose, the Passive Resistance struggle should be suspended until the election is over. It may be argued that the manner in which the struggle is being carried on at present is only symbolical and can cause very little embarrassment to the Government, and that on the contrary, such action on our part might be interpreted as a sign of our weakness. To do this is a deliberate attempt to undermine it should not be done as long as we are true to ourselves

and are guided by the best of motives. As for causing embarrassment to the Government, there is not the least doubt that our struggle is causing the Government quite a good deal of embarrassment and anxious thought and to remove it in the least degree at the present juncture will be a graceful and dignified step on our part and it will be in keeping with the spirit of Passive Resistance. We have not the least doubt that our struggle will thereby gain both in strength and status. We sincerely trust that these views will be accepted by the Joint Passive Resistance Council in the spirit in which they are offered and that they will see the wisdom of acting accordingly.

OPEN LETTER TO MINISTER OF JUSTICE

THE following is the text of a letter addressed to the Minister of Justice by leading European protesting against the harsh sentence of spare diet and solitary confinement—two days in a week for the first month in addition to three months' hard labour, passed by the Magistrate at Volksrust on one of the Passive Resisters.

"We, the undersigned, wish to express our strong disapproval of the unnecessarily harsh sentence recently passed on a Passive Resister by a Magistrate at Volksrust."

The imposition of spare diet and solitary confinement two days each week for the first month in addition to three months' hard labour, is unwarranted and unjust.

"It should be realised that the Indians in South Africa are denied the fundamental right of direct representation in the legislative bodies of the State and as a consequence have to adopt other methods of drawing attention to their disabilities. There is nothing criminal attaching to their action of moving from one province to another without a permit. It may be argued that it is, nevertheless, a violation of the law, but is not a law which deprives one section of the population of rights and privileges enjoyed by other groups unjust? We contend that it is."

We, the signatories of this letter are perturbed over the spirit of racial intolerance and social disharmony prevalent in

South Africa to day and we fear that if, in meeting our justice, discrimination on the grounds of politics or race is allowed to go unchecked a very grave position will develop.

"Apart from local and national repercussions, the sentence will have the effect of hardening world opinion towards South Africa and will incur further censure from the United Nations when the Indian question is discussed at the next Assembly. Further, it will tend to widen the breach between India and South Africa."

"We therefore urge that the sentence imposed on the non-violent resister be revised and that the spare diet and solitary confinement be rescinded forthwith. We further advocate that the reasons of the Magistrate concerned for inflicting such a savage sentence be investigated with the object of ascertaining whether he is fit and proper person to undertake the duties which have been entrusted to him."

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) M. B. Lavoipierre, Raymond Atter, E. M. MacDonald M.A., Joyce Randall, Elizabeth Sneddon M.A., (Dr.) Mabel Palmer, (Prof.) J. D. Kiger, David L. Niddrie, N. Kayser B.A., Jean Lavoipierre, A. G. Redford, D. Kirkwood, Roy W. R. Evans, Ian Allen, M. Wainwright, K. Kirkwood.

"WHAT I GOT FROM GANDHIJI"

MR K. G. MASHRUWALLA writes as follows in "Haripur" dated April 11:—

A young American travelling in India to gather knowledge about Gandhiji put me the other day a pertinent question:

"What did you get most from Gandhiji in the course of your long association with him?"

It was a simple and straight question, but it perplexed me and I did not know how I should answer it. I had been for about thirty years in close association with him and, certainly, I had learnt countless things from him. But I did not know how to make out a list of even a few important items. After a few minutes' consideration, I said:

"I got his heart. This is all I can say in a word. He gave me his love and put his trust in me and he did not take back any part of that love and trust whatever happened. Everything else that I might be able to enumerate will be sub-items of this. I felt that the answer did not quite satisfy him. He expected, perhaps, a more detailed list illustrated with incident and anecdotes. But my memory did not help me that way, and we parted for the night."

Next morning I told him that one item which I could mention specifically was his advice to us to speak directly to the person, about whom one had in one's mind something unfavourable to him. He said that our people sadly lacked this courage. If a

person had some suspicion or cause of dissatisfaction towards X, he would speak about it to several others but never to X himself. On the contrary, he would often receive and talk to X as if he had nothing against him in his mind. We had developed the habit of not allowing our true mind to open before the right person. We even considered it to be a piece of good manners. Really, it was weakness of character and Gandhiji desired us to be diligent in overcoming this timidity. Gandhiji reminded, I said, of the advice Jesus gave disciples that if one went to the temple to give an offering, but when about to do so remembered that he had something in his heart against a brother, he should immediately go to the brother and settle with him before the offering was given.

I have endeavoured to put this advice into practice. Generally the results have been good. They would be better if I had developed a way, with the habit of not getting a little excited at the time of expressing myself. This want of control over my emotions was an obstacle. Nevertheless, my experience was that a straight and direct talk and the expression of one's real opinion, even if it hurt for the time being the person spoken to, a check put on misunderstanding and slander. If a person spoke frankly to X himself about what he thought about him, the more he got on speaking about a brother would disappear or, at least, diminish.

GANDHIJI THE PROPHET OF MORAL REVELATION

DR SARVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, Vice-president of the United Executive Board addressing a meeting commemorating Mahatma Gandhi at Paris on February 14 said the Mahatma's hour of triumph was also his greatest disappointment, for division of his country into India and Pakistan had intensified communal passions.

Dr. Sarvapalli said: "Communal antagonisms are a wound which may become septic. Unless we can check this, the two countries will be lost, and the freedom we won will turn out to be a dead sea beast."

He said Gandhiji has disagreed with the two historical methods of liberating a country from foreign yoke—submissive petitioning or armed rising. He accepted the goal of absolute independence. Dr. Radhakrishnan said he suffered from other leaders by

demonstrating that political freedom could be achieved by methods consistent with human dignity.

"He aimed not only at freeing his country from the clutches of foreign imperialism, but preserving their dignity and freeing them from every kind of human wrong. In centuries to come he will be looked upon as a great prophet of moral and spiritual revelation—the only way through which a distracted world can find ultimate peace."

Death Penalty To Be Abolished In Britain

The death penalty will be officially abolished in Britain by July at the latest, following last week's free vote in Parliament when members overruled the Government by demanding the abolition of capital punishment for a two-year experimental period, says a *Sapa-Reuters* message from London.

STANDARDS OF JOURNALISM

"A. K. Kumar" as follows in *Harmon* dated April 11.

TO those of us who had the privilege of working with Gandhiji every week when the *Harmon* was being edited by him, it is an honour to be reminded of his attitude to the printer and the printed word. The care and thought he bestowed on what ever he himself wrote, the eagle eye with which he vetted every word of what even a man like Mahadev Desai wrote, his insistence on right expression, on the adherence to truth when facts were concerned, on the necessity of not using one word more than necessary, his appreciation of a good literary style, his ruthless weeding out of much or wholesale discarding of what one thought was good, all these are never-to-be forgotten lessons. But the remembrance of them makes one pause and wonder whether anyone of our poor efforts can ever come up to the standard of journalism which was one of Gandhiji's incomparable contributions to public life.

The *Harmon* was read over the whole of India and in many countries abroad not only because of the rich food for thought which Gandhiji's writings always gave but also because readers knew that what facts they gleaned therefrom were cent per cent true. And after having read the *Harmon* there was always the satisfaction that one had learnt something that one did not know before. And how obvious that "nothing" often was.

Gandhiji himself became a journalist almost by accident in 1906. The need early arose for a paper during his sojourn in South Africa and with his usual energy and determination he put his mind to the wheel and

writing became an easy thing for him as indeed did everything to which he turned his attention.

On Shri Keshorlal Mashruwala has laid a heavy burden and it behoves all to help him all we can.

In the columns of the *Harmon* can continue to remind us of the things which Gandhiji taught us to value, if the *Harmon* can, by being true to its ideals, help us to be true to them, it will serve a great purpose.

Gandhiji had been greatly distressed of late at the general falling away from truth of the Press. He hated the speculation indulged in the matter of appointments which he felt was no concern of journalists. He hated fabrication of news; he disliked the emphasis often laid on things of little value; he did not understand how any journalist worthy of the name could report to what are known as "spoofs"; he held that even if news that was meant to be secret leaked out to the Press, it was the duty of the Press to withhold publication of it until it was released from authentic sources. Gandhiji loathed the indecent advertisements that so often adorn our newspapers and journals. He often told me that a journal or paper that could not exist without money from advertisements was not worth reading. It was reading matter that weighed with him and nothing else. He laid the greatest stress imaginable on the influence for good or evil which the Press could wield.

All work in whatever sphere was a means primarily of service in Gandhiji's eyes. Newspapers and journals can build up a fitting memorial to him in this matter by conforming or trying to conform to the unimpeachable standards of journalism practised by our revered and beloved leader.

LIBERALISING RELIGIONS

"THE ideal of this world is that state in which the whole world will again be Brahman in nature," said Swami Vivekananda. The function of every religion is to point out the way to the realization of the Divinity in man. When sects will rise above dogmas and find that all religions lead to the same goal, then fanaticism, hatred, and desire for proselytism will cease, and the creedal and organized religions will not be of much use. Religion will be a matter of one's own choice, each choosing a path suited to his temperament. There will be no more wars and only pure Brotherhood will reign."

These are the facts upon which we must build our civilization.

of religion. Hinduism is simply 'Religion' or 'Eternal Religion'—*Dharma* or *Santatani Dharma*. The name Hindu has been given to the people of this ancient land by outsiders while they always called themselves simply the followers of *Dharma*.

Sri Rastakrishna used to say that it is these sinister labels such as Hindu, Mohammedan, or Christian which cause differences and consequent conflicts between man and man.

For this reason our endeavour is the present should be to go back to the original conception of 'Religion' or *Dharma* and free ourselves from the spiritual slavery imposed on us by the alien system of thought. We shall go

back to the broad outlook of old, ignoring all labels and allowing complete freedom to each to choose his own path, his own *idea*, or the Spiritual Ideal the only condition being that the basic motive should be spiritual, namely, realization of God. Only by freeing ourselves from fanaticism can we hope to make others liberal; only by breaking the walls of the prison of names and forms can we succeed in breaking down the dogmatism of other faiths. To retain the idea that since they are fanatic and narrow we should also become so, is to fall a victim to the same falsehood.

It is unfortunate that today a tendency seems to be visible which would like Hinduism to react in the same narrow and dogmatic way as other creedal religions do. Hinduism must beware of this tendency, and free herself from this dogmatic and creedal conception of religion. Mohammed and Christ should have an equally honoured place in the fold of Hinduism, along with Shaktism and Ramanujam. Muslims and Christians should be regarded as equal to the Vaishnavites and Shaivites. In ancient days when waves after wave of people of different cultures infiltrated into India, Hinduism stretched out to them a hand of friendship and incorporated into herself all of them. They were not branded as aliens, but treated as friends; and by the liberal give-and-take attitude, Hinduism made them also liberal. It was this attitude, which is the basic idea of our *Dharma*, that saved Hinduism and India in the past from being an arena of inter-religious fight among conflicting sects and religions.

The Hindu philosophy loudly proclaims that this world is a manifestation of *Brahman*, and that in every one it resides. The moment the Hindus failed to work out this idea in their social relations began their downfall. As Swami Vivekananda says the moment we coined the word *nirakha* began our degeneration.

If Hinduism is to survive the marauding onslaughts of fanaticism, the only way is to free herself from the poisonous thoughts of exclusiveness and inhibit the old liberal spirit of tolerance and acceptance. We should give up the idea of conquest by physical power or social ostracism. We should conquer the enemies by our spirituality and philosophy. The first step for such a conquest is to forget for the present that we are Hindus and others are of different faiths. We should refuse to treat anybody as belonging outside the Hindu fold. In Hinduism there are hundreds of sects professing different ideologies but united in the common heritage of spirituality; Islam and Christianity will be only two more added to them. Our concept of conquest and conversion is totally different from the concept of proselytiza-

tion. By conquering one religion, nothing is gained. People of creedal religions are not liberal and do not appreciate the value the different approaches of others to the same goal. By conversion we only mean that people should appreciate the true spirit of Religion, not by the all religions are equally true path leading to the same goal of God-realization.

Hinduism does not want that one should change one's faith or inherent culture and thus repudiate the historical development of centuries. But it demands that each religion is a branch of the universal Religion according to which everybody is free to choose the path suited to his temperament. In religion this principle has so far been exemplified by Hinduism. It is the acceptance of such an idea that Hinduism should put forth its best efforts today.—*Prabhat-Kin Bharata*.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi Not Arrested For The Third Time

MR. MANILAL GANDHI

who last Sunday led a batch of resisters to cross the border to enter the Transvaal Province in defiance of the Immigrants' Regulation Act of 1913, did not incur the offence of aiding and abetting Indians to violate the terms of the Act for the third time, was again allowed to go free. The six resisters who accompanied Mr. Gandhi were arrested and have each been sentenced to three months' hard labour. Mr. Manilal Gandhi in a Press statement said "for the third time I have deliberately committed the offence of aiding and abetting members of my community to violate the Immigrants' Regulation Act of 1913, by unlawfully entering the Transvaal and Natal Provinces. On Sunday I threw in with me six Indians to this province from Natal. All the six were arrested by the Volksraad and were offered to proceed to Johannesburg. While I do hold democratic rights in the Transvaal, no person has the right to incite and to aid and abet people to do anything which constitutes an offence under the State Law. The Government, however, seems to have granted me this special privilege for, while action is taken against persons who have committed a lesser crime than I have deliberately committed, no action has been taken against me. Hence the action on the part of the Government is not amount to aiding and abetting me to violate the law of the land."

THE speech of the Hyderabad Itchad-e-Azad (in which reference was made in my last letter) was described as a "most amazingly irresponsible utterance" by Gandhi Nelson in Parliament. The talks between India and Hyderabad, which took place last week, did not achieve any satisfactory results. The Razakar menace in Hyderabad has assumed such alarming proportions that it has thrown into the background issues arising out of the breach of the Standstill Agreement, says the special representative of the 'Hindustan Times'.

Mr. Kingsley Martin, Editor of the 'New Statesman and Nation' writes: "Hyderabad, came to the conclusion that Hyderabad was a Fascist State, where civil liberty was hard to find. As regards the Razakars, Mr. Martin wrote in his paper: "Such evidence as I could obtain shows that bands of Itchad volunteers loot and ravage the countryside to their hearts content."

The 'Hindustan Times,' commenting on the Hyderabad affair, said: "The Government of India, after a great deal of organised effort, have succeeded in defeating a force of communal lawlessness in the North, and the passive resistance of similar attempts being made in the South. The one we feel has come when the 'Itchad' Government must be thrown into an unequivocal attitude. The Itchad and its Razakars must be immediately declared unlawful organisations and disbanded and its leader deprived of his capacity to do further mischief before there can be any serious negotiations between India and Hyderabad. This seems to be a more important issue, and it must be brought home to the Government that while communal riot prevails in the whole of India, Hyderabad alone cannot be allowed to become the centre of another communal mischief." Large-scale parades of Razakars are being held in the State.

Most Inflammatory Speeches

Nov 14: Mr. Abdul Raouf, President of the Action Committee, said: "Muslims of Hyderabad are in war. Detailed orders were given to the President of the District M. C. C."

Nov 22: Mr. Razvi, Itchad President, had told previously that the Muslims should live a life of the lion.

Dec 1: Mr. A. A. Community which has been in the last 800 years cannot be reduced to a mere minority. Imperialism in Hyderabad far better than the democracy of Hindustan. India has not only destroyed and ruined the Muslims but also ruined herself. If the I. C. C. is wanted

OUR INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Baroda, April 17, 1948.

HYDERABAD GETTING HOTTER

to enter Hyderabad by massacring the 35 lakhs of Muslims, the invaders would see everywhere burning bodies of one crore and sixty-five lakhs. We, Muslims, would not spare others when they were not allowed to exist. The invaders would only go to collect the ashes. When the flames of war break out in Hyderabad, rivers of blood will flow. Northern India will be deprived of Southern India. Pakistan and other Muslim nations of the world cannot be silent spectators to the death of 35 to 40 lakhs of Hyderabad Muslims and 4 crores of Indian Muslims at the hands of the Indian Union."

April 9: Razvi: "Hyderabad will shortly recover the Ceded Districts (in Madras Province). The day is not far off when the waves of the Bay of Bengal will be washing the feet of our sovereign who will not merely be the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar but also of the Northern Circars."

Protests From Indian Muslims

Mr. M. Mohamed Iqbal, President of the Muslim League in India, took exception to Razvi's reported reference to Indian Muslims as "fifth columnists in the country. It is most objectionable, highly improper and mischievous to drag in the name of a community in this way and use it as a plaything. I emphatically and unequivocally condemn such conduct and irresponsible utterances and take strong exception to them. Razvi's statement is absolutely untrue and has no relation whatsoever to the temperament and character of the Indian Muslims who are the most loyal citizens and worthy pillars of the State." The Muslim League President assured that Muslims in the Indian Union would be loyal citizens of the State and strongly support the country "in spite of disporing aspersions or calumny emanating from any quarter."

Azad's Call To Nizam

In a statement issued on the 13th, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, referring to Razvi's speech of 11th March 48, said: "The speech was so mischievous and full of dangerous potentialities that one finds it difficult to understand how any person in his senses could have made it. Not content with letting violence within the State, it also attempted to embroil

Indian Muslims and question their loyalty to the Indian Union. I am glad to find that responsible leaders of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind as well as others have condemned in unqualified terms the vile insinuations contained in that speech, as also the mischievous attempts to create suspicion and ill-feeling between the Muslims and Hindus of India." The Maulana advised the Nizam "in his own interest and the interest of Hyderabad, to introduce reforms that will be in conformity with the spirit of the times."

Oases In A Desert

In the course of an article describing the work of rescuing abducted women, both in India and Pakistan, Miss Mridula Sarabhai says: "In this desert of prejudice and hate, there have been oases of human brotherhood and goodwill. In Amritsar and other districts Sikh and Hindu workers and even villagers have approached rescue parties and given them information about abducted Muslim women in their area. They have in a small measure also been successful in creating an atmosphere for voluntary restoration of women and children. They have taught the help of rescue parties for their evacuation. Sometimes in Pakistan also one comes across instances of co-operation and humanity. Some months ago soon after the Kanokri train incident, we received a message from the President of the Enina (bad) (Gujarat) District Muslim League. He had collected the abducted women brought into his area and had given them shelter in a special camp. Could we arrange for their evacuation? A Muslim from Bahawalpur State wrote to inform us that he had given shelter to a Hindu friend's daughter. Could we take her away? Another Muslim wrote to say that he had three Sikh children. Where should he send them? Some non-Muslim recovered women have reported that soon after their abduction, they were kept with good Muslim families. They were treated as daughters of the house. Similar reports have been received from some Muslim women who have been recovered from East Punjab. So in this way, in both Dominions, if the forces of goodwill can mobilise themselves to create a strong public opinion, there is every hope of the early voluntary surrender of abducted persons."

Still More Protests

Protests against Hyderabad utterances continue to be heard by Muslims in India. Prof. Mahomed Habib of Aligarh, President of the Indian History Congress, made a plea for a complete and effective blockade of the Hyderabad State. The Maharaja Kumar Muhammad Amir Ali of Mahmudabad demands a trial of Mr. Kasim Razvi as an ordinary criminal by the Indian Union. "The Nizam," he says, "still dreams of his personal rule, designedly created by Imperialist Powers. The Hyderabad Government is clearly in alliance with Mr. Razvi, the Gobbler of Mr. Jinnah, about aiming at making a last attempt to crush the popular movement in Hyderabad." He calls upon Indian Muslims "even at the cost of your lives to march against the Razakars and Muslim League National Guards, if and when necessary." Late Mohammed Ibrahim, U.P. Communications Minister, says: "Indian Muslims refuse to be doped by the religious slogans which misled them until partition."

"It is the duty of Indian Muslims to go to Hyderabad and tell their over-optimistic that their present policy is suicidal and bring their count to the right path," said Acharya J. B. Kripalani. Muslims were only 15 per cent of the total population in Hyderabad, but they still wanted to rule over the majority and oppress them.

It was, therefore, essential that Muslims from India went there and made them see reason. Otherwise their professions of loyalty may not be believed by the man in the street. Loyalty, as any other virtue, must manifest itself in appropriate actions at the proper time. It was time that the Indian Muslims beatified themselves.

It did not mean that the Hindus here should oppress the Muslims. That should never be allowed to happen. Mahatma Gandhi had sacrificed his life for the protection of the Muslims, and Pandit Nehru was doing his best for their safety. The embers of communal hatred had not died out despite the Mahatma's martyrdom. It was the duty of the Indian Muslims to tell communal leaders of Hyderabad that their present activities might spell disaster for not only Muslims but the Indian Union but for others also.

Here And There

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, said that the new constitution of India was expected to be passed by the end of June this year. The Ruler of Baroda has announced the grant of responsible government in the State. The Rajpramukh of Saurashtra, the Jam Sahib of Nawabagar, said regarding the formation of the Saurashtra Union: "We have

not been bullied into this. We have sacrificed our powers in the larger interest of the country as well as our people."

Streams of Muslim refugees are leaving Karachi for India almost daily. Last month about 81,000 refugees went back to various places in India, the daily departure being 300 to 500. "The Muslim refugees are going back," says *Persimmas* in the *Hindustan Times*, "because they are fed up with the treatment meted out to them, and secondly, because, now that conditions have improved a great deal in India, they feel they can safely go back to their homes to resume their former occupations and mode of life. What is

troubling Pakistan higher-ups is not so much the hardships and sufferings to which the Muslim refugees have been subjected, in their flight, first to Pakistan and now on their way back to India, as the fact that the backward trek gives the lie to the black propaganda which the Qaid-e-Azam and 'Dawn' have been indulging in that Indian Muslims are being oppressed and ill-treated by Pandit Nehru's Government. If Muslims are coming back to India from Pakistan while non-Muslims are not returning to Pakistan, the moral is too patent to be covered up even by the most fantastic propaganda."

Things In General

U.S. Puts Arms' Embargo On India And Pakistan

The Pakistan Government, has it is learned been informed by the United States State Department that, until the Kashmir dispute is settled, the United States will supply no more arms or warlike equipment to either India or Pakistan. All pending contracts are cancelled. The decision has been received with dismay and bitter resentment in high political and military circles in Peshawar. Owing to India's virtual failure to hand over the military stores and equipment due to Pakistan under the division of assets agreement, Pakistan is in much greater need of equipment from abroad than is India. For example, Pakistan has at present an order in the United States for 30 Harvards, which are regarded as essential to the development of her Air Force. Other important American orders for the Pakistan army and navy are pending.

A message from Lake Success says that the Security Council has agreed to the appointment of a five-man "good offices" commission to go to Kashmir, the northern State disputed by India and Pakistan, to supervise a plebiscite on the State's future, reports SABA-Reuter. The plan was adopted in spite of objections by India and Pakistan. Dr. Alfonso Lopez, president of the Security Council, appealed to the two Dominions to give their whole-hearted co-operation to the commission. He hoped they would, on due consideration, find the terms of the resolution an adequate and satisfactory method of restoring peace in Kashmir, where fighting has been going on for six months, and of holding a free and impartial plebiscite on the question of accession.

Kashmir Conference Opposes U.N. Resolution

The general council of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference has unanimously rejected the Security Council's resolution for the appointment of a good offices committee of five men to supervise a plebiscite on the future of the State.

The general council, which met in Srinagar under the presidency of Kashmir's Prime Minister, Shree Abdullah, declared that the Security Council resolution aimed at forcing the people of Jammu and Kashmir into slavery, and called on them to oppose any attempt to impose the decision.

'Untouchable' Leader Marries Brahmin

On his 56th birthday, Dr. H. R. Ambedkar, leading member of India's 50,000,000 Untouchables and Minister of Law in the Dominion Government, was married in New Delhi last week to a Brahmin, Dr. Lakshmi Kabi of Bombay.

UN Accepts Burma

The United Nations General Assembly has accepted Burma as a member of the United Nations, says a Sapa Reuter message from Lake Success.

Rhodesian Indian In Flying Competition

An aeroplanes landing competition was held on the Umrah aerodrome recently and from a field of nine competitors, Mr. K. J. Shingadia was the winner with 25½ points. Flying in the competition, which was judged by Mr. Johnson, Mr. Brown and Mr. Don Howe, were a Piper Cub, Tiger Moth, Avro Anson, and Mr. C. H. Percin's Hornet. Before the competition began, a flying-past was arranged, and Miss Diana Perkins won the draw to

decide the pilot of the landing plane. Experienced ex-R. A. F. pilots expressed the opinion that the standard of flying was high.

The results of the competition together with the total number of hours flown by each competitor, were as follows:—K. J. Shingadia, 25½ points (25 hours flying), 1st Perfect, 25 (15 hours), A. J. Shingadia, 23 (30 hours), Miss Dean, 21½ (60 hours), L. J. Shingadia, 21 (75 hours), 1st Brooks, 19 (19 hours), Miss Diana Perkins, 15 (24 hours), and H. A. Barnes, 11 (14½ hours). The winner, Mr. K. J. Shingadia, carried out his own absolute one hour dual instruction, and was the only competitor who has not qualified for his A licence.

"The History Of India"

"The History of India" was the subject chosen by Mrs. Duane Ames, when she addressed the members of the Goodwill Club at the Royal Hotel Durban. She spoke of the India she knew. "I grew up there and learnt of its history and customs. It is a country of ancient and enthralling history, which can be traced back to 300 B.C. at the time of the Greek civilisation. 'India', which is as large as Europe, has a population of 150,000,000 including 50,000,000 Mohammedans, 40,000,000 Christians and 300,000,000 Hindus. Religion makes up their whole life and caste is a ruling factor.

"Their culture has been preserved by the British, and their carvings are among the most beautiful in the world. The Taj Mahal with its intricate carvings is considered the most exquisite in existence." Mrs. Duane Ames, who is now living in Mauritius, said she met Mahatma Gandhi at the Christian Conference held many years ago.

Springfield Hindu Sabha

The first annual general meeting of the Springfield Hindu Sabha was held at the Springfield Hindu Government Aided Indian School on Sunday, April 4. Mr. J. Bharat Ram presided. Mr. K. Bauchoo, the Secretary, presented a detailed report of the activities of the Sabha, and Mr. D. Harriram, the Treasurer, submitted his financial statement, which reflected the sum of £140, 19, 6, cash in the bank after paying the sum of £100, 0, 10, to the Methodist Indian Mission. The Springfield Hindu Sabha is the proprietor of the Springfield Hindu Government Aided Indian School (formerly Springfield Methodist Government Aided Indian School) which has been purchased for the sum of £1750, together with about 3 acres of land. After Mr. D. Judhunnadhan, the School Grantee, and

Mr. S. B. Mishra, the School Principal, had presented their respective reports, the following officials were elected for the coming year:

Treasurer: Messrs. D. Judhunnadhan, K. Bauchoo, J. Bharat Ram, R. Perumal, R. S. Ram Naidoo, President: Mr. J. Bharat Ram, Vice-President: Messrs. D. Judhunnadhan, M. Dookan, D. Awath Behari, Secretary: Mr. K. Bauchoo, Treasurer: Mr. K. Mahara, B. A., Auditor: Mr. V. S. Vaidya Pillay, Committee Members: Messrs. H. Umamaheswari, P. Sompersadh, V. K. Sankar, S. L. Naidoo, G. Madray, R. Beharie, R. Prithipaul, D. Sankaran, M. C. Naidu, K. Goburdhan, N. Ramperasad, G. Manikchand, R. Sowsunker, B. Samanth and T. R. Durga, B.A.

New Kathiawad Hindu Library

The Gujarati Library of the Kathiawad Hindu Maha Sabha was officially opened by Mr. Nathalal S. Devshi on Sunday April 25. Mr. Naraybhai Veda, banker in his speech stressed the necessity for such a library and how it could be made an ideal institution. He urged the youths to read Gujarati literature and said that the library had a special section to cater for their needs. The library which is situated in the basement of the Kathiawad Hall consists of 1400 books and is divided into 24 sections covering almost every subject. It is a lending library. Besides the books there are 23 monthlies, weeklies and dailies in Gujarati and English from India.

NEWS IN BRIEF

THE largest Union of States will take place on May 11 when the States of Central India will form a Union. The Maharaja of Gwalior will be the life Raj Pramukh and the Maharaja of Indore will be the senior life Raj Pramukh. This Union of Central Indian States covers a territory of 47,000 square miles, has a population of 7 million and an annual income of 80 million Rupees.

All India Radio's special correspondent understands that a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation will be signed between India and U.S.A.

The Government of India and the Government of Burma are having done away with the entry and exit tax on Indians into Burma.

The first Swedish airline which will commence shortly will be operated by Sjö-Lin, N. A. way to Denmark. The airline

The last sacred bath of Mahatma Gandhi will be immersed in the Himnakhyaat Lake Manikarnika, from where the river Gangotri flows. Mandiant to Alak

It is the author's hope that this book will be useful to a wide range of researchers and students in the field of international business.

Friends outside the Union should please note: Only S.A. Currency will be accepted.



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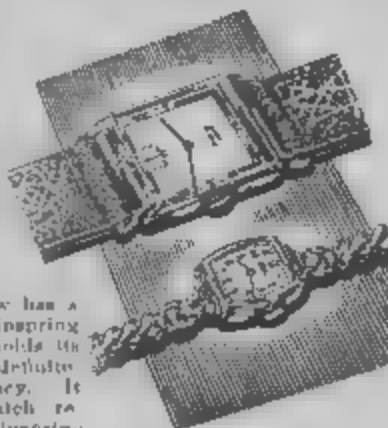
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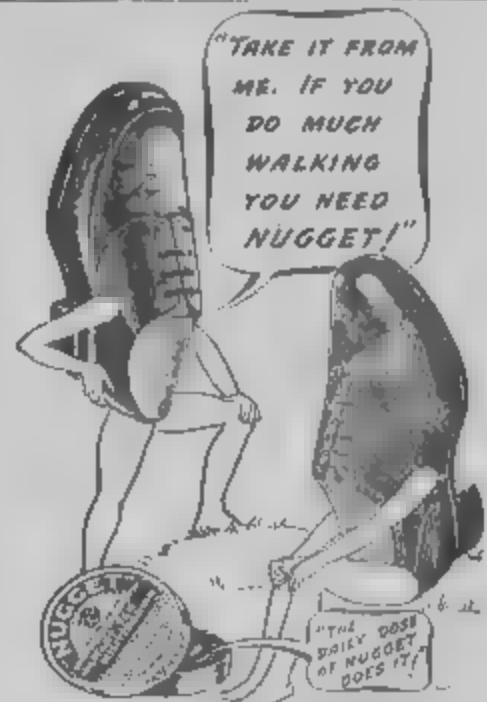


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INDIAN OPINION

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FRIDAY, MAY 7TH, 1948.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 7TH MAY, 1948

Congress Requires A Purge

THE time has come for the Indian community to seriously think of the direction it is to follow. There are at present two directions—one given by the Organisation the other by Congress. The Organisation has no inherent strength of its own. It is playing upon the weaknesses of the people and is propped up by the Government because it suits the Government to do so. Congress, however, has won the confidence of the people by acting courageously and sacrificing for the cause of truth and justice. Both the bodies are anxious to have peace in the country. Congress is at present engaged in a struggle. It is not fighting for the sake of fighting and with a view to bringing about chaos in the country. There is a dispute between the Government and the people. In a democratic country this should not happen. But it has happened in South Africa because we are living in a country where there is democracy so-called. It is in fact a dictatorship of two million white people over ten million non-White people. This was all right in the medieval age, but the more enlightened the world is becoming—and however much one would like to, or attempt to do so, no one can stop the hand of nature—the more untenable the position is becoming. If the powers

that be fail to redress it and persist in hugging orthodox ways they would do so at their own peril and at the peril of the world.

To live, therefore, one has to compromise. But that compromise should be honorable to both sides. Now the Congress has from the very beginning expressed its desire, nay, pleaded, for a compromise, and the Organisation too is ready to compromise. The difference, however, is that while the Organisation is prepared to compromise at any cost, Congress is insisting that any compromise must be honorable to both sides. On this point the Government is adamant and has rejected any suggestion for such a compromise. It insists that the law, whether you had a voice in the making of it or not, and whether it is to your liking or not, must be obeyed.

Now if the community follows the direction of the Organisation it will follow the path which leads to slavery. If it follows the direction of Congress it will follow the path that leads to life worth living. It is a difficult path no doubt, it requires a tremendous amount of courage and fortitude and a great spirit of sacrifice even of life. But its reward will be happiness and glory. If we die we will have died a heroic death. We will have died that our future generations may enjoy the

fruits of freedom. Which path then is the Indian community of South Africa going to choose—to live a life which is worse than death or to die that we may live? That is the point that has to be seriously considered. Every human being is enjoined to do the right thing irrespective of reward. Faith should be his only reward. The rest is left in the hands of God. The Indian community has been given the opportunity of proving its mettle. Will it be found wanting when the call has come in the name of the oppressed people of the world? The Asiatic Land Tenure Act has come to us as a blessing in disguise if we treat it as such. If, on the other hand, we meekly submit to it it will bring about not only our own ruination but that of our future generations.

So far we have given credit to Congress for what it has done and have told the community where its duty lies.

But unless there is purity of heart and mind we can make but little headway. We do not expect this a hundred per cent in the people who are being led but it undoubtedly must be expected in those who lead. There is a growing suspicion that that is lacking among the Congress leaders. We would plead for a little introspection and a purge if necessary in the interests

of the cause and the community. The charge against Congress is that it is dominated by Communists. The charge is refuted vehemently by pointing to the fact that Communists are there in a very small minority. If that be so we would humbly suggest that little harm and a great deal of good would be done to our cause if the very few Communists in Congress were to stand out. It would remove the cause of suspicion from the minds of the Government as well as the people, which would be by no means a small achievement.

To be quite frank Satyagrah and Communism do not go well together. The former is based on Truth and Non-violence and an indomitable faith in God. Communists do not believe in God and therefore do not believe in Truth, and their creed is to achieve their end by any means. Communists can leave their creed according to circumstances. Satyagrah does not allow its votaries to leave their creed in any circumstances. The difference is, therefore, as much as between truth and untruth. How long, if at all, can there be co-operation between the two? If our struggle is to be fought in the true spirit of Satyagrah—for then only will it shine and be fruitful—the leaders will have to be constantly vigilant in not allowing untruth to creep in at any time and in any form.

B. I. Boats

THE recent visit to the Union of Sir William Currie, G.B.E., Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Co., and the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co., brings to the fore once again the question of the treatment of Indian passengers on the B. I. boats, which we regret to have to say, is far from satisfactory. One thing that needs to be done is to impress upon the local Agents of the Company that their duty is to serve the interests of the passengers and those whom the Company caters for and not allow themselves to be led away by prejudices of any kind in the performance of that duty. We are constrained to sound this note owing to the following statement brought to our notice: "In regard to permission to relatives and friends to board boats in the harbour, the issue of permits, with the assistance of the Natal Indian Organisation, will be regulated as to allow a sufficient number of people to see their friends and relative off. In giving recognition to a rival political organisation, which is doing considerable harm to the community, the Agents will be involving the Company in politics, which is not its function. The duty of the Company's Agents is to act impartially in these matters and on the merits of the cases that come before them."

Although the B. I. boats on the African line run purely on Indian money Indian passengers do not get comforts anywhere near adequate to the exorbitant amounts they are made to pay. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Company has mercilessly exploited Indian passengers and has treated them as chattels rather than human beings. This applies particularly in regard to deck passengers.

The Company has knowingly or unknowingly woefully neglected its duty and the time has at last come for it to take stock—thanks to the establishment of a national Government in India, who can make its influence felt effectively now and in the birth and growth of India's shipping industry. It is these and no other factors that have hampered the B. I. Company. However condemnable, we cannot perhaps, blame the Company for acting as any other in its place would have done if it happened to hold the monopoly of "the traffic" as it did.

Whatever the past, it is pleasant

to feel that the future is going to be brighter.

There is room for a great deal of improvement on the B. I. boats and if there is a real desire to effect them there is very little guidance required from would-be passengers. The Company has only to remember one thing and that is that passengers should be treated as human beings and not as cargo. As has been done all these years. In order to ease the situation in regard to the fares, in our opinion, the first and second class fares should be reduced and the fare for what is known as deck ought to be slightly increased and more comforts provided for the

lower class which is at present almost wholly lacking. The food supplied in the first and the second class cannot be said to be adequate to the charges made and in regard to the deck passengers there is much room for improvement all round. For the way the food is prepared and served is from the hygienic point of view condemnable. Lavatories and bath rooms for deck passengers cannot really be said to be meant for human beings. These are some of the things that merit the serious consideration of the Company if it is really desirous of treating the passengers it caters for decently.

NOTES

European Hooligans Raid Gale Street Resistance Camp

WHILE the second phase of the Passive Resistance campaign against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act consists of courting arrest by violating the restrictions placed on the free interprovincial movement of Indians, by means of crossing the borders between Natal and Transvaal, the illegal occupation of the Corporation land in Gale Street has never ceased. Several tents have been pitched on the plot and a few resisters are in occupation all the twenty-four hours. The authorities had ceased arresting resisters there and there was no molestation by European hooligans for some considerable time. Last Sunday night, however, to the surprise of a solitary resister who was present at the plot, some fifteen hooligans raided the resisters' camp and pulled down six out of seven tents that were standing. Not much damage had, however, been done. This sudden attack is attributed to irresponsible utterances of some of the candidates during their electioneering campaign. We have little reason to be perturbed or aggrieved over a thing we have ourselves invited and which is inevitable. We should welcome such acts and be prepared to face them quietly.

Population Of South Africa

Speaking at a luncheon given in the City Hall, Capetown, on Friday April 30, by the Cape Chamber of Industries to delegates attending the half-yearly meeting of the South African Federated Chambers of Industries, Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of Justice, said there had been many people who never believed that South Africa could become a great country. Too often there had been a smallness of outlook, and this narrow outlook had left a

legacy of small things. Mr. Lawrence said South Africans were too prone to regard South Africa as having a population of 2,000,000 instead of 11,000,000.

Would it not be true to say that South Africa has a population of 2,000,000 plus 9,000,000 whites? Is that not the attitude displayed during this electioneering campaign even by the Prime Minister who has spoken of the two White races living together?

Mr. Shepstone On Social Injustice

Speaking in Maritzburg at the annual meeting of the Maritzburg branch of the United Nations Association on Monday night, the Administrator of Natal, Mr. D. G. Shepstone, made some observations with which we wholeheartedly agree.

"We all realise the damage that has been done to the material fabric of the country involved in the war, but we do not all realise the spiritual shock to the nation ravaged by war," Mr. Shepstone said.

"That shock," he observed, has to be made good if we expect civilisation to hold together. Communism has a world plan, but Democracy is diffused. We must go back to our religion to find that binding force that Democracy needs.

"Without the will to do it ourselves, we cannot expect from UN. If member States are not devoted to peace then UN will not work for peace."

Mr. Shepstone said that there was an indigenous form of Communism that was divorced from Russia. It arose in each country as the result of social injustice.

"If we are not for peace, we must look at our own system and find its weaknesses which produce that form of Communist

"The lack of success of UN arises from ourselves. If we give social justice to those it embraces we will succeed. It is the spiritual force that I want to emphasise."

"By solving her own internal problems, South Africa could make a real contribution to world peace," he said.

If the colour problem in South Africa were viewed from that angle the present trouble would never have arisen. It is not too late even now to make amends if there is the will to do so. The world, including South Africa, seems to be too engrossed in materialism even to think spiritually and yet that is the only way peace could be had.

Commons Question About Mr. Pirow

Mr. James Harrison, a Labour member of the British Parliament, asked the Home Secretary, Mr. Clouston Ede, what steps he proposed to take as a result of the "specific and violent incitement to war" contained in speeches by Mr. Oswald Pirow, leader of the "New Order" in South Africa. In a written reply, Mr. Clouston Ede said that he had been unable to discover any information about such speeches, but would be glad to consider any reports which Mr. Harrison could send him.

State Revenue In Excess Estimate

State revenue for the financial year ended March 31 came to £132,326,915, which is £9,165,915 in excess of the estimated income for the year, according to final revenue figures published in the Union "Government Gazette". Collections for the previous year amounted to £140,013,917.

Trade Value Rises In Tanganyika

During the past 10 years the value of Tanganyika's trade has risen from £9,000,000 to approximately £25,000,000, according to official figures for 1947 recently published. Exports last year amounted to over £11,000,000, of which the sisal industry was the main contributor with £5,000,000. Exports 10 years ago were slightly under the £5,000,000 mark. Imports rose from £4,250,000 in 1937 to £13,750,000 in 1947.

"Anger, jealousy or chagrin are never good counsellors. The extent to which they are being allowed to influence conduct spells disaster."—Natal Daily News.

'NEWS CHRONICLE' ON MAHATMA GANDHI

The 'News Chronicle' London wrote two leading articles on Mahatma Gandhi, one appearing on January 19 when Gandhi's fast ended, and the second on January 31 after the assassination. Both are reproduced below with some noteworthy utterances of Mahatma Gandhi for the benefit of our readers:

Light In The East

THE world may well hang upon the news from Delhi for there, in a small room where Mahatma Gandhi broke his fast, was a demonstration of power which may be greater than the atom bomb, greater than anything that man has made with his hands, greater than anything he has ever known outside the bounds of religious experience.

It is true that in the words of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, "Victory is something that must be proved, and not just said." The pledges which the Mahatma has received do not of themselves ensure that there will never again be communal trouble in India. But by the love which flows from his fellow-countrymen toward the person of the Mahatma and by the authority of the doctrine which he preaches, moral forces have been rallied in the minds of Indian leaders and their followers. Their intentions have been turned away from evil toward good. Even if it proves but temporary, that is a great achievement.

At a time when tempers in India and Pakistan were rising fast, men have been halted in their tracks. A breathing space has been secured. The great statesmanship of Pandit Nehru and those who, like him, draw their inspiration from Gandhi has been refreshed and given a chance to exercise new strength.

The Lesson

In this country we have watched throughout the years the growth of the Mahatma's doctrine of non-violence and love. Their instinctive appeal to our people is one of the strongest reasons why we parted from India in friendship and without bloodshed.

We have seen in India at close quarters what ordinary men can do in the height of spiritual exaltation. We have seen them march quietly and steadily into certain injury against times of police until even the most disciplined policeman could strike no more. We have seen them accept punishment willingly in thousands and in the wedding who tried to resist.

Now we are witnessing something even more impressive. We have seen the exaltation which can endure. What we are seeing now is more lasting and more creative. It is an attempt to achieve a deliberate subordination of natural instincts for power in order to enter into that service which is perfect freedom.

We should watch with envy as well as hope for Western Europe

and in America it has been long recognised that Mr. Gandhi is wielding a force against which no material weapons can prevail. He is mobilising man against the things which man created and man in the end will always be greater than his creations.

The Conflict

This is the lesson which materialistic minds in the West have not yet learned. They have never tried to grapple with the spiritual, for it has no place in their existence. What will they make of Mr. Gandhi?

Perhaps they will find a formula to discount what he stands for, but they will do so at their peril. For in Mr. Gandhi is personified the ultimate conflict which the materialists cannot avoid. So long as they ignore the spirit, they will have to answer for their arrogance. Man in the end grows satiated with material things. He will leave them in answer to a call which touches something deeper in his being.

On that belief we in the West have built up our lives and hopes. But when the pattern of our philosophy is overlaid by distractions. Especially in times like these, in the aftermath of violence, faith in the value of the spirit grows cold. It is well that there are men like Gandhi who can blow the embers into flame.

The moral and spiritual forces which have been released in Delhi may in time be dissipated by the weakness of men who are not yet strong enough to bear such burdens. That has happened before. But that they have been released and that they have found response are firm assurance that Pandit Nehru was right. There is something godlike in man and in the end the godlike and the good together will prevail.

The Light Endures

The darkness which is over the earth is not a deepening of the shadow which has fallen across all generations of men. The murder of Mahatma Gandhi is something far more terrible than any political crime. It belongs to the supernatural realm of high religious tragedy.

The hand that killed the Mahatma is the same hand that nailed the Cross; it is the hand that fired the faggots; it is the hand that through the ages has been growing ever more mighty in war and less

sure in the pursuit of peace. It is your hand and mine.

But let there be no despair because this thing has happened.

We are the children of our generation in whom faith is not yet greater than fear. This fear, that fails to understand and quails before the great demands of the spirit, takes refuge in the material and thinks when it has killed the flesh that it has won its victory.

But where is the Victory? Gandhi in his long life did so much to increase the power of faith. It was he who more than any other man we have known in modern times made it clear that fear can be conquered and that it is faith which endures.

What may happen now in India the mind hardly dares to contemplate. It may be that the folly of mankind is so far from having run its course that the death of the man of peace will open the floodgates of bloodshed. If this crowning disaster comes about, it will be truly said that in our age men plumbed the depths of human conduct.

Yet after the work of Gandhi it is not presumptuous to hope for a miracle. It may be that the death of this leader who was held in so much reverence by so many millions will raise men to heights they have not hitherto attained. It may be that the love against which the gun has no power will evoke out of this great tragedy the beginnings of peace and unity for India. Men have been shocked into nobility before.

The Word Shall Stand

Whatever happens, this is certain. The example and teaching of Mahatma Gandhi have left indelible marks on our times. We of this generation have to make that choice between material and moral forces which is also the choice between the death and the human species. By the perfection of our instruments of destruction we have laid this duty unavoidably upon ourselves.

It is only through the lives of such as Gandhi that we can hope to discharge it. We are weak as resolution and in unarméd. We have to borrow strength from those who live in more abundance. We need guidance, and we cons to show the path which a must take.

In the most turbulent age the earth has ever seen both these things have been given in the person of the greatest Indian of our day. In moments of stress, perception is often more sure than at any other time. Now in the

pain of Gandhi's death, it is possible to realise how faint and how strong is the faith which he preached. Now we can see that the light which was kindled in the East has not been put out but is made one with the "white radiance of eternity."

In that light many feet will walk in certainty and safety. And from the faith which burns there, untold thousands of men will find the strength which can abate the storms in the human heart and turn it toward that fuller life, the knowledge of which is our distinctive heritage.

The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of the Lord standeth for ever.

Gandhiji's Utterances

I CLAIM to be a man of faith and prayer, and even if I were to be cut to pieces I trust God would give me the strength not to deny Him, but to assert that He is.

The Mussulman says: "He is, and there is no one else." The Christian says the same thing, and so does the Hindu. If I may venture to say so, the Buddhist also says the same thing, only in different words.

It is true that we may each of us putting our own interpretation on the word "God." We must of necessity do so; for God embraces, not only this tiny globe of ours but millions and billions of such globes and worlds beyond worlds.

How can we, little crawling creatures, possibly measure His greatness. His boundless love. His infinite compassion? So great is His infinite love and pity that He allows man insolently to deny Him, to wrangle about Him, and even to cut the throat of his fellow-man!

No work done by any man, however great, will really prosper unless it has a distinct religious backing. But what is religion? I for one would answer: Not the Religion you will get after reading all the scriptures of the world. Religion is not really what is stamped by the brain, but a heart grasp.

Religion is a thing not alien to us. It has to be evolved out of us. It is always within us with some, consciously or with others, quite

unconsciously. But it is always there.

And whether we wake up this religious instinct in us through outside assistance or by inward growth, no matter how it is done, it has got to be done, if we want to do anything in the right manner, or to achieve anything that is going to persist.

Ahimsa means "non-killing." But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher. It really means that you may not offend anybody; you may not harbour any uncharitable thought, even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. To one who follows this doctrine there is no room for an enemy.

It is simply impudence for any man, or any body of men, to begin, or to contemplate, reform of the whole world. To attempt to do so by means of highly artificial and speedy locomotion is to attempt the impossible.

Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth.

The people of Europe, before they were touched with modern civilisation, had much in common with the people of the East.

An Englishman never respects you till you stand up to him. Then he begins to like you. He is afraid of nothing physical; but he is very mortally afraid of his own conscience, if ever you appeal to it and show him to be in the wrong.

He does not like to be rebuked for wrong-doing at first; but he will think it over, and it will get hold of him and hurt him till he does something to put it right.

The only virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-Violence. I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corrupt flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wear, and am therefore as liable to err as any.

INDIAN NEWS IN BRIEF

It is reliably understood that 22 States of Central India have agreed to form a single Union with the Maharaja of Gwalior as Raj-Pramukh (President).

India's objection to the new resolution of the Security Council on the Kashmir issue was stated by Sir N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar. He said that the resolution submitted by China was acceptable in the main by India, but the present resolution differed in fundamentals with that of China. Sir Gopalaswamy complained that scant consideration was being paid to India's complaint against Pakistan's complicity in aiding and abetting the raiders. He stressed that India must continue to shoulder the responsibility of protecting Kashmir while it remained with India. Sir Gopalaswamy concluded by saying that if India did not get satisfaction from the Security Council it would consider what action it should take to stop the fighting in Kashmir. He assured the Council that India would try all possible means to avoid a war with Pakistan.

The Governments of India and Transjordan have decided to exchange diplomatic representatives at legation level.

The Central Board of Railways are considering the possibility of an all-season navigation link between Calcutta and Parna.

Representatives of Sweden and India have prepared an air-transport agreement and have sub-

mitted it to their respective governments for approval. A service will soon start between Sweden and Delhi and its name will be given by the Swedish Government. The India service in Sweden will start later.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha has relinquished his office of Minister of Commerce in the Government of India and Mr. Jehangir Patel, a well-known merchant of Bombay, who was host to Mahatma Gandhi when he was released from the Agakhan Palace, has been appointed in his place.

The Government of the United Provinces, India, have started a cement factory which is state-owned.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji laid the foundation stone of the Institute of Nuclear Physics at Calcutta. Speaking on this occasion Dr. Khanna, president of the Institute, said this Institute will not produce atom bombs or poison gases, but will dedicate itself to the advancement of atomic knowledge.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, Minister of Industry and Supply in the Government of India, has clarified the Government's industrial policy. It aims at an efficient industry being developed to national plan. He warned the Industrialists that if there was lack of efficiency or unordered development the Government would step in and take control. He urged the Industrialists not to be

afraid of the Government and said that goodwill and understanding was necessary.

The Congress Working Committee is now considering the new draft constitution to be submitted for approval to the forthcoming meeting of the All India Congress Committee.

With the advent of Spring the position of the Indian Troops in Jammu and Kashmir is improving rapidly. Already considerable demoralization has set in amongst the raiders. In two large areas there have been no transborder raids for the past two weeks. In many villages the people are returning to their normal avocations and there are no more refugee camps in two large areas.

The Prime Minister of Saurashtra, Mr. Deber, has urged for a common integrated policy for the Gujarati speaking parts of Western India—Saurashtra, Gujarat and Cutch.

The Hyderabad Congress in a Press communique stated that its president Swami Ramananda Tirath has broken his fast. Swami Tirath went on fast on the 15th as a protest against the States' treatment to political prisoners.

The Bihar Legislative Assembly has passed a Bill abolishing Zamindari system in the province.

Mr. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, speaking in Peshawar, said that he was in favour of one party State in Pakistan. He criticized Khudai Khidmatgars and accused them of professing loyalty to Pakistan at the same time retaining their separate identity.

The Associated Press of India learnt that 1662 tons of rice arrived in India from Pakistan. The entire quantity has been allotted to Madras Province.

The Food Minister of the Government of India said that there was a definite improvement in the food situation in India since February.

The Prime Minister of India in inaugurating the Food Conference said that India had been able to avoid a catastrophe but yet there should be no slackening of effort. He was very happy to see the great help of the provinces and states to meet the food crisis.

The Maharaja of Alwar has been cleared of all allegations of personal complicity in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Gandhi Memorial Postage Stamps will be issued by the Government of India in three months.

The stamps will be 1½ As. for internal postage; 3½ As. for foreign surface mail; 12 As. for Air Mail and Rs.10. Two different portraits of Gandhiji have been used in printing these stamps.

India's first External Air-Service to United Kingdom started last week from Bombay. For the time being it will be once-a-week service with an additional weekly service later.

The Prime Minister of Hyderabad asserted that the reforms of the Nizam will generally meet the demands of the people. The sovereignty of the Nizam will be intact. He spoke of close association with the Indian Union because of the geographical position of the State. He stated that Hyderabad would not formulate separate Foreign Policy. In defence also Hyderabad could not be independent of India.

Speaking of the internal conditions of the State, the Prime Minister described the situation as reasonably under control. He admitted that there had been violent outbursts which tended to make trouble.

'Pakistan Times' Tribute To Gandhiji

UNDER the caption "When A Hero Dies," the 'Pakistan Times' of Lahore had an appreciation of the lifework of Gandhiji from which the following is reproduced.

He saw, as few of us can fail to see, that spread out underneath the present political contour of India and Pakistan is one vast immensity of unhappiness and fear and suffering, and he strove as few of us have had the courage to strive to press back the dimensions of this suffering. He saw as few of us can fail to see that the present bloodshed and savagery are the beginnings of an unholy assault not only on our freedom newly won but also on our culture and civilisation inherited from our remote ancestors and he fought as few of us have had the courage to fight against this freedom onslaught. And now, he is gone. There have been great heroes in history who lived and fought and died to preserve their own people from dangers that threatened and from enemies lying in wait. It would be hard to name any who has fallen fighting for his own people to preserve the honour of a people not his own. No greater sacrifice could be rendered by a member of one people to another and no greater tribute could be paid to the supremacy of fundamental human values as opposed to passing factional squabbles.

WHITHER PAKISTAN—WHAT NEXT?

BY QAZI MUKHTAR AHMED, M.A.
In The 'Modern Review'

TIME has only shown that the establishment of Pakistan has been the greatest catastrophe for the Muslim masses. The havoc it has wrought, the situation it has created is almost unparalleled in the history of the human species. Innumerable human beings, both Hindus and Muslims, were massacred in cold blood. Those who escaped death have become homeless. It is all Pakistan's doing. The human history does not record a greater blunder than Pakistan which has proved to be more devastating than Chengiz Khan's invasion where only 28,000 people were massacred, more abhorrent than the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre where 30,000 men were killed, more impolitic than Shah Jahan's invasion of Central Asia where the Indian soldiers suffered a defeat worse than death. Pakistan's success might be gigantic, its failure is bound to be so. The establishment of this so-called Muslim State has proved to be the greatest misfortune of those whose state it is unfortunately called. Why this? Only because it was not established with honest intentions. Now it is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that it is, in fine, the resultant of power politics, its foundation is therefore bound to be shaky. It is a state which can scarcely be labelled politically. It professes to be a democracy, but it acts otherwise; it calls itself a Muslim state, but it continues to be a dictatorship; it pretends to safeguard the minorities, but its leaders are busy in something else in levelling charges against Hindus. Lies are heaped upon lies, one blunder is followed by another, greater in magnitude. Completely oblivious of the interests of the Indian Muslims on whose support its structure was laid up, Pakistan hands for fighting with all the world. "Its ideal is Machiavelli and not the U.N.O. Charter." To call it the custodian of the Muslim interest is a grotesque reversal of truth.

Honest Muslim's Feelings

An honest Muslim feels, as he felt before, that Pakistan is not the result of the true general will of the Muslims, because it was achieved with the employment of Fascist technique. The Muslim League was not a political organisation, it was a communal body. It exploited religion, in consequence, it entrapped the poor Muslim masses. The false cry of Islam in danger completely upset a common Muslim, who was not a hypocrite, he could not understand the trickery of the League leaders. They literally laid upon the technique followed by Hitler in Germany, by Mussolini in Italy. They had an aspect in view, the safeguarding of

the Muslim upper classes. They were absolutely clear in their minds about the object in view, and I must confess that they played their game with consummate astuteness. Most of them coming from upper classes knew fully well that the uncontrollable demoralizing spirit of the time will cut at the very root of their power, and the reactionary institutions like Aristocracy, Landlordism, Capitalism will be liquidated. They joined the Muslim League, not for the amelioration of the Muslim masses, but for the realisation of their own ambitions. To them politics was a mere gamble, and the Muslim League only a face-saving device. They had an axe to grind, the Muslim masses were made a scape-goat. For the realisation of their unsanctified ambitions they resorted to communal propaganda. In this technique they were adepts, no less than Dr. Goebbels. Harping upon the tune always, they sought to win the Muslim masses. Their colossal propaganda, their hate propagating sermon, their bellicose slogans had the desired reaction. The Muslims gradually lost the political and ultimately they were *en masse* betrayed. None was allowed to examine the League policies, lest its loopholes might be exposed. The command of the Prophet was to follow him blindly. Mr. Jinnah, now the Qaid-e-Azam, once said, "Vote for the League candidate, be it a lamp post." Jinnah undoubtedly made the Muslim politics aristocratic, he made it an ass's bridge by his word-jugglery.

Absurd Tactics

Further, for achieving the Bicolorado, devastating and absurd tactics were followed. Ignoring completely the historical and geographical factors, Jinnah propounded the fantastic two-nation theory for widening the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. Muslims were supposed to have one culture, the Hindus quite the other when 99 per cent of the Indian Muslims were converts from Hinduism and when all of them belonged to one race, the Aryan race. It is needless to discuss the absurdity of this theory which divided cultures on the basis of religion. Were it so, all the Muslims of the world would have been one nation. The enunciation of this theory has proved to be more suicidal than Pakistan itself. Jinnah tried to dismember the Indian nation. If the Hindu nation is defeated today with their whole soul the pro-Pakistan Muslims, they are justified

in doing so. Jinnah wanted to crush the Indian nation but the time will tell him that he was weaving the rope of sand, he was trying for the impossible. It is a tragedy of history that he temporarily succeeded in befuddling the Muslim masses.

This seems to be the correct analysis of the question. Now when the mischief is done, I think that an average Muslim understands what Pakistan means. He seems to realise that it is a symbol of tyranny, the result of Mr. Jinnah's ego. Thus I am talking about the average Muslim, not about the remnants of Jinnahism, who still abound in India. Now, a pertinent question rises, were the Muslims so childlike as not to know the dire consequences of Pakistan. I, in my heart of heart, feel that the Muslim rank and file were really so. They supported Pakistan without understanding the implications of this diabolical move. They became powerless before the psychological methods of Mr. Jinnah, they surrendered in an unconscious emotional state of mind. Such parallels are not far to seek in history. The Nazi creed, in spite of its inherent inconsistencies and lacunae, was once the dominant creed of Germany. If anybody is to be blamed, it is Hitler and his satellites, and not the German people. Mussolini did likewise in Italy. Metemich in Austria, Randolph Churchill and later of the same species Winston Churchill in Great Britain. The leaders had always been responsible, the masses had always been like sheep.

Who Is To Blame?

If anybody is to blame today, it is the League leadership and a certain section of the Muslim educated class. The conciliatory attitude of the Congress leaders turned their brains, and the Muslim League leaders developed a peculiar complex. Always in a state of war and unbecomingly guided by world politics, they were always in the thick of the political peculiar code of courtiers. Here, Muslim League leader followed the example set by Jinnah Sahib. I very well remember that in 1945 when I criticised, through the columns of the 'Leader' and 'Parsha', a speech of Raza Mahomedabad, I got an unholy rebuff. I received various letters, full of abuses and expressions of indignation which I still preserve as a memento of my folly.

It is in this background that the present problems of the Indian Muslims should be understood.

An average Muslim seems to be sorry for what he has done. Although I quite realise that the Muslim League stalwarts are still as irreconcilable as they were before. Now the task of the Machiavellian diplomatists has ended, that of the common Muslim begun. He must realise, fully well, that there has been tremendous change in the political firmament of India. He has to fit himself in the new set-up. The Indian Muslims should, once for all, drive away the delusion that Jinnah can be of any help to them any more. Jinnah's tactics have now been exposed, he has undoubtedly proved himself to be the Dutchman of Indian politics. Those who will still continue to follow his path, I warn them that they will be playing with edge tools. Jinnah has completely forgotten the Indian Muslims on whose support the structure of Pakistan was laid up. He did not say a single word of sympathy for them, all that he has said so far is plundering and blundering. It is meant to delude us.

Jinnah's clap-traps should no more be heard. The Indian Muslims are Indians and not Pakistanis. They have thrown their lot, and I am happy they have done so, with the Hindus, their countrymen, who can ill afford to ignore them.

I am personally opposed to the giving of any pledge of loyalty. They should prove by their actions that they are loyal to India. If they stand the trial, I am sure the suspicion will vanish like snow in the sun-shine. Having faith in democracy, in the generosity and broad-mindedness of the majority community, Muslims should proceed on with courage and determination. They have to undo what they have done, they have to follow a new lead. In short, they have a tremendous task before them. If they do not learn by experience even now, if they persist in their folly, they have no right to exist either in India or anywhere else.

Self-Preservation

Further, they should follow with single-minded devotion the following line of action. It is, in fine, a device for self-preservation.

Muslims should now ungrudgingly follow the lead of Mahatma Ambedkar, the apostle of patriotism. Had they only followed him earlier, the worst would not have happened. Even the hatred of heretics will solve the problem. If the Muslims of India fail to unite and come on a single platform, I am afraid their fate will be worse than that of the Jews in Palestine, the Negroes in Latin America, the Indians in South Africa.

The Muslim League should be

demolished root and branch. An organisation whose mischief has been so far extending does not deserve to exist. Hindus are not keen to see its funeral for they have nothing to fear against it. Muslims in their own interest should bury it deep. We have had enough of communalism. Now no more of it. In the future India is a bound to be a drug in the market. The Muslim League leaders should take to solitary cells, they should refuse from politics otherwise they will do tremendous harm to the Muslim community. There are no more wanted, Pakistan has proved to be their death warrant.

I agree, the Muslims should join the Congress only if they sincerely renounce to its creed. If their adherence to it is only out of expediency and it is not based on intellectual convictions, I shall advise them not to join the Congress. They should know fully well that the code of international politics, sometimes are called Quiltings and their punish merit is death. They should be unequivocally loyal to the state and should be prepared to fight against any power. If Pakistan or any other state, if it is not prepared, will not do let them translate it into action.

Now they have to undo with entire and push what they have done foolishly. Pakistan has got to be liquidated at the lifetime of Mr. Jinnah. Muslims should be able to tell in his face that he hoodwinked them, he did them harm by dividing India which was destined to be one country. This was a long term programme, an confident that if they whole heartedly say so, India will again be united. The lustful state of Pakistan can be liquidated soon. Mr. Jinnah seems to bank upon the help of the Muslim countries. The clear

sight is know that he is suffering from intellectual want, he is labouring under a delusion. He cause the Islamic countries are national in fact, they do not thrive on communalism as Pakistan does. The Muslims of India who made Pakistan can as well undo it. If the reactionary Sunderland could be liquidated in Switzerland, why not Pakistan in India?

Lastly, the Muslims should learn to be good neighbours. They have got to adjust themselves in the new settings or else they are likely to be persecuted. Now they should attach no im-

portance to the old controversies like cow-slaughter and music before mosque. They are the bogies of British imperialism and have no substance in them. Moreover, if cow-slaughter is not in accordance with his duty as a citizen to refrain from it. Muslims should also give up emphasising the importance of Urdu. It has no religious sanctity whatsoever. If they do not learn Hindi, they will do it at the cost of their interests. It is in these little things that they can show their willingness to be good and loyal citizens of India.

OUR INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Baroda, April 24, 1948.

INDIA'S POLICY RE: STATES

MR. V. K. MENON, Secretary of the States Ministry in the Government of India, in explaining the Government policy re States, said: "We have come to the conclusion in certain quarters for limiting the pace of events to the States. There has been no compulsion so far as the Government of India are concerned. In the majority of States the Government of India have been able to work in the spirit of the Rulers and their ready appreciation of the legitimate aspirations of the people, the attainment of the ideal of a united and democratic India, and peaceful transfer of power to the people in the States would not have been possible. They serve well of us. In the case of smaller States which are in heretofore unrepresented in our separate union, it is

decided that the best interests of the people, as also of the Ruler, lay in the administrative integration of the States with the adjoining provinces. The act of sacrifice on the part of the Rulers which this decision involved rendered possible the transfer of the administration of the small States from the Rulers to the Provinces."

In the new set-up that now emerged, Mr. Menon added, there would still remain a number of major States unaffected by the movement of merger or union. How far this remarkable process of integration has simplified the problem of Indian States will be evident from the fact that, as against about 400 units which were called States on August 15, 1947, in a month or so the number of the States is likely to be reduced to less than one hundredth of the original num-

ber. There has been one essential condition we have attached to all schemes recognised by us relating to the future set-up of the States, namely, transfer of full power from the Ruler to the people. In the case of the merger of a State with a province or the Centre, transfer of power to the people is automatic in that the merging States become parts of administrative units which are governed by popular governments of the provinces or the Centre. With the exception of Hyderabad, practically all the States have either transferred power to the people or have made announcements for establishing full responsible government in the near future.

On The States Front

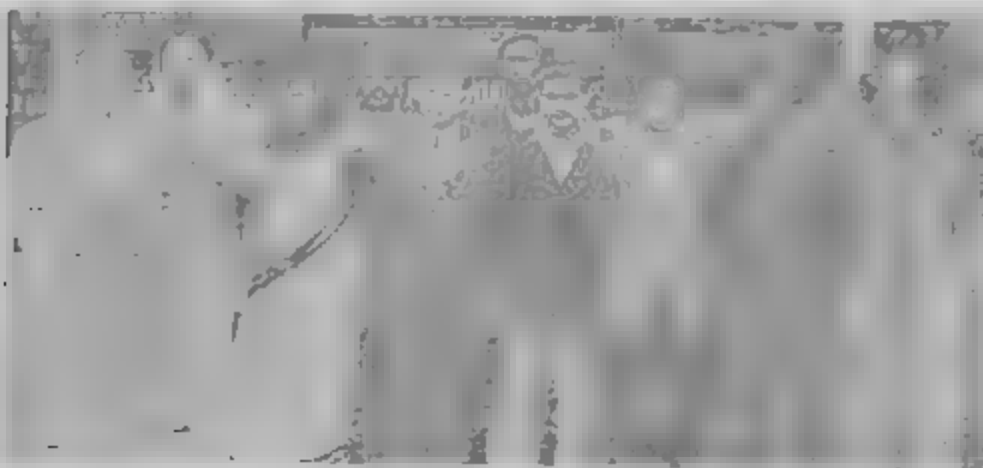
Himachal Pradesh, now province in the Indian Dominion, came into being on the 15th. It has an area of about 12,000 square miles, and is populated by over 10 millions. Its revenue is about one crore. This province came into being as the result of 24 Hill States transferring power to the Government of India who will directly administer the area. The Himachal Pradesh is a special constitutional innovation. It has been conceived as a Lt.-Governor's Province which will at present be administered by a Chief Commissioner. Though the province is to have a Legislature and an Advisory Council of three Rulers, it will remain constitutionally a centrally-administered area.

The ancient State of Udaipur has merged its identity and joined the newly-formed United States of Rajasthan. The Maharaja becomes the Rajpradukh of the Union.

Speaking at the merger ceremony at Udaipur, Pandit Nehru assured the Princes and people of Rajasthan that the Central Government would give them every help and support for the efficient running of their government. "We are," he said, "in the same boat. We shall have to sail or sink together."

Gujarat And Saurashtra

Sir U. K. Dholji, P. M. of Saurashtra, returning to a proposed Mah. Govt. Province, said that the 1,000-mile coastal line and 120 miles of land frontiers. So even from the strategic point of view, it would be obvious that there must be a common integrated policy for the Government of Saurashtra. Catch, Gujarat territory of Bombay Province, and Baroda. Even in the trade and commerce, and order, and scope of the people, there must be a common



by Mr. Menon, and in the presence of Mr. Jinnah on April 19, who entered India without passport under the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913. All are serving a sentence of three months. Mr. Gandhi was not arrested.

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| કાપડી જોરજોરની સાડીઓ | | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીલક મજલીનની કાચતકાચેલી સાડીઓ | | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી કાચત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ | | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી કાચત જોરજોર સાડીઓ | | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| ડીઝાઇન રસાદ, એ જાણી જાણી. રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન | | ૧૨ ૦ ૦ |

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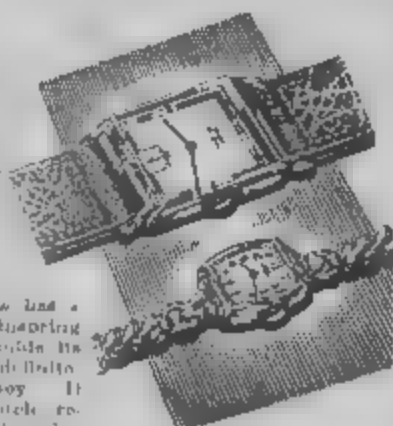
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માનવર નિર્ણય કરે જાતના વીમાઓ જેનરલી યામ ઓ,
હોવા અપનીને જેનરલ આયર્સ જે રહે જીવંતી રહે છે.

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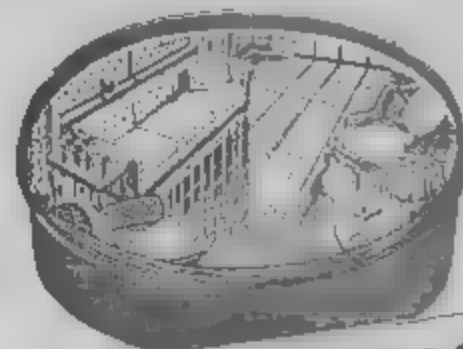
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FRIDAY, 14TH MAY, 1948

Our Duty

It is a matter of immense pain to us that at a time when in fact, we should be censuring the Government for all the ills we are suffering in this country we are having to direct all our criticism to ourselves. Those of us who are not taking an active part in the Passive Resistance struggle against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act are doing the greatest disservice not only to ourselves but to the cause of truth and justice, for which we claim to stand, to all the oppressed people, to South Africa, which we claim to be our home by virtue of our birth and adoption, to India, our Motherland, and to humanity. And what other punishment could there be for such a spineless and impotent community but that of death? For those who have any sense of self-respect it should be a living death to have to live under the humiliations already imposed on them and are still being piled on, as would appear from further draft ordinances based on race discrimination sought to be introduced in the Natal Provincial Council. Yet most of us seem to be quite happily carrying on with our daily lives unconcerned as to what is happening around us. Under Hitler's regime such world apathy would be rewarded by the death penalty. That was his method

of raising in A.I. community. And who can deny that the Indian community of South Africa requires some such drastic method to shake off the soul-destroying lethargy that seems to have overpowered it?

Nothing seems to awaken us from our peaceful slumber. Here is a report of a case which appeared in the daily Press.

Isaiah Mahomed Lockhat, a 40-year-old Indian, was fined £25 or a month's imprisonment in Durban for contravening the Land Tenure Act by occupying premises in an exempted area from January 2, 1948, to February 5, 1948.

An ejection order against him was ordered.

Evidence was that he had taken up occupation of 119 Eleventh Avenue, Durban, on January 2.

On the fixed date the property had been occupied by a European.

Evidence in mitigation was that Lockhat had bought the property from its former Indian owner and was living nearby in a single-storeyed house.

He took up residence at 119 Eleventh Avenue when work was started on reconstructing his own residence.

He told the Court that on the day he moved into 119 Eleventh Avenue he ported an application to Pretoria for a permit to occupy the premises but had received no reply.

He said that it would take another four months before his own home was ready to be occupied again.

It is for this very human right, not of one but that of two hundred thousand Lockhats, that nearly two thousand of our brothers and sisters have already suffered imprisonment that Dr. Dadpo, Naicker and

Goonam and scores of other men and women are to-day suffering imprisonment that three of our spirited youths were each sentenced in the Newcastle Magistrate's Court to six strokes. The strokes, the Magistrate is reported to have very kindly said, were to be administered with "a light cane." However light the strokes may be, the very fact that our innocent youths should be so punished for a deed, which deserves not to be ridiculed or treated as a crime, but approbation, for the courage and the spirit of sacrifice for a noble cause that inspired it, should have stirred the community to its very depths. Those strokes that the innocent youths have had to suffer should have caused every Indian a thousandfold more pain and should have stirred him up to do his "duty" in the sense that, no less a person than our Prime Minister, General Smuts, the other day, referred to so eloquently. The Prime Minister was speaking in Benoni on the occasion of the opening of the Moth Memorial Hall and Club. "We have never been afraid to do our duty in the hour of danger," he said, "and we have done our duty in our war after war." He referred to South Africa as "a country which is not afraid under any circumstances to do its duty and to take its place with other nations of the world." The spirit of self-defence and playing the game with the country, the Prime Minister said "is worth more than all the gold and diamond

mines, and it is this spirit that has made South Africa the most fortunate in the world." These are golden words. We are engaged in a war to-day with South Africa. We are acting in self-defence against attacks made on us in the shape of humiliating legislation, and are expected to do our duty. We shall be judged by our capacity to suffer for what we hold dear—our national honour—whether we are fit to live as citizens of this country. Shall we throw off our lethargy and wake up to do our duty that we may live a noble life or shall we die an ignoble death? That is the question we have to ask ourselves. What is required to carry on our worthy struggle for justice is men, who are prepared to sacrifice their lives, and money. Let us not flinch in doing our duty. India is behind us, the civilised world is behind us. But above all we should have faith in the justice of our cause and in God.

Resisters Sentenced To Six Strokes

THREE Indian youths, who were charged with illegally entering Natal at the Charles-town border Sunday, were each sentenced in the Magistrate's Court, Newcastle, on Monday to receive a whipping of six strokes with a light cane. Two other Indians, who also crossed the border, were found guilty and were each sentenced to three months' hard labour.

Five resisters crossed the border from Natal into the Transvaal at the same time. They were each sentenced in the Magistrate's Court at Volksrust to three months' imprisonment.

NOTES

Food Shortage

THE food situation in most parts of the world was worse today than it was three years ago, when the war ended, said Dr. J. du Toit, late Director of Veterinary Services and a member of the S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, at a Rotary lunch in Johannesburg on Tuesday. Although the world's conscience had at last been awakened to the seriousness of the food position and many countries were now producing far more food than hitherto, he doubted whether South Africa was doing her fair share to assist the needs of others. Owing to damage done during the war, in Europe alone 22,000,000 acres of arable land had been put out of cultivation. The unprecedented drought of 1946/47 had contributed still further to the desperate food shortage in Europe today. Dr. du Toit paid tribute to the work of the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, of which 55 countries were members. As a result of its work millions had been saved from dying from starvation and the maximum amount of food could be produced in each country, food production would be doubled," he said. "India alone requires 2,000,000 tons for her own use." President Roosevelt had been worried about the world food situation as long ago as in 1943, said Dr. du Toit. Before World War I about half the world's population had enough to eat and about one-third of the people had 1,250 calories a head, the absolute minimum requirement. At present they had about 1,750 calories, which was only just adequate for a person doing manual labour which was not of too strenuous a nature. He blushed with shame when he heard South African housewives complaining about meat shortages.

What Is The Real Cause?

How strange it is that while on the one hand we talk of food shortage, on the other, there is a criminal waste of food just because of over-production or because the profiteers cannot make sufficient profits! Have we not heard of tons of potatoes, tons of oranges and tons of other foodstuffs being destroyed? Has this food shortage not been caused because of the foolishness of man who wastes his energy on producing unnecessary things just

because they bring in more wealth in money, than the things that are essential for sustaining life? For instance, what need has the world for the amount of sugar that is produced in South Africa, but for the fact that it fills the coffers of the sugar magnates? Could not most of the land that is occupied in producing that essential and harmful article be utilised in producing articles of life-sustaining food? And are there not vast areas of uncultivated land in South Africa itself owned by selfish individuals who indulge in the "dog in the manger" policy, which, if put to proper use in the interest of mankind, would bring peace, prosperity and happiness to the world? But these are days when man propounds theories but when it comes to putting those theories into practice he is loath to do so. That is the cause of the growing frustration and coming into being of destructive forces such as Hitlerism, Communism and the like.

Lord And Lady Mountbatten

Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of the Dominion of India will relinquish his post on June 21 and Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, will take his place. As the last Viceroy and the first Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten has attained a position which no person holding the office that His Excellency does, has attained in the history of the British rule in India. And the same could be said about Lady Mountbatten. Both have freely mixed with the people and have endeared themselves among them by carrying out with brilliant success their duties, which had grown heavier with the communal rioting, the like of which history has never seen. They were privileged also to witness two occasions, the grandeur of which is unsurpassed in the history of India. One was a happy and glorious occasion—that of the dawn of freedom in India and the other with the same grandeur but full of unsurpassed gloom, came over India by the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Both these great occasions we are sure, will leave an indelible mark on their minds and hearts when they leave

the shores of India. But they will carry with them something more and that is the unflinching love of four hundred million people of India whose hearts they have won.

Shri Rajagopalachari

Shri Rajagopalachari's accession to the first Governor-Generalship of India was a foregone conclusion. He acted for Lord Mountbatten when he and Lady Mountbatten paid a brief visit to London for the Royal wedding last November. Madras Province had made wonderful progress during Shri Rajagopalachari's Premiership under the Congress Government. He was the first to introduce prohibition in that Province with amazing success. As an intellectual there are a few in India who can surpass him. He understands Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy as very few do and can interpret him as very few can. In the early days of civil disobedience when Mahatma Gandhi was serving his term of six years' imprisonment, Shri Rajagopalachari ably conducted Mahatma Gandhi's 'Young India'. Shri Rajagopalachari has earned for himself the reputation of being not only one of the great nationalist leaders but a far-seeing statesman who refused to bow to political expediency. His simplicity of life and ways will do away with the pomp attached to that high office. It will on the contrary bring a resemblance of the times of the ancient sages.

Nobel Prize Winner Suggests Passive Resistance Against Russian Aggression

Sir Norman Angell, the author and Nobel Peace Prize winner, said last week in Washington that a policy of non-resistance to Russian aggression might be the best available policy for the European countries. "The case for no resistance to Russia at all is exceedingly strong, particularly for countries in the position of France and Britain," he told the American Peace Society. "If an atomic war comes, these countries may be simply extinguished, their people dead. As atomic corpses they could do nothing to help maintain some shred of freedom under Communist rule. Alive, and applying possibly the passive resistance Gandhi taught, they

could still do something to soften the worst features of a totalitarian state."

Tanganyika European's Magnificent Charity To Native Education

Tanganyika's "Lord Nuffield"—Dr. J. T. Williamson, of the famous diamond mine at Shinyang, is reported to have given £50,000 to Makerere College, Uganda, where Natives from East African territories are educated to a very high level. No conditions were attached to the gift, but probably it will be used to extend college buildings which are already fully occupied.

Portuguese Prohibited Immigrant Gets Suspended Sentence

Convicted in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court for being a prohibited immigrant, Joseph Viera Cardoso (26), a Portuguese from Madeira, described how he was smuggled into the Union in 1947. He said: "I came in from Lourenco Marques by train and travelled in a locked lavatory in a Portuguese railway coach. A Portuguese working on the Railway locked me in there. He let me out when we had crossed into the Union. I paid £50 to a man named Rodriguez to be smuggled into the Union." Before sentence was passed the prosecutor told the magistrate that after Cardoso was arrested he gave immigration officers valuable information and in view of this he asked that Cardoso be given a suspended sentence. Cardoso was fined £25, or three months' hard labour, suspended for three years on condition that he was not again convicted in terms of the Immigration Act within that period.

Security Council's Indecision Over Kashmir

The four months old Kashmir debate in the Security Council ended on Friday night last week without any decisive action, states a Sapa-Reuters message from Lake Success. Delegates hope, however, that the five-power commission appointed the same day will help India and Pakistan to iron out their differences. Both Dominions told the Council that they could not accept the Council's resolution which proposed certain terms for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. They indicated, however, they would not oppose the arrival of the commission and might co-operate with it within the limits of their political reservations.

TIT BITS FROM ELECTIONEERING SPEECHES

Mr. D. E. Mitchell

MR. D. E. MITCHELL (United Party candidate for Natal South Coast) during his electioneering speech at a meeting in Isipingo, referring to the Union's relations with the rest of the world, is reported to have said that South Africa could not remain isolated, situated geographically between East and West.

Mr. J. G. Derbyshire

Mr. J. G. Derbyshire, South African Party candidate for Durban Central, at a meeting in Durban on Tuesday night, is reported to have said that the election would decide whether Durban was to remain a European city or become a second Bombay. He was opposed to the Indian being given representation either in Parliament or in the Provincial Council, and recommended that Indians owning property in European areas be bought out and moved to their own areas out of town.

Mr. C. Neate

Mr. C. Neate, South African Party candidate for the Natal South Coast constituency at a meeting in the Port Shepstone Memorial Hall, on Tuesday night, gave the following solution to the Natal Indian problem as his personal suggestion:

All Indian girls and women between the ages of five and 30 should be given a bonus of £600 to leave the country and £200 should be given to every male accompanying them. Such a scheme would cost about £2,000,000.

The Indians, he said, had made their fortunes by exploiting the Natives and Europeans. The number of general dealers' licences should be reduced and their businesses curtailed so that eventually they would look for new pastures.

The Passive Resistance movement was the result of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and a dangerous situation had arisen. The Indians would demand every single privilege at present enjoyed by the Europeans and they were actuated by Communistic ideas. Any concessions made at a round table conference, if it ever took place, would be at the expense of the people of Natal.

The position in Durban today was that Indians were running businesses with European men and women as assistants. A comparison of the Indian birthrate with that of the Europeans, indicated that the time would come when the White population would be swamped.

Mr. Neate explained the Asiatic Land Tenure Act at length, pointing

ing out how he had differed from his leader and had not voted for the second reading of the Bill.

General Smuts, he said, rejected his plan to include Syrians in the term Asiatic. Most of the illicit liquor trade on the Rand was done by Syrians.

Dealing with the Native question, Mr. Neate said that, unlike the Indians, who were aliens, the Natives were inherent to the country and something should be done for them.

Dr. Malan

"There are two problems which are of the very greatest importance in this country to-day—two questions which will decide the future of South Africa," said Dr. D. F. Malan, leader of the Nationalists in an address to a largely attended meeting in Germiston Town Hall on Saturday night.

"The first of these is the colour question, and the other is Communism."

Dr. Malan said he did not look on the colour question as a danger to South Africa. General Smuts tried to present it in that light, accusing the Opposition of looking on non-Europeans as a danger. "What I do regard as a danger is that the question remains unsolved and that the United Party ignores it."

There were other countries where the Europeans were in the minority. Some countries had found a solution in the extermination of the non-Europeans. "Our forefathers refused to follow that path, because they were a Christian people."

The solution in some countries was left in the hands of the non-Europeans, who had continued to exercise demands which resulted in the Europeans having to leave those countries. He pointed to India and Burma in support of this argument. Had South Africans another land to which they could return? "Therefore, we say that we must not follow that policy."

In South America, the Europeans had followed the attitude of General Smuts—a policy of wait and see—with the result that a bastard race had developed.

"There is only one solution. Let us, Europeans and non-Europeans, live in South Africa but on the basis of 'apartheid,' without causing any injustice to the non-Europeans."

A new spirit had arisen among the non-Europeans. They were no longer the same as they were 10 or 15 years ago. One reason for this flowed from their participation in the war. They were to-day making demands which if accepted would be the end of the Europeans in this country. And behind that spirit among the non-

Europeans were the activities of the Communistic agitators.

The Communists demanded equality and incited the non-Europeans to enforce their demands. Communists in South Africa, said Dr. Malan, were making their conquests. They were ingratulating themselves with one non-European organisation after another but they were also making their conquests with the Europeans. These conquests were not always made in the light of day. What was the United Party doing about this danger?

Labour Party Manifesto

The South African Labour Party Manifesto provides for social and residential separation of the European and non-European races. It opposes communism "which is bred by poverty and oppression. Labour's policy is the bulwark against this menace, because it would abolish

poverty and oppression."

The manifesto says that the tremendous war effort in defence of democratic institutions would not be complete if the electorate did not, at the elections, secure the peace. The greatest immediate danger was offered by the Nationalist Party and its satellites. "For this reason the Labour Party has made an electoral agreement with the United Party with the sole purpose of ensuring that the Nationalists and their allies will not be in a position to win seats on a minority vote. In doing this the Labour Party does not sacrifice any part of its traditional principles, nor accept any responsibility for the policy of the United Party, nor surrender any of its freedom to criticism."

Urging the defeat of racialism the manifesto says a Nationalist victory would inevitably produce an outbreak of intense racial animosity and discord.

WORLD PEACE SITUATION
DETERIORATING

"I GREATLY fear that war seems coming again upon the world with swift pace," said His Excellency C. Rajagopalachari, Chancellor of Calcutta University in his address to the annual convocation of the University recently. Mr. Rajagopalachari continued: "The world peace situation is deteriorating at an alarming pace. The hope of internationalists is to attain a world federation on a day wherein peace and justice would be assured for all the people of the world, irrespective of colour or creed or type of culture. So long as this is not attained and we have to rest content with a balanced system of national Powers as a transitory substitute for the more stable equilibrium of a world federation, there is always a tendency for one or the other of fairly equal Powers to be seized with a sudden fear as a result of some real or imagined event. Then a strong and insistent feeling possesses us that the best thing would be to precipitate the inevitable conflict before the enemy gets time to grow stronger. Such a situation seems now to have rapidly developed."

"I hope my apprehensions are wrong but I greatly fear war seems coming again upon the world with swift pace. What is wanted now is not the interpretation of war preparations in terms of self-defence so as to make them acceptable to those who mostly love peace. Of that we have enough stereotypes. What is wanted now is some one who will explain America to Russia and Russia to America, and keep off war, one who understands respect

and influences but is trusted by both.

Advice To Graduates

Addressing the graduates Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the new graduates to be tolerant of other's feelings and said that charity in judgment was a civic power of the highest practical value. Every time you find yourselves tempted to stray from the path of truth and love, remember Gandhiji, the man who was eager to guide us and who was so full of wisdom and love and who was snatched away from us so cruelly. May the blood that flowed from Gandhiji's wounds and the tears that flowed from the eyes of the women of India everywhere when they learnt of his death serve to buy the curse of 1947, and may the grisly tragedy of that year sleep in history and not colour present passions. "Shall we hope that in 1950 or thereafter we shall be able to say truthfully that all of us are more honest and less selfish in free India than before, that the rice crop has been more abundant than in the days of the British, that the number of acres under cultivation is greater than there is now, and that the behaviour of men and women in India is superior to what it is in places not blessed by Indian culture? Then indeed we can claim that we have built a world monument for Gandhi."

EQUALITY AS A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT IN INDIA

BY DR. C. P. ALEXANDER, M.A., D.Litt.
In The 'Indian Review'

IN any list of Fundamental Rights the right to equality is bound to be recognised as the most important. In fact the doctrine of Fundamental Rights arose mainly as a protest against the concept of 'privilege.' The influence of the American and French revolutions in the evolution of the doctrine of Fundamental Rights needs no special mention. It was the tyranny of the privileged classes that compelled the masses to rise in revolt and assert their fundamental right to equality in France. As DeLisle Burns says, Rousseau's opening words in the *Contract Social* that "man is born free and he is everywhere in chains" is the cry of pain from which the revolutionary enthusiasm arose. "Men are born and always continue free and equal in respect of their rights" proclaims the French Declaration of Rights. "All men are created equal" says the American Declaration of Independence, and they have the right to assume among the power of the earth the separate and equal station in which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them." The Indian National Congress which had largely drawn its inspiration from the American and French revolutions had consistently asked for the incorporation of the right to equality as a Fundamental Right in the Indian Constitution. But the British Government were averse to the idea of recognising any right as fundamental in India. The Simon Commission thought that "mere abstract declarations were useless unless there existed the will and the means to make them effective." Sir Samuel Hoare was of opinion that it was "extraordinarily difficult to put in anything sufficiently explicit to make it susceptible of a legal decision." However the 1935 Act contained one provision which remotely at least recognised the right to equality. "No subject of His Majesty" says the Act, "domiciled in India shall on grounds only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be ineligible for office under the Crown in India or be prohibited on any such grounds from acquiring, holding, or disposing of property." This provision refers only to equality of rights for public service, property and profession. It does not attempt to remove social inequalities based on caste, religion or sex. The Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights guarantees unqualified equality. It says—"No disability attaches to any citizen by

reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling. All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort maintained out of state or local funds or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public."

The right to equal protection of law and equal facilities are of special significance to the depressed classes in India. There is a close similarity between the Marican problem in India and the Negro problem in the U.S.A. and so it will be of special interest to make a comparative study of the application of the right to equality in these two countries.

In the United States equality is assured to all the citizens by the famous 14th Amendment which says that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The Civil Rights Act which was based on the 14th Amendment assures all citizens of the United States equal facilities in hotels, public conveyances, theatres, places of amusement etc. without distinction of religion, race, colour or caste. But it is interesting to note how in the actual of these laws the Negroes of America are denied their right to equality. The 14th Amendment on which the Civil Rights is based aims at preventing only discriminatory laws passed by States and not by private individuals. Justice Bradley of the Supreme Court giving his judgment in the famous *Civil Rights Case* (1883) observed that "Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject matter of the Act. So if a coloured citizen in America is refused admission to a theatre or hotel on the ground of his colour, he has no protection of law under the 14th Amendment. The 14th Amendment gives him relief only against State legislation or State action. In India the right to equal facilities is an unqualified right in the sense that all citizens have equal access to wells, hotels, schools, theatres etc. intended for the use of the general public.

Again in the application of the right to equal protection of law, there is a wide gulf between theory and practice in America.

In the U.S.A. the right to equal protection of law does not mean equality in social relations. For example, if laws are made segregating the coloured Negroes from the Whites in regard to travel in railway carriages or education in schools, it does not become ultra-vires. So long as equal facilities are provided to the Negroes for education, or travel, or entertainment, there will be no infringement on the constitutional requirements of equal protection of laws. A violation of the right to equality arises only when facilities provided for one set of people are denied to another. The issues involved in the famous "*Missouri Ex Rel Gaines V Canada Case*" (1939) deserve critical study. A Negro student by name Lloyd Gaines who had graduated from the Lincoln University was denied admission to the law school of the University on the ground that he was a Negro. Failing to get justice at the circuit court and the supreme court of Missouri he appealed to the Federal Supreme

Court. Chief Justice Hughes delivering judgment in favour of the Negro student observed that the right to equal protection of law was violated because facilities for education in law given to the whites were denied to the Negro. If equal provision had been provided for education in law separately for the negroes also, there would have been no violation of the right. Thus the right of equal protection of law in the U.S. does not recognise segregation on grounds of colour as an offence. Of course it goes without saying that this is a flagrant violation of the Fundamental Rights to equality. In India segregation on grounds of colour or caste in public carriages, hotels, educational institutions etc. constitutes an open violation of the Right to equality.

Thus it is clear that the right to equality recognised in our country is more real than that in America. At least it can be said in our favour that we have not deliberately left any loopholes in our law.

PANDIT NEHRU SAVES PAKISTAN FROM GETTING RUINED WITHOUT WATER

FOLLOWING the Inter-Dominion conference held in Delhi last week the East Punjab Government has decided to continue the supply of water for irrigation canals in the West Punjab, and to guarantee the supply for a reasonable time to enable the West Punjab Government's tapping of alternative sources. More than 1,500,000 of Pakistan's most fertile acres have thus been saved from reverting to desert, while the threat of famine has also been averted.

The *London Times* Delhi correspondent states that a joint statement issued on Friday night gave details of the agreement, but failed to mention, that only the intervention of the Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru prevented the conference's degenerating into a senseless and dangerous quarrel which would have spelled disaster for the West Punjab's rich districts of Montgomery and Lyallpur and their inhabitants.

Under the terms of the agreement the East Punjab will continue the supply of water while giving the West Punjab Government sufficient time to develop fresh water sources. The cost of this service has yet to be decided, but, meanwhile, the West Punjab has agreed to deposit immediately in the Reserve Bank a sum to be specified by the Indian Prime Minister.

The problem was created by the Radcliffe Boundary Award which divided this vast irrigation system, the canal colonies being included in Pakistan and the head

works which supply them being in India.



LORD MOUNTBATTEN
Governor-General of India who is to relinquish his post in June.



RAJAGOPALACHARI
India's First Governor-General Designate

D K. RAJENDRA PRASAD, Congress President, speaking at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay, referred to Indians abroad, particularly in South Africa, Burma and Ceylon, and said that, with India becoming free, Indians in other lands were looking to us to bring about an amelioration of their conditions. India was following their fortunes with the greatest sympathy and interest. As regards the Salvaguardia by Indians in South Africa he said: "We have not forgotten them. Our sympathies are fully with them and we hope that the South African Government will realise that this problem must be solved satisfactorily at the earliest moment. The Indian Government has already taken certain steps in the matter, and they will not rest content so long as Indians are given freedom to live and to carry on their normal avocations there. We have only one way to conduct our fight, and that is the way that we have followed in the past."

Sardar's Message

Sardar Patel, whom illness prevented from attending the meeting, sent a message in the course of which, referring to Hyderabad, he said: "You cannot but agree that I fully share that distress, and that my heart grieves no less than yours for the victims of many a tragedy that is being perpetrated both inside and around the borders of Hyderabad. I can assure you all that all my colleagues in the Cabinet are fully conversant with and keenly alive to the situation. I would, therefore, ask you to extend your confidence and trust to your Government and to bear for a while till we obtain an acceptable solution of this tangle." He appealed to them "to maintain calm and restraint for a while." "Unity and more unity must be our watchword," he added. "Within the short period of six months we have already achieved a great measure of success in creating unity in the sphere in which, we thought, it was most difficult, namely, the Indian States. This has been possible by the sacrifices of the people and by the patriotism and statesmanship of the Princes. When you think of upportioning credit or praise, I hope you will not lose sight of this factor. If, however, we have to solve the problem with which we are likely to be faced in the near future, it is most essential that we close up our ranks and pool our resources."

India's Foreign Policy

The Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, made a number of important utterances while

OUR INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Baroda, May 1, 1948.

INDIANS ABROAD

in Bombay. Regarding India's foreign policy he said that India's policy in the international sphere would be one of strict neutrality. "We want to be friendly with every country and follow our own line of policy on every question that might arise, remaining neutral on those not affecting us directly. It is my firm belief that there will be no third world war in the near future. We shall take care not to align ourselves with one group or the other for temporary gains. While India cannot obviously join either of the two groups, her efforts must be directed towards bringing about an understanding between Soviet Russia and the U.S.A. India was quite prepared to do her bit to bring about a compromise. He indicated that he was quite prepared to go any-where provided he felt that his visit would help in producing the desired results. He was, however, unable at the moment to leave the country. "In the past," Pandit Nehru added, "we had a great leader whose advice was often ignored when he was living. But we are all convinced that the world's illness to-day can be cured only by his methods of love and non-violence."

Kashmir

Regarding Kashmir, Panditji said: "The Security Council discussed all points except the real point at issue." The Kashmir problem, Pandit Nehru contended, was not a Hindu-Muslim problem for the reason that the majority of the population in Kashmir were Muslims and they were bitterly opposed to the invaders. Moreover they were all followers of Sheikh Abdullah and had endorsed the Maharaja's decision to accede to India, in the National Conference had fully supported that decision. "In spite of these facts the Government of India had always their readiness to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir as soon as conditions in the Kashmir valley made it possible for the people of Kashmir to decide freely whether they wanted to join India, Pakistan or remain independent. "We resent the attitude of those countries who think that all Muslims are Pakistanis, and always make a distinction between Hindu India and Muslim India."

Regarding the resolution of the Security Council Pandit Nehru

said that it was impossible for India to accept it, and Government's future course of action would be decided on the return of the Indian delegation. "As long as Kashmir continues to remain part of India, it will be our duty to safeguard and protect Kashmir and fight whomever threatens its integrity."

"Whatever be the decision of the U.N. on the Kashmir problem," Pandit Nehru said at a public meeting of over two lakhs in Bombay. "The Government of India will fulfil their pledge to the people of the State." The decision of the Security Council, Pandit Nehru said, would amount to going back on India's pledge to the people of Kashmir, none of the clauses contained in the Committee's resolution, if implemented, would amount to a breach of faith. In no circumstances would the Government act in a way which would imperil the prestige and honour of the people of that State. There was no suggestion at the moment of India's withdrawal from the U.N., Pandit Nehru said.

Hyderabad

Speaking at the A.I.C.C. meeting Pandit Nehru said that the wish of the people of the State should ultimately prevail. "It is impossible for a federal form of government to continue in Hyderabad, and full responsible government must be established in the State as a matter of principle." If the Nizam's government does approve of what the Islamic-Muslem League says, then it must make that clear. "If it does not, it must take action to prevent the Islamic leader from indulging in such irresponsible utterances." Responder to queries he said that the Central government and the Provincial governments of Madras and Bombay were fully alive to the situation. If the Nizam's government continued to continue at the expense of the Muslims, its continuance was liable to be regarded by the Indian government as a hostile act.

The Indian Government would not tolerate the existence of an independent State within the Indian Dominion with powers to negotiate and enter into treaty relations with a foreign Power. Such an act would be considered hostile because it would endanger the very existence of the Indian Dominion. A handful of persons, to whatever com-

munity they belonged, could not hold the entire mass of the Hyderabad under a reign of terror. Government stood by their demand that the people of Hyderabad should all struggle to Indian taxes.

India Not A Religious State

The prestige of India which had been high when he was alive, said Pandit Nehru, was lowered after his assassination—Gandhiji's greatest achievement, namely, winning India's freedom without bloodshed was unique in history. The country realised his contribution only after his death. Those forces which had spread poison in the midst of the people were now inactive. He thought that they were not, however, completely eradicated. He was afraid they might show their heads again and, therefore, warned the people to be vigilant. The country which had gained so much by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi could not easily ignore them if it was to remain a free, strong and progressive nation, commanding world respect. Many world leaders had in the past failed to prevent wars, but the world had still a hope for abiding peace in the teachings of the Mahatma Gandhi. The two fundamentals of those teachings were unity and non-violence. Pandit Nehru said that India would be a secular State and politics would be completely divorced from religion but not devoid of religious ethics which were the fundaments of all religions. India could not be a religious State, nor a 'Hindu Rashtra' nor of any other type based on religion.

India And Pakistan

Referring to the talk of ir-regularity of India and Pakistan, the Prime Minister emphatically declared that the Indian Government would turn down any such proposal. He was opposed to the very idea because it was against nature. The creation of Pakistan was itself against nature. And now it had come into being, any talk of reunion would only result in the multiplication of those troubles which followed partition.

The Government wanted to maintain cordial and close association with Pakistan. They would strive for closer understanding and association so that both India and Pakistan could play a prominent part in the international sphere. But if efforts for closer co-operation failed the Indian Government were fully prepared to meet any eventuality.

PRIME MINISTER'S CALL TO PREPARE FOR COMING DANGER

SPEAKING at Benoni when he opened the Moths Memorial Hall and Club, General Smuts said: "We have never been afraid to do our duty in the hour of danger, and we have done our duty in one war after another. I am glad to know that my old comrades are now in the Moths in a country which is not afraid under any circumstances to do its duty and to take its place with other nations of the world."

"The spirit of self-defence and playing the game with the country is worth more than all the gold and diamond mines and it is this spirit that has made South Africa the most fortunate in the world," he added.

"I attach the greatest importance to our defence force and to our young men and women who from year to year enrol and who will play their part in the future for the defence of South Africa."

It was necessary for South Africa to build up its defence. "We live in a world which is very perplexing," he said. "No one could prophesy the future, but it was certain that it was a dangerous future. He was not talking of war, but of the need to be ready and prepared for whatever might happen in the future."

It was for this that he wanted the young men to qualify and to play their part in the preparedness. First and foremost their duty was to prepare themselves to defend their country.

General Smuts appealed to employers to co-operate in this respect. "The defence of South Africa is definitely the highest priority in the business of this country," he added.

"We had hoped that we would not see a war from which the threat and the danger of war would finally be banished. In stead of this, we find ourselves looking over a gloomy sea, pre-senting a dark and forbidding picture."

"Just as we were plunged into danger eight years ago when we were not expecting it, so may we be faced with an unexpected danger in the future. This may not be war, but it will be enough to pull up South Africa to the realization that it is living in a world of danger."

He said that the world was a dangerous place and that the world was a dangerous place. He said that the world was a dangerous place and that the world was a dangerous place.

"We are a part of the human family, and if anything happens to a part of that family, we shall be involved. I feel that in any discipline you may wish

you will remember your responsibilities to South Africa. Let us at all times be prepared, better even than in the past to do our duty in the years to come."

Things In General

'Drink Demon' Effigy

Bangalore (Mysore) May 13.—The Chief Minister of Mysore State, Mr. K. Changanarayana Reddy, set fire to an effigy of the "drink demon" at a meeting marking the introduction of the prohibition in the Kolar Goldfield area recently. The burning of the effigy was intended to mark the "death of the drink evil." The Chief Minister told a huge crowd: "I never felt so happy as today—not even on the day when India attained freedom, nor when we got responsible Government in our State. Treat this day as a great festival day, and start a new life towards peace, progress and prosperity." —*Supra Review*

Future Of Kenya

The Governor of Kenya, Sir Philip Mitchell, opening Saturday session of the Federated Indian Chambers of Commerce told the delegates that Kenya could best assist in improving the living standards of all its peoples by the planned development of agricultural resources, backed by secondary industries.

In the latter field he welcomed Indian enterprise, referring especially to the pending opening in Mombasa of a glass factory and of a large modern bakery in Nairobi.

Non-European District Officer

The first non-European District Officer in East Africa has been gazetted, states a Dar-es-Salaam message. He is Sheikh Safar Mohamed el Barwani and is now p. in that of District Office, Zanzibar. Sheikh Safar is a member of a prominent Zanzibar family which has played an important part in the history of Zanzibar for the last three generations.

Marathon Race Between Durban And Maritzburg

For the first time in 16 years a non-European Marathon race between Durban and Maritzburg will be held on May 30. The course will be the same as that for the Comrades Marathon. Starters will line up at Follgate at 6 a.m. and finish in the stadium at 10 a.m. The race is being organized by the Maritzburg Sports Club which has been the sponsor and co-organizer of several well-

known European athletic. The race is to be confined to runners between the ages of 16 and 30 years. Entry fees are 10s, 6d. each while the entrant will be required to obtain a doctor's certificate of fitness. The prizes will include two hosting trophies—the Gandhi Memorial Shield and the Silver Trophy. There will also be prizes for placed runners. Entries close on May 26 with Mr. M. P. Naidoo, 80 Church Street, Maritzburg.

Indian Soccer Side

The All-India Football Federation has selected 17 players to represent India at the Olympic Games in London. The team will leave for England on June 6 and will have five weeks' training and match practices before the Games open.

Obituary

The untimely death, after a brief illness, of Mr. Annaram Premjee, son of Mr. Premjee Ramjee of Mayville District, took place on May 5 at the St. Aidan's Hospital, Durban. Deceased was of a quiet disposition and was liked by all who knew him. He took an active part in social affairs being a member of various social bodies in the District. He leaves behind his wife, a sister, widow, four sons and two daughters in whom their end and irreparable loss. The cremation took place at the Stellwood Crematorium in the presence of a large and representative gathering.

Thanks

Mr. Premjee Ramjee and family wish to express their sincere thanks to the many friends who had so kindly expressed their sympathy through letters, telegrams and telephone calls or by being present personally in their end and bereavement.

MAHATMA GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

The Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund was established in 1947 to commemorate the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi.

The fund is managed by the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund Committee, which is composed of representatives from various organizations and individuals.

The fund is used to support various activities and projects that are in line with the principles and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi.

The fund is open to all who wish to contribute to the cause of Mahatma Gandhi.

The fund is a non-profit organization and all contributions are used for the benefit of the fund.

The fund is a valuable asset to the community and we hope that many more people will contribute to it.

The fund is a testament to the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi and we hope that it will continue to inspire and guide us in the years to come.

The fund is a source of pride and inspiration for all who are committed to the cause of Mahatma Gandhi.

The fund is a symbol of the power of love and non-violence and we hope that it will continue to be a source of strength and inspiration for all.

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| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૩ | ૦ |
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| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૪ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૦ |
| શ્રી ધામજીની આ મેલોથી મેલો અભ્યાસીને મેલ, અભ્યાસીને મેલ આમાં મેલો છે. | ૧૦ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ અભ્યાસીને મેલ, અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૩ |

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| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૬ | ૧ |
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| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧૦ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧૨ | ૬ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૮ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૦ |
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અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ

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| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૧ |
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| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૮ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૭ | ૧ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧૦ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૬ | ૬ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૦ |
| અંગ્રેજી રસિક અભ્યાસીને મેલ | ૧ | ૦ |

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ટેલિગ્રાફી એડ્રેસ: "અરવિન્ડ."

હેડ ઓફિસ:
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ટેલિગ્રાફી એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

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૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—શ્રી જાપાન બજાર—

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બરત બરેલું રેશમ, સાડી અને બહારીલ માટે ૪૫" પતો શી. ૧૨-૬.
મરઘ તથા કાકરાઓ માટે સીલક શર, પાવબના, સીલક, રેશમ
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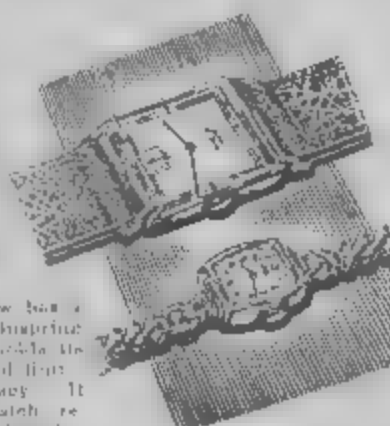
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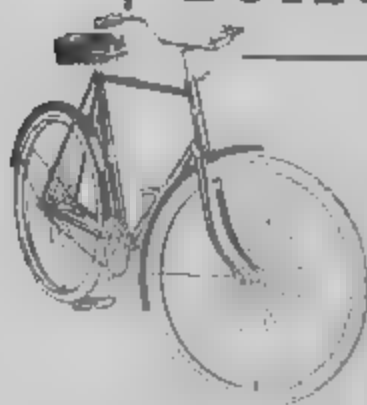
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Indian Opinion

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The Coming Election

NEXT Wednesday will be a day of great excitement for the whole of South Africa. On that day will be decided which Party will come into power, in so far as the non-Europeans (including Indians), are concerned, it will be decided, who their future masters will be. The function has really no meaning or interest for them, for they have no say in it. Whoever comes into power, to them it will be like falling from the frying pan into the fire. It is not even a case of an enemy you know being better than one you do not know, for they have had experience of both. It may, however, be said that the Nationalist Party, who has been the avowed enemy of the non-Europeans, has perhaps been slightly better but not worse than the United Party, which has always professed to be their friend. The Nationalist Party when in power, has never proved a danger to the country. Jan Hertzog was here when he was leading the Opposition but no one was more sober than he was when he came into power. The same could be said about Dr. Malan. Hertzog introduced certain reforms but Nationalism never mellowed them one bit. Similarly the Indian community has to thank Dr. Malan for the Capetown Agreement. However, the present is a most difficult

time and none is almost at a complete loss to know which horse one should back.

On the face of it the Nationalist Party has good cause for its policy of separation of races. It could have put a more sober and constructive policy before the country which it did not and it placed reliance on the sentiments of the people on the colour issue and won at all a reputation to exploit. Communism—the very people it so vehemently denounced. All this we fear, will badly let the Party down.

What can one say about the South African Party and the bogus candidates like Mr. Petterson? Members of the above-mentioned Party profess to nurture British sentiments but there is nothing 'British' about them. They have both by their speeches and actions, past and present, disgraced the name 'British', which has always stood for high and noble ideals of freedom and justice. The South African Party has proved we are unhappy to have to say worse than the worst Nationalists. We dare to say this because we claim to have some respect for British ideals as they are professed and proclaimed. The anti-Indian attitude of the South African Party is wholly anti-British.

As to Mr. Petterson who would solve the Indian problem by shoot-

ing Indians down or kicking them out, we can only say thank God, with all the hardships we are subjected to we are still able to retain our sense of humour and take what Mr. Petterson and the like say in the light. But if 'justice' has any meaning the rightful place for Mr. Petterson is this formula, in our humble opinion, should be behind prison bars, who is presently assigned to passive resisters who are, by their self-imposed sufferings quietly peacefully and non-violently carrying on the struggle for their legitimate right to live as self-respecting human beings.

The United Party candidates it must be said to their credit, have been sober and moderate in their statements. What that Party is woefully lacking in action, it is certainly making up in speech and that it would appear will enable it to win the day in the coming election. Whether it will bring peace and happiness to this country as a whole and to the world, the future alone can tell. We can but hope and pray for the best.

Treatment Of Prisoners

FOR the first batch of Passive Resisters who crossed the Natal-Transvaal border on January 24 in defiance of the terms of the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, which prohibits Asiatics from freely moving from one Province to another and were sentenced to four months imprisonment were released

from the Newcastle prison last Tuesday after serving three months. They were granted four weeks' mitigation for good behaviour. They were Mr. G. Jaitis, joint secretary of the Indian Indian Congress and Messrs. D. Gayandha, K. S. Govender and Perumal Kunnie. Marks of the rigours of prison life were writ on their faces but they all looked quite cheerful. Interviewed at the Congress office by our representative, the resisters said the conditions in prison were far from satisfactory. Though they had committed a political offence they were being treated as ordinary criminals. For the first few days they were all locked up together with criminals but later were given a cell to themselves. All the three meals they were served were cold. Those who ate meat were given beef though they had religious objection to eating beef and those who were vegetarians were given no substitute for meat or animal fat. Only a few days prior to their release they began getting curried beans as a substitute for meat. They were being searched twice daily and were made to strip themselves naked in the open and the system of making them jump and to turn with their backs facing the warder and bend down with their legs stretched apart was still in vogue. This practice was indecent and therefore against the good regulations and only the non-European prisoners were made to submit to it. Another complaint they made was that the prisoners were given

hardly any time to clean their mouths and wash their faces in the morning; they were not allowed to squat down on the ground; they had to sit at all times in an uneasy posture without resting their limbs on the ground; they were to eat their food too in the same position. Any complaints they made even to the Magistrate were unheeded, with a hint, "who told you to come here?"

While prisoners are quite rightly expected to observe discipline in accordance with the regulations it should be expected of the Prison authorities that they would abide by and not go beyond

the prison regulations with the set purpose of making life unbearable for prisoners. Prisons are supposed to be reformatories where prisoners are reformed. Under the present system prisoners are taught to forget all the decent habits of life and to become anything but human-beings. Prison warders, with perhaps rare exceptions, can be described as herdsmen, devoid of any feelings for the lone human life. The very reasonable complaints about food and the general treatment in prison merit the sympathetic consideration of the Director of Prisons which we earnestly hope he will give.

NOTES

Segregation—Will Of God

Total race segregation was the will of God and must be maintained said a resolution of the general conference of the Southern Methodist Church on May 13, according to a Sapa-Reuters' message from Columbia, America. Delegates from six Southern States declared this to be "part and parcel of the discipline of the Church." The resolution read "We are ever mindful of our obligations to all races of people and, in particular, to the Negro race for its spiritual betterment and for our leadership of these people toward Christ within their own race structure. Almighty God saw fit in His infinite wisdom to segregate the races in the beginning and we earnestly believe His will is God will be best served by the continuation of total segregation of the Black and White races."

How God must be laughing at the wisdom of His "faithful servants!" The Southern Methodist Church really deserves the Iron Cross in recognition of this great spiritual enlightenment! But we have a doubt in our mind which, we would humbly submit and trust, it will be gracious enough to clear. This is it. If it was the will of God to segregate the Black and White races, why did the White races go against the will of God and forcibly enter the environs of the Black races and deprive them of their God-given freedom? Has not the Southern Methodist Church perhaps lost its way in Christ? The Black races a mark of their deep apprecia-

tion for all the goodness they have enjoyed at the hands of the White races might be able to guide it to the right path.

S.A. Courts Attach More Value To Property Than Life

Mr. H. L. Corder, a former Capetown magistrate, in an address to a Rotary Club luncheon meeting in Capetown recently said that offences against property were very often punished more heavily than murder and culpable homicide in South Africa. "Scores of people are killed every month in motor-car accidents," he said. "These are often the result of reckless and negligent driving. Such drivers often get away with a fine of £20. In England they would get five years." Being under the influence of liquor or of dagga was often taken as a mitigating circumstance in murder cases in South Africa, but if a man killed another while driving a car under the influence of liquor it increased his guilt. Mr. Corder quoted a case in which a farmer had assaulted a labourer who died of pneumonia as a result of the assault. The farmer had been found guilty of common assault and fined £15—payable in monthly instalments of £5. "If the case had been reversed and the Native had assaulted the European, causing his death, he would probably have been hanged," said Mr. Corder. In another case, two Europeans had brutally assaulted a Native and beaten and kicked him to death. They were both fined. Recently, the men who had assaulted Canon F. L.

Sugger had been sentenced to 11 years each. "There is no reasonable comparison between these sentences," said Mr. Corder. "There is a difference between Coloured and European justice in South Africa," he said. "A Coloured man is sentenced to 12 months for the theft of one chicken; recently a Coloured girl was fined £7 for the theft of a 4d. Christmas card." Mr. Corder said it would never do to abolish the death penalty in South Africa.

Inaccuracy Of Fact In Memorial Number

Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who was closely connected with 'Indian Opinion' and with the Indian question in South Africa, when he was in this country, draws our attention to an inaccuracy of fact in the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Number recently published by us. It is stated that Mahatma Gandhi assumed editorship of 'Indian Opinion' in 1904. In 1914 Gandhi left South Africa for India. Mr. H. S. L. Polak, who was assisting Gandhi, then assumed editorship.

"The correct facts," Mr. Polak writes, "are as stated by Gandhi himself in 'Satyagraha in South Africa.' At pp. 220-221 he makes it clear that he was one of three persons responsible for founding the paper, the other two being its originator, Madanji, and Nazar. Nazar became the first editor. His deputy, as English editor, was Kitchen. When Nazar died, Kitchen became full editor and I became English editor. When Kitchen resigned in 1906, I became full editor and so remained until I myself left South Africa in 1916. Gandhi frequently contributed editorials and special articles on technical or legal matters affecting the Indian community. He occasionally acted for me when I was temporarily absent, but he never was or wished, for professional reasons, to be editor. During my absence in India or England, Rev. Joseph Doke acted for me, with Gandhi's help when necessary and he was available. During my own unpropitious absence in 1913, Mr. Doke acted for me."

We thank Mr. Polak for drawing our attention to the inaccuracy of fact. The fact remains, however, that Mahatma Gandhi was the life and soul of 'Indian Opinion' and all who worked did so under his inspiration and guidance. Officially he was not the editor even of 'Young India' and 'Harijan,' his papers in India. But he was the guiding spirit behind them.

"Wits" Students' Protest Against Colour Bar

This year's Witwatersrand University Rag may be the last if a decision made by the students of the University at a general meeting is put into effect. The meeting was called to protest against a decision of the University authorities that non-European students should not be allowed to take part in the Rag. This decision had been communicated to the students a few days before the rag started. The students' general meeting decided that all future rag activities should be suspended until the University authorities had reversed their decision. Students say that non-Europeans have never been excluded from previous rags, and their musical floors have been a great attraction with the public in the past. Besides, they say, part of the rag fund goes to a non-European clinic, and they consider it unfair that the non-European students should be prevented from helping to collect money.

HOW TO AVOID COMMUNISM CANON INMAN'S VIEWS

CANON T. O. VERNON

Inman said in the Durban Parliamentary Debating Society last Monday night:—

"My plea is that we accept the inevitable and not shock the world with bloody racial strife."

There were four castes in South Africa, he said,—European, Coloured, African and Indian—and on the permanence of their quarrels depended the future of South Africa.

He said the country could avoid Communism by adopting universal suffrage on a common roll with an adequate standard of free education—he suggested Standard 8—which would give the non-European voter something to aim for which would be within his reach.

Gradually European domination would disappear though it would continue for some time.

"Supremacy is a word we need to get rid of in politics," he said.

Civilisations had continually to change to adapt themselves to conditions surrounding them.

To "peg" civilisation was admitting it powerless to adapt itself and was doomed to decay.

TIT BITS FROM ELECTIONEERING SPEECHES

Mr. A. H. J. Eaton

An appeal to the electorate not to be led astray by hysterical utterances on the Indian question was made by Mr. A. H. J. Eaton (U.P. candidate, Durban Musgrave), when he held his initial election meeting in the Florida Road Congregational Hall. He said that the Land Tenure Act, if properly administered, constituted a permanent safeguard for White civilisation in Natal.

Mr. Eaton said he had no desire to fight his election on personalities, but the South African Party (Dominionite) candidates in Durban were making the Indian question their major plank. They forgot their Party had largely represented Natal in Parliament for the past 10 years, and therefore had plenty of opportunity to make a solid contribution towards solving the problem.

They had failed to do so, and now they were trying to vote-bought with sophistries and slogans such as "wholesale, compulsory deportation." Anyone who suggested such a move was a "congenital idiot who knew nothing about the application of the laws of this land."

He said: "Even the most rabid anti-Asiatic must admit that the Act froze the position as it was in 1943, and if the Act is properly administered, then Indian penetration is at an end. If I am returned, I assure you I am not going to allow any shilly-shallying or allow people to thwart the Act by maladministration. I believe that this Act will ultimately become a Charter in which we can find the most level-headed and statesmanlike solution to the vexed problem."

Messrs. Derbyshire And Shire

Mr. J. G. Derbyshire and Mr. J. H. Shire, the South African Party candidates for Durban Central and Musgrave respectively, addressed a joint meeting.

Both speakers dealt exhaustively with the Indian question. Mr. Shire said that the Natal Legislative Assembly before Union had passed legislation prohibiting the entry of more Indians into the country and the issue of additional trading licences. Both these provisions did not find favour with Union and lapsed. To-day people were only too aware of the results.

Points Mr. Derbyshire made on the Indian question were: "They should not be represented in the House of Assembly, but in the Senate; if Durban returned a single United Party candidate General Smuts would tell the people of South Africa that Durban was quite happy and content to bear the Indian burden alone."

That legislation enacted by the United Party allowed Indians to evict Europeans from the Indians' homes and the Indians could then live in them themselves.

Mr. S. M. Petterson

"The only way to stop the Indians' impudent defiance of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act is to deport all of them," said Mr. S. M. Petterson, Independent Labour candidate for Umtambo, at a meeting of about 60 persons in the Congella area.

In a strong attack on the Government's Indian policy, he said: "Personally, I would like to solve the problem by shooting them, but a man cannot lay himself open to a charge of murder."

"I am in favour of deporting every Indian in the country," said Mr. Petterson. "First, because at least 75 per cent of them are illegal immigrants. Second, they are a danger to the European race of the country. There are now 176 Indian builders in Durban as against 11 European master builders." South Africa had enough gold to pay for the repatriation of all the Indians, even if it cost £150,000,000.

"Let us kick the Indians out of the country in the same way as they are kicking the Britishers out of India. They have no claim on this land. That is for our children."

Mrs. McCallum

Mrs. A. E. McCallum, Independent candidate for Durban Central, addressing a meeting in St. Mary's Hall, Greyville, Durban, said she would do all in her power to obtain legislation allowing the Government to appropriate Indian property in key city areas. The British Government had been contemplating supporting Indians into Kenya to work in the groundnut scheme, she said, and she had wired the Prime Minister, General Smuts, asking him to offer to send some South African Indians to Kenya.

Mr. D. E. Mitchell

Mr. D. E. Mitchell, United Party candidate for the South Coast, speaking at a meeting at Paddock, said the Indians who were born in South Africa had definite rights and 95 per cent of the Indian population was born here. The Government, he said, would not negotiate with them for further rights until they had

defined their own influence world opinion in their favour and ceased to commit a crime which broke the country's laws. He definitely stated that the Asiatic Land Tenure Act would not be altered or amended.

NEWS OF THE STRUGGLE

Mr. M. P. Naicker Summoned

MR M. P. NAICKER, Provincial Organizer of the Natal Indian Congress has received a summons to appear on June 8 at the Durban Magistrate's Court on the following charge under the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913:

"In that upon or about 11 during the period January 1, 1948 to March 14, 1948 and/or near Durban in the district of Durban, the said accused did wrongfully and unlawfully aid or abet certain Asiatic persons (Dr. K. G. G. and others) in entering the Province of the Transvaal from the Province of Natal in contravention of section 4 (1) of the said Act, knowing that the said Asiatics were prohibited in terms of section 4 (1) (a) of the said Act from entering the Province of the Transvaal with Minister's Minute of August 1, 1913, from so entering."

Mr. S. V. Reddy, the Natal Passive Resistance Council's Recruiting Officer, who has been similarly charged, is to appear before Court on June 1.

Gale Street Camp Again Attacked

A number of Europeans on the night of May 11 again attacked and pulled down the tents pitched at the Gale Street Passive Resistance plot. The tents have been put up once again and the Council has intimated that they will remain as long as the non-violent policy of the authorities continues.

Congress Protests Against Whipping Sentence

The Natal Indian Congress has sent a protest to the Minister of Justice against three of the passive resisters who had crossed over to Natal from the Transvaal in violation of the Immigrants Regulation Act being sentenced to whipping. "The sentence is a violent political protest against the lawlessness and intolerance of the Government, in contrary to all conventions of human decency."

GOODWILL IS KEY TO RACIAL PROBLEMS

—MR. SHEPSTONE

MR D. G. SHEPSTONE, the Administrator of Natal, addressing a combined luncheon of the Marlborough Business and Professional Women's Club and the local N.C.W. on May 18, emphasised that South Africa's position in the world to-day lay in the important part it could play in contributing towards peace and security by its example in handling its racial problem.

"We in South Africa are in a position to make our contribution to the peace of the world," he said. The country's importance as a gold producer was passing, but this was being succeeded by its handling of its racial problems which were the world's problems in miniature.

"Never" said Mr. Shepstone, "has there been such a need in the history of the world for the spirit of goodwill."

The ideals of an ancient and cultured Europe had received a profound spiritual shock, he said. Strife still persisted in Palestine and China, and throughout the world nationalism was rampant.

No nation was prepared to sacrifice any part of its sovereign rights in the cause of peace. In the face of the atomic bomb and the unrest, goodwill and tolerance appeared to have withered.

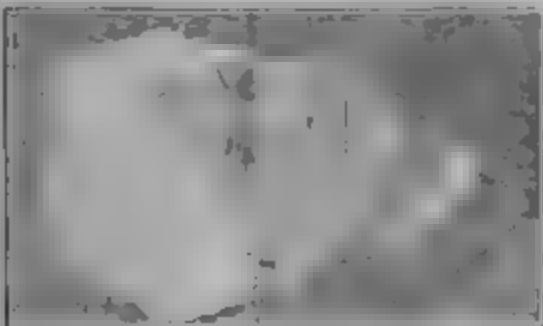
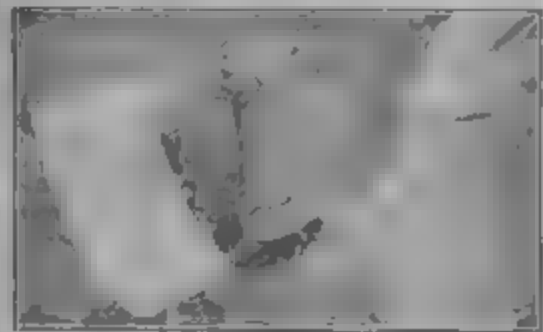
"We cannot solve racial problems by Acts of Parliament," he continued. Racial problems were human problems and they could not be solved by suppression which reacted on the oppressor as much as on the oppressed.

No quick solution was to be found but South Africa's energies should be directed along lines of welfare and encouragement of the community.

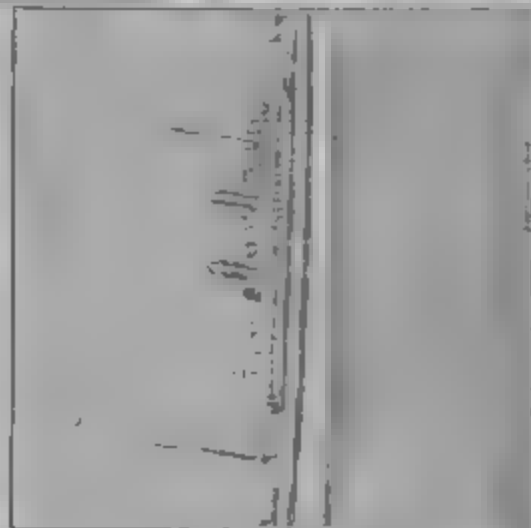
The country, to make a real contribution to world peace, should do its best for the progress of its several races.

Only on the lines of goodwill and tolerance could we hope to solve our problems and our goodwill should be based on the fundamental principles of Christianity, he concluded.

BRAINS BEHIND SCINDIA HOUSE



Pandit Nehru Launches Jala Usha



Time taken for the launch of the Jala Usha was 10 minutes. The launch was launched by Pandit Nehru. The launch was launched by Pandit Nehru. The launch was launched by Pandit Nehru.

THE WAY OF PEACE

DR. RADHAKRISHNA ON UNIVERSALITY OF
GANDHI'S TEACHINGS

UNVEILING: a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi in Madras, Tamil Nadu, November 1948. Krishna in Jewels on the universality of Gandhi's teaching, but also that his message offered the "only way out" of the present problems confronting not only India but the world at large.

India could have given a great lesson to the rest of the world at this juncture, but Dr. Radhakrishnan added regretfully, that was not to be because her children "did not behave properly," and the hour of freedom became the hour of disillusion for Gandhiji.

Stressing the need for all those who cherished Gandhi's memory and example to develop purity of purpose and strength of will, the speaker said that it was essential that Gandhi's influence should persist if the new-won independence should be transformed into social, economic and moral freedom.

The unweaving function took place at the Comopolitain Club and Sir K. P. Lakshman Rao, former judge of the High Court, presided. A large gathering was present to pay homage to the Father of the Nation on the occasion.

The portrait done in oil is a fine full size representation of Gaudin, a sheaf of papers in hand and with the characteristic smile on his face, stepping briskly out of the canvas at Sevastopol.

Mr. Hahnrichsen was seated at a station a few rows off the gathering. He proceeded to the side of the hall where the podium was installed and the gathering stood up in reverent silence as he presided.

Addressing the gathering, Dr. Radhakrishnan recalled how the Club had had the honour of receiving Mahatma Gandhi once or twice during his life-time when he was leading the political struggle.

"That part of his work," he adds, "is now over and the gates of freedom are open. Gandhiji is no more. But, his influence persists if we are to transform this political independence into social, economic and moral freedom."

Impact Of Religion

When Gandhi was killed, Dr. Radhakrishnan continued, there was throughout the world a spontaneous outburst of sorrow at this tragic event. Everyone felt a sense of personal loss, that a great figure, a giant among men, a President Truman said, had passed away. "Truly," the speaker said, "Gandhi was a giant among men. There are many men, famous men, important men, big in their own way, and in their own space and time; but, they are small in stature, and small in significance, compared with Mahatma Gandhi. The qualities which distinguished Mahatma Gandhi are qualities which

we associate with this land, with its great religious genius. His mastery over himself, his profound sincerity of spirit, his courage and consistency of life—his conviction that martyrdom "the body is nothing compared to the defilement of the soul"—all these things are indicative of what one may call the impact of religion on life, the impact of the values of life on the shifting problems of men. Gandhi is essentially an Indian product, and of the Indian genius. It is only Indian culture that could develop a man like him.

Referring to Gaudhiji's attitude towards the Gaudhians, Rasthakar wrote that even to those people who were sceptically-minded, the way in which Gaudhiji defined God was quite acceptable. He called God Truth and Love. Truth theoretically and Love practically, they constituted the intellectual and practical aspects of one kind of life. Years ago, when he requested Gaudhiji to contribute to a volume on contemporary Indian Philosophy, Gaudhiji declined saying that he was no philosopher. But on his persuasion, Gaudhiji wrote him a page wherein he said "The same people who look upon God as truth; but I look upon truth as God, *Salvum Brahman*,—and not the other way. There are men who have denied the reality of truth. Even an atheist believes that he pursuing truth. So, if Brahman is God or God is regarded as *Satyam*, *Truth*, as of the form of truth even an atheist will become a religious man. Men go about framing different concepts, different opinions about the nature of the Supreme Reality and these ideas change from time to time. Therefore, there is uncertainty with regard to representations of truth, while truth is a constant universal and objective."

Spiritual Patrimony

Our writers, the apostles said, from the beginning of the world never tried to confuse religion with any particular creed and never thoughts of religious life as a supernatural practice. They looked upon it as a personal awareness of truth, which could be described in a hundred different ways. Never did India attempt to stifle the yearnings of the soul or the the patterns of life. That has been the great tradition of this country, from the time of the Rig Veda down till to-day. Truth is one but mayes delight a variety. Do not quarrel about descriptions, admit the Reality. Gandhi was therefore profoundly grieved when people who called

themselves Hindus were ready to surrender this spiritual patrimony which generations of our ancestors had built for us with so much austerity and absorption. And when I was called upon to define what Hinduism meant to us, he made out, "I am not a student of the science of religion. For me, Hinduism is the religion which I have inherited from my ancestors and which I have found to be an essential feature of our religion. You may take it that a man is intolerant, if his heart is filled with intolerance, not in authentic re-

[illegible]

They were not the only ones who stood out of history. They added another dimension to the great tradition, and gave themselves names which are in the world. That was the view which Gandhi took of religion. He said we should instruct ourselves with all the perfection we are capable of. Yet we find this whole is to reach that perfection is to give up the self. The more we know of the self, the more we know of the world. What we have to do is to have a certain independence. He offered that we were

a people in the throes of political agitation, oscillating between extremes of imperialism and letism petitions, prayers, resolutions on the one side arson, assassination and revolutionary violence on the other. He took up the problem and he told the people. "Freedom does not descend upon a people; the people will have to earn themselves up it." He more or less reminded us of the words of the Great Buddha: "You, who suffer, know that you suffer from yourselves; none else compels." The fault is not in the Universe, the fault is in ourselves. Unless we shake off our shortcomings, unless we get rid of our national failings, there can be no freedom at all. In the process of leading us through this political agnosticism, Gandhi put us on a higher plane and thus saved the political struggle from losing its soul. "The British Government," Gandhi had said, "want to put it on the plane of the machine-gun where they have the weapons and we do not. I want to put it on a plane where we have the weapons and they have not." That is how Gandhi started his political work, and the culmination was on August 15, 1947.

Aftermath Of Freedom

"August 15, 1947. Dr. Radhakrishnan continued "was the end of the political struggle but the event that happened after troubled and bewildered Gandhiji. He felt that those people whom he had trained during the process of the struggle, the people from whom he had expected service, simplicity and sacrifice were scrambling for power, position and privilege. He found that black-marketing, profiteering and corruption had become rampant. He felt that they uttered his name with their lips but they burned hatred in their hearts. The whole thing came from a much bewilderment and disillusion in just four days before his death, when people were celebrating the Independence Day. Gandhiji said there was something in celebrating Independence Day all we attained it, all we knew and handled it, but now we have known it we are disillusioned. "Whether you are disillusioned or not, 'I am disillusioned,' that is how he put it four days before his death. Disillusion entered his heart before the assassin's bullet entered his body. He was pierced to the quick and was leading a tortured kind of life, unable to find out what is all due to, whether his method had not failed, whether political independence which he regarded as the beginning of an unfinished revolution was not being interrupted by selfishness, individual and collective. This was the kind of feeling he had on Independence Day, January 29. And he was always

saying that the supreme sacrifice, perhaps, was called for from him. "Perhaps," he was saying, "my life will be sacrificed in the process of working for them." Romain Rolland said of Gandhi, "A great man; only the cross is denied to him." Now we have given him the cross also! We have done our share in supplying him with the cross which was waiting for him, according to Romain Rolland."

Great Ideals

Continuing, the speaker said: "If we are to be true to his memory, if we are to be loyal to his example, it is essential for us to develop purity of purpose, develop strength of will and bring about the kind of evolution which he aimed at. He was essentially a revolutionary. He felt that when revolution is about to break out, when the chains of power, they should use their power bringing about a social and economic revolution. No exploitation or individual by others, of creeds by other creeds, of classes by other classes, no discrimination against any race or religion, creed or community, these were the great ideals for which he lived and died. And if today we solve these urgent problems of social and economic reconstruction in the name of formidable difficulties by which our free government is faced, if we talk all the time about communal killings, large-scale migrations, Kashmir, Hyderabad, in district strikes, soaring prices, falling production, or about economic disaster, and do not face the most urgent problems which are there, we will be put down as wanting at a time of crisis."

"Gandhi felt," the speaker continued, "that the Congress was losing prestige and he had exclaimed, 'Thank God, there are other parties in the field.' You may note that capitalism and free enterprise in the form in which we have known them are doomed. The conflict only is between Democratic Socialism and Totalitarian Communism. We are not able to bring about economic justice by constitutional methods or whether by silence, passive non-cooperation and shyness of action we play into the hands of those who are enemies of a free common progress. We are the alien forces facing us today. If we are not able to face the problem, then we may take it that the Congress will be condemned as a failure and put on the shelf. It is therefore, essential that all of us who regard ourselves as followers of Gandhi, those who are working to the spirit of peaceful evolution and progressive trans-

formation of our society, should not forget the ideals and ends for which he lived and died."

Gandhi represented mankind's hope for a war-less world. "Even the common man in other countries," Dr. Radhakrishnan said, "felt a terrible void when Gandhi died. They all felt they had lost a personal friend. Gandhi symbolised the distracted world's hope of a war-less world. We are now living in times of great anxiety, confusion and danger. Whichever side you turn, you have power groups, which are trying to align themselves at the next show-down, Korea, China, Persia, Palestine, Greece, Turkey, Italy, Germany and even France—everywhere you see the two Groups confronting each other. What is the way out? If the present policy is persisted in there will be breakdown and the world will be engulfed in flames. That is why the common man feels. 'Here was one who stood out for a different way of life, a world based on co-operation, not competition, a world where there will be no mutual mis-understanding, suspicion, jealousy or hatred which are the breeding ground of wars.'"

Philosophy Of Non-Violence

Proceeding the speaker said: "There are people who tell us that non-violence is the dream of the wise but violence is the history of man. That individual recluses may practice the creed of non-violence but societies will have to adopt the law of violence. But here was one who pointed out to us that the real struggle is not in the outside world but it is in the heart of man. Where man is trying to outgrow himself, where man is attempting to hurdle for human decency and for human dignity, in this great fight Gandhi has been in the front rank. In the present turmoil in Europe it is subsiding, it is necessary for the two groups who have both light and shade, who sometimes use political tyranny and sometimes use economic exploitation, to search for a way out. Each one of us each other and come to an understanding that the world could be built not on the basis of mutual hatred but on the basis of mutual understanding."

"If our hand had been stronger," the speaker continued, "if our courage had been higher, if we had not passed through all the terrible things we have passed through it would have been possible for our Prime Minister to summon a conference of that character and ask Truman and Stalin to come together and bargain on the difference. We are not fortunate. We have not believed in a 7 per cent way, the result of which is now a disaster. Until we

retrieve our prestige, it would not be possible to stand up for the great ideas which we cherish. The example of Gandhi must inspire us in our activities. For we are not engaged in the great effort of which human nature is capable, preaching and practising fearlessly truth as it was revealed to him, leading almost alone a struggle against the impenetrable strongholds of greed and power, here was Gandhi re-

presenting to an unbelieving world that even in the twentieth century it was possible to live a pure and dedicated life. He has redeemed the human race. His body is killed and reduced to ashes and is scattered on the waters of this vast continent and outside; but the spirit in him, which, a light from above, will penetrate far into space and time and inspire countless generations to a nobler way of living."

TAINTED MONEY

At a meeting of the Congress workers held in New Delhi in April, Shri Vinoba Bhave, who is now carrying on Mahatma Gandhi's work, the following question was put to him. Much of the money which we collect for public work is earned by their donors by exploitation. Are you, therefore, our public activities carried on through tainted money? How can they remain on a high moral level when they are tainted at the very source?

Shri Vinoba Bhave replying said: "This is a very good question. Let me make one thing clear to the outset. One feels that all one's activities depend mainly upon funds for carrying them on, I should think that he does not know how to carry on his activities. The principal things needed in the performance of service are industry, labour and intellect. Money does help a little. But one must not put all his reliance on money. The work must stand on the strength of its own merits. Funds are forthcoming well and good. But one's plans and mental make up should be such that he does not feel helpless for want of funds."

Secondly, I have no right to judge whether my donor has earned his money rightly or wrongly. Only I would not accept a donation if the donor makes a condition that he should get some benefit from his charity. For instance, once a donor offered me some money for constructing a well for the village. He wanted to be the owner of the well. I refused whether in writing his name was inscribed on the well, he sought to receive no blessing the well to drown himself in it. Otherwise, where was the sense in having one's name inscribed on a well? This is one criterion for discriminating between acceptability or otherwise of a donation."

I shall give another criterion also by way of an illustration. Once the proprietor of a dramatic company came to pay me a sum saying that it was the net proceeds of performance. I told him that if he had paid me the amount without disclosing how he had

collected it, I would have accepted the donation without any enquiry. But since he disclosed how he came by the money, I could not accept it. It would amount to my encouraging this manner of collecting funds or earning money. The reason I want you to draw is that if your acceptance of a donation gives a sort of sanction to wrong methods of acquiring money or encourages wrong ways of life, it must not be accepted, unless the donation is of the nature of penance by one who gives up not only wrongly acquired money but also along with it wrong ways of acquiring it. Subject to this, since we are all liable to do good things as well as bad things, let us not judge others."

There will be both rich and poor amongst donors of the Gandhi Memorial Fund. There will be more poor people than the rich. It is well-known that Gandhi used to collect money from the poor also, and had more respect for their pies and annas than for the thousands of the wealthy. Moreover, ultimately the money paid by the rich also comes from the poor. If they have come by it by exploiting the poor, I can divert them of it in a non-violent manner for the benefit of those poor people."

The more important thing is how we make use of the funds. If we use them in good manner and for a good purpose, we purify the money. "Gold may be extracted even from an unclean place is a rule of Vedic rituals. If a slave money voluntarily paid by him is employed for a good purpose, it will clean the money also. When I spend a mill-owner's donation for the propagation of his act, he industry with his own money. Our Socialist friends insist that the mill industry should be nationalised. I agree with them. But this might take time. What shall we do till then? Shall we go on smothering them by waste mill-made cloth? Or shall we practice and wear cloth the mill-owners will themselves produce, and lay down to the nation. I said not only how what we shall do with those factories then."

AT THE URIS OF BIBI NUR

[Adehuna is a small village near Mehroli (East Punjab). A Muslim annual festival called Bibi Nur's Urs is held here every year for nearly six hundred and fifty years past. This year it took place on the 10th and 11th of April last. During the disturbances Government took special care to protect the dargah. It also got the tombs repaired and renewed. Shri Vinoba attended the Urs on the 10th and on Maulana Ahmed Said's invitation addressed the gathering as summarized below.]

SHRI VINOBA expressed his pleasure for being amidst them, and referring to the evil events, which had happened recently said that a poison-wave had passed over the land, infecting even good men with its virus. He hoped that by the grace of God a wave of good-will would now prevail, such as to make even bad men turn good.

India was a land of many sects. She had given welcome to every religion. As our great poet Rabindranath Tagore had said India was an ocean of humanity. Just as rivers from all directions went to the ocean and mixed together, so all nations came to India and lived amicably together. If we took a wise lesson for the future from what had taken place recently and did not allow such things to happen again, even the tragic experiences might in the end be looked upon as having been for our good. At the Maulana Sahab (Ahmed Said) had told them, Gandhiji had tried till the end to make the Hindus, Muslims and other communities live together here with goodwill and love, and that efforts should be continued in the same direction. Shri Vinoba exhorted all people to live and work for that purpose.

Shri Vinoba related that it dawned upon him about nine years ago that he should study the Quran, the religious scripture of so many of his neighbours, even as he had studied the Hindu scriptures. Islam had been in India for about a thousand years and was followed by millions of his countrymen. He had, indeed, read its English translation before. But that did not satisfy him and he made up his mind to study it in Arabic. With the help of Muslim friends he read it through and through several times in about twelve or thirteen years, and also studied the Arabic language. Though he could not claim to be a scholar of that language, he could now understand it.

Shri Vinoba believed that since all of us had to live together it was necessary that one should have a correct understanding of others' religions also. It removed misunderstandings. He had bene-

fited considerably from the study of the Quran. He learnt much that he did not know before. Islam did not distinguish between man and man, but regarded all men as equal in status. It enjoined that they should live as friends with followers of other religions. Not only so, Islam proclaimed "la ilaha ila Allah" (no god but God), we make no distinction among the prophets who have come into the world. In the opinion of the Quran faith in God, right conduct and fortitude (akram) are the essential principles of religious life. Wherever there was a reference to Allah in God, it was always coupled with the duty to perform good acts. There were many religious sects in the world based on men's different views on various matters. But the essential *deen* (doctrine) was only one. The different sects were like different types of clothes. Men had devised so many forms of dress, but the main purpose of clothing was one, viz. protection of the body against weather. So it was with religious sects. This was the teaching of all the *umms* of India. In the Sikh religion also, the *Gurth Sahab* included the utterances of other saints along with those of the Sikh Gurus. It includes even the utterances of the Muslim saint Baha'ud-Din.

The saints of all religions were of one spirit, had one heart. Every one said, Fear God, fear none else, nor produce fear in any one. This was the fear of faith in God.

It was grateful to their part, Vinoba said, that they had thanked the Government for what it had done for the protection of the dargah. The Government had done only its duty, for indeed it was their own Government. This country was the home of every one of us, and every one should help in making and keeping it clean, comfortable and happy. Whenever he went in, *zakharatun* would be to have both courage and love together.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Colour Bar In London Hotels

The Minister of Food, Mr. John Strachey, is to investigate a report that three coloured stewards from the United States aircraft carrier, *Valley Forge*, were refused admission to several London hotels last week. The men came from Portsmouth on a sight-seeing tour and were driven from one hotel to another in a taxi. The sailors were refused accommodation because of their colour. Even-

tually they found a hotel willing to take them in.

Kashmir

Sheik Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, is reported by Sapa-Reuters from Srinagar to have said on May 13 that although Kashmir had rejected the Security Council's proposals for settling the Kashmir dispute he would be happy if anybody came to negotiate and save things for himself. The Union Minister, who is addressing a Press Conference, said: "The Security Council's Commission cannot act without our consent and cannot thrust any decisions upon us. It is fantastic to say that some people will come from the other end of the world and dictate terms to us."

N.I.C. (Verulam And District Branch)

The annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress, Verulam and District Branch, will be held at the Square adjoining Kader's Cafe on Sunday, May 23 at 2.30 p.m.

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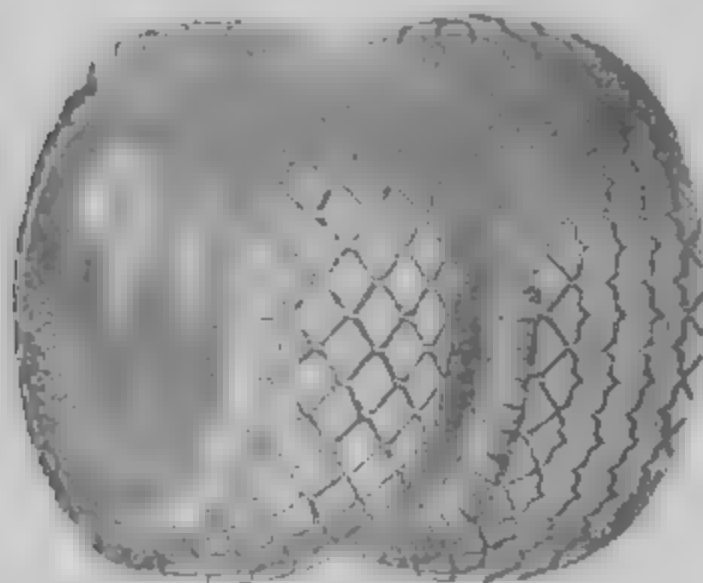
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અસંખીજીવ સ્વાધિકાર

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શ્રીશ્રીરક્ષાક્ષ મરાઠવાળાની કૃતીઓ

[illegible]

સર રાધાકૃષ્ણનની કૃતિઓ

સર્વોપદેશીશ્રીના ગદ્યાનુસાર તે તેમના પુત્રને શિદ્ધ કર્યું.
સર્વોપદેશી કપર આજના કાલે મોટે છે.
કેવળી આજના સર્વોપદેશીના કાવળી
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विदेशी भाषित्व

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ଶ୍ରୀ: ନେତାମ୍ବରା ચର୍ଚ୍ଚିତ୍ର

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આર્થિક સાહિત્ય

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| સિંદુ ખર્ચની અગત્યસિદ્ધિઓ માટે (કે બાબતો) | અંચલ પ્રા. ૧-૨, ફેબ્રુઆરી | ૭ |
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કે.કે.કે. ઉદ્યોગ નવલકથા (૨૦૧૦)

[illegible]

બી. ઈ. ના મોરચાને બીજાજી અણ દેખામાં નહિ આવે.

[illegible]

भेनेज्ज, 'अन्तिममन् अमिपिनिअमन्'।

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ટેલિગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ: "આરવિન્ડ."

હેડ ઓફીસ:
૪૦૯, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રીચાર્ટ
ફોન ૬૪. પો. બોક્ષ ૧૦૬.
ટેલિગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—: હોલસેલ વેપારી ::—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

એશિયન સિલ્ક મર્ચન્ટ્સ સાહી મલ

સરેતા બાવે આકર્ષક અને હળામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. ૫



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| કીલમ સ્કાર્ફ બે રંગી સાડીઓ, રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન | | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

કાપડો ચાલક સાડી ચારે પાસે પનો, આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, રી. ૧ વાર, બરત બરેલું રંગમ, સાડી અને પ્લાટિનમ માટે ૪૫" પનો રી. ૧૨-૧૬. મરદ તથા કોલરોમાં માટે સીલક શા, પાપળા, સોલસ, રંગાસ વીરેના બરતમાં ખાતે મારા કપો છે. ખલેન એરોરેટ ૪૨" પનો રી. ૮-૧૧ વાર

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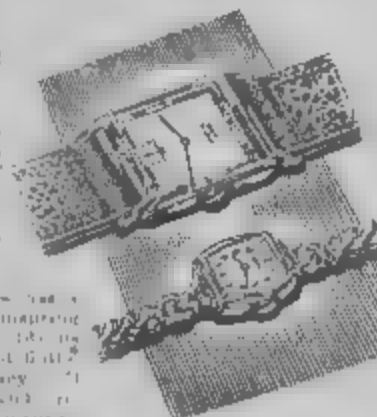
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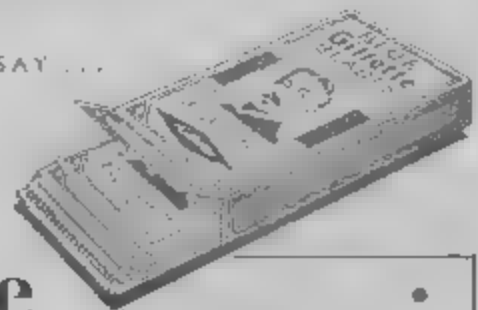
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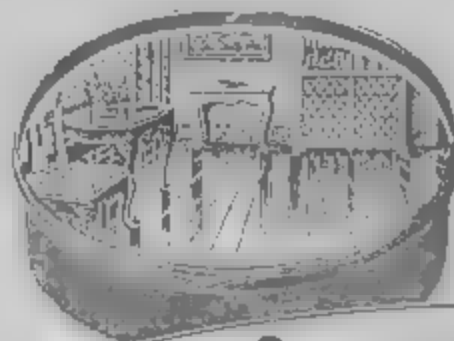
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 28TH MAY, 1948

The Conference

THE Natal Indian Congress will hold its second annual conference this week-end. It will be an important occasion in the history of Indians in South Africa, for the simple reason, that Congress has gained for the Indian community a reputation throughout the world worthy of being proud of, and the task before it now is not to mar or to lose it. That reputation has been gained, be it remembered, not by our talk but by our action, by the sacrifices our brave men and women have made and the sufferings they have undergone. It was that, and nothing else, that moved the hearts of our brethren in India and emboldened India to take our case before the United Nations Organisation and to make her voice heard in that great Assembly. Be it also remembered that it was the weapon of Satyagrah, blessed by Mahatma Gandhi, that won us that reputation both in India and in the world. Had any other method been resorted to we would have been nowhere. The task before the Congress—and when we say Congress we mean the present leadership—is therefore, by no means an easy one. We shall be making the greatest mistake if we are self-satisfied with the gains we have been fortunate to achieve, a comparatively very small sacrifice

We have yet to go a long way and our real task in fact, has only just begun. The time has come when we should not count our gains but look far ahead and be prepared for greater and greater sacrifice without thinking of the fruits thereof. The sacrifice we are able to make for a good cause is our only reward. Unless we view the great struggle we have launched in this light, our efforts are doomed to failure.

The Conference will be meeting at a time when Dr. Dadabhai Naicker, Dr. Goonam and many other brothers and sisters of ours are languishing in prison. The Conference will have to consider whether we have been faithful to those who are suffering in prison and whether we have truly done our duty to them and thereby to the cause for which we are fighting.

The all-important question to-day is whether we are to live in South Africa as serfs—for that is the status assigned to us by the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and which is sought to assign to us by any Party that comes into power, including the United Party as is evident from all the electioneering speeches that have been made—or whether we are to live as self-respecting human-beings, for which our struggle has been launched? The questions of housing, education and the rest seem to be insignificant when we are

deprived of the freedom to live. It is an admitted fact that eighty per cent of our population are born in South Africa and have no other home. Are they to live as slaves in this country or as free human beings? Before this vital question all others sink into insignificance.

The whole question then boils down to that of a round table conference, which is the best, the easiest and the only right way of arriving at a solution honourable to both parties. Now that South Africa and India are on an equal footing in respect of status and both need, and will need in the future, each other's help, would it not be statesman-like and in keeping with the great Christian principle of human brotherhood to sit together with a firm determination to solve this vexed problem which is after all not so vexed as other problems the world is to-day faced with?

The Conference will therefore have before it two vital questions to discuss—one of how best the present struggle can be continued and the other of a round table conference between the two countries concerned. As we have already stated above, our action should be more eloquent than our speech. Man is apt to see the mote in the other's eye but not the beam in his own. One of the principles of Satyagrah is to view our own faults, however insignificant they may be, in a magnified form and to try to correct them and to see and try to copy only the good in others.

Therefore not indulge in extravagant language, extravagant demands or extravagant empty demonstrations to condemn the Government or the European people. If those that assemble at the Conference one and all were to resolve to cross over to the Transvaal border to court arrest their action, we are confident, will be more eloquent than all the talking that will be done there. We hope the proceedings of the Conference will be marked with the moderation that becomes and is the mark of true Satyagrahis. May our remarks not be taken as being made ironically. We make them in all sincerity and with best wishes for the success of our struggle and we hope they will be received in the spirit in which they have been made.

NOTES

Death Of Mr. K. Natarajan

The latest papers received from India bring the sad news of the death of Mr. K. Natarajan, which took place on April 29, at his residence in Bandra, a suburb of Bombay. The late Mr. Natarajan was the founder and for many years editor of the well-known journal "The Indian Social Reformer." He was a staunch champion of the South African Indian cause and did everything possible, through the columns of his Journal, to help the cause. He was also a member of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, of which he held the secretarial position for several years. He retired from public life some years back but his literary pursuits continued till the end. "There are only three Indian journalists," writes the Hon. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, who by their intellect, ability and character, command universal respect and enjoy great

their countrymen, but even outside India, viz. Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar of Madras, Mr. Ramabanda Chatterjee of Bengal and Mr. Natarajan, who had adopted Bombay as his home over fifty years ago. Mahatma Gandhi held him in very high regard and Mr. Natarajan had the greatest affection and respect for Gandhiji. A great scholar, and earnest social reformer and of a deeply religious nature the late Mr. Natarajan always lived up to the motto which adorned the 'Indian Social Reformer': 'I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice; I am earnest; I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard.' The late Mr. K. Natarajan leaves behind him a long list of Mr. K. Natarajan, an ardent nationalist and a staunch follower of Gandhiji. On behalf of Indians in South Africa we stand to her and to the other members of her family our deepest sympathy.

A Call For Daily Prayer

For Peace.

Messrs. Horace Alexander and Hiralal Bose, Joint Secretaries of the All India Pacifist Conference, Ranchi (C. P.) write:

A few months before his death, Gandhiji wrote to one of those who was making the plans for this world meeting, and who had asked him for suggestion of ways in which preparations could be made for the meeting:

"May it not be wise therefore for sincere peace-lovers to pray in their own homes, every day if you like, even for five minutes at the same time throughout the world?"

"We suggest, therefore, that those, both in India and in other parts of the world, who believe in prayer and who wish to carry on Gandhiji's work and to be united with his spirit, should keep the time from 5 p.m. to 5.5 p.m., Indian time, each day, and should during those five minutes pray to God to cleanse their own hearts of all hatred and malice and envy and greed and of all those things in their own lives that make for war and strife. And let those who for any reason are unable to pray for peace each day for five minutes resolve that they will do some work for peace every day—for peace in their homes and families, peace among classes and communities, peace among the nations. Thus may we to some degree carry on the great work for which Gandhiji suffered and died. Those in countries outside India can work out the appropriate time for the prayer."

■ These troublous times when darkness shrouds the world there is but one and only thing through which one can find peace and that is prayer. We therefore wholeheartedly commend the above

suggestion not only to our own brethren in South Africa but to all the people of South Africa. Let every individual make it his or her business to spend a few minutes regularly in praying for universal peace and to strive in their own little way to work for that peace.

A Christian Principle

Addressing a Nationalist Rally in the Pretoria City Hall on May 20, Mr. J. G. Strydom, leader of Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, said:—"If we go on giving the Natives facilities such as housing and education, they will very soon cease to be barbarians. Hundreds of thousands will be coming on to the voters' roll in the Cape because they are being educated up to and being enriched above the voters' qualification. We can only remain a white nation in South Africa if we retain the power to govern. Mr. Hofmeyr had refused to say that he stood for retention of white domination, maintaining that the European would be able to retain leadership on the basis of merit, he said. "He says it is a lie that he wants to make South Africa a black man's land. What we say is that if you remove the basic colour bar from the Act of Union you will have no way to prevent South Africa from becoming a black man's land." Already the United Party Government had begun to break down that colour bar by extending the franchise to Indians. If the Indians could have it, so could the Natives.

Mr. Strydom has told a naked truth. Natives must remain barbarians so that South Africa can remain a white man's country. Mr. Hofmeyr's suggestion that the European would be able to retain leadership on the basis of merit, does not appeal to the Nationalists. They maintain that the white man must govern whether he has the merit to do so or not. How that can be defended as a Christian principle is beyond our comprehension.

Every Person Had A Right

To Be Educated

Senator Edgar Brookes last Tuesday addressed European students from the Maritzburg College in the Maritzburg Training College on the subject of the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations. Senator Brookes referred generally to the work of Unesco, and spoke particularly of fundamental education, one of the principles it had adopted. He described how the delegates from the many countries, European and non-European, had worked together in perfect harmony, and suggested that it would be an excellent thing if Unesco could hold a national conference in

South Africa. He feared this would not be possible in South Africa, however, without having men of colour, because they could not trust their own people to treat them courteously. This was a point he wished the students to study. It was a problem, he said, to which they must try and find a solution. Referring to fundamental education, Senator Brookes said this was nothing more than the education of the illiterate and ignorant. It used to be known as mass education, he said, and with the new term of fundamental education they wanted to share simple scientific knowledge with reading and writing, and simple facts of modern science. In 1947 Unesco came in the decision that it was desirable and possible to educate the backward and ignorant parts of the world, said Dr. Brookes, had a right to be educated. Indians and Natives in South Africa had that right, and it was not right to have possessions and refuse to share them. To hold back something which we had was a bad thing. There were people who argued, he said, that Natives should not be educated because they do not pay high taxes. The biggest contribution Natives gave to the country was labour at wages far lower than Europeans earned. Senator Brookes urged that the masses of the world should be educated. Progress could not be stopped.

Mr. D. G. Shepstone On Education

Mr. D. G. Shepstone, the Administrator of Natal on Wednesday questioned the value of the Matriculation as a guide to the youth of the country, when he opened the biennial conference of the South African Federal Council of Inspectors of Schools in Durban. "I know that examinations do have their uses," said Mr. Shepstone, "but of what real benefit is the Matriculation examination to the average boy or girl who has to face the normal battles of life? "The examination is a useful guide to the ability of the child at school, but the result is really a test of ability." The Administrator felt that education should provide more than the academic knowledge gained from the study of text books.

The moulding of the character of the child in such a way that he could grasp the fundamentals of life in an objective manner by the time he left school, was just as important as the study of books.

Mr. Shepstone said that if children were taught at school to approach life from objective points of view there would not be the difficulties usually experienced when as adults they

came face to face with the real problems of life.

Apartheid In London Hotel

Two separate entrances to a massive white stone building looking on to Park Lane give the clue to the function of the first Government-owned luxury hotel in its Mayfair, where delegates from India and Pakistan will take up residence next month, says the London correspondent of the 'Star' (Johannesburg). Specially equipped kitchens are being installed on each floor. During their stay here, Indian and Pakistan delegates will use separate entrances and will be worlds apart, though housed in the same block. Each religion and each Hindu and each Hindu caste will have all facilities for leading their separate lives and eating their separate food under one roof without fear of defilement. And when they have agreed, or agreed to disagree, on the monetary problems which are bringing them to London and have departed, the Government's "Grand Hotel" will remain and will function as an official caravanserai for very important visitors to London.

No one would object to this type of apartheid in South Africa because it was purely voluntary and had no legal sanction behind it.

Britain Cannot Interfere In Australia's Racial Laws

The British Government warned on Tuesday to intervene in a case arising out of Australia's racial laws, which prevent persons of Colour visiting the country from settling there. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was asked in the Commons if he would protest to the Australian Government against the treatment of Joseph Addison Martin, a British subject, who had been ordered to leave Australia because his mother was Burmese. Mr. Gordon-Walker the Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, said that Britain could not intervene in the Australian immigration policy and its administration were matters solely for itself to decide.

Fountain of Wisdom

Any society which desires to found itself on a high standard of integrity of character in its units should organise itself in such a fashion as to make it possible for all men and all women to maintain themselves in reasonable comfort by their industry without selling their affections or their convictions.

—Bernard Shaw.

GENERAL SMUTS AT POTCHEFSFROOM

SPEAKING at an open air meeting at Potchefstroom on Saturday, May 22, General Smuts said, the Opposition said that the United Party and its general were old and decrepit.

The Opposition was pleased at the thought that he would disappear from the scene, but he had no intention of doing so unless providence willed otherwise, but his heart was still strong and he hoped to take an active part in affairs for a long time.

Today South Africa was looked up to by the world and people wanted to come here.

After the South African War, the nation had risen as from the grave and today they should not let sectional quarrels obscure the great peaks in the country's story.

The United Party's policy had created a new, happier, more prosperous South Africa. "We honour the past and strive for an even greater future."

"We are attracting overseas people and money. Last year alone more than £175,000,000 was invested in new factories. All this evolves because people in and outside South Africa have confidence in the future of South Africa and in the policy of South Africa."

"We are on the right road. This election is one of the cross-roads in our destiny. This is not a question of one party in and another out, but a critical stage in our history. Are we to continue with the spirit of unity, expansion, progress or shall we destroy the prosperity so carefully built up and thus go back into the bog of sectionalism instead of going forward on the great road of co-operation hewn out by the United Party?"

The Opposition said that Mr. Hofmeyr wanted to give the vote to the Natives. That was absolute nonsense.

Use was being made of lying language and false representations. There was, for example, the story in an Opposition newspaper that his secret intention was to create a big Native army, that the matter had been discussed with Field-Marshal Montgomery and agreed to, and that he wanted to keep it secret until after the election.

This was on the same level as the Hofmeyr allegations. Such a matter was never discussed with Lord Montgomery.

The Natives were not the barbarians of Chaka's and Dingaan's day; they were advancing with South Africa. They had to have education, housing and health services. Even if apartheid were practical it would lead to hate and bitterness against the European. A few Native agitators were Communists.

minded but the vast majority of Natives never dreamed of that and were continuing on the old way of co-operation and a good footing.

The white race had lived in South Africa for centuries and retained their purity of race, now the Nationalists suddenly produced apartheid to frighten the people, "I stand by a white race," said General Smuts.

His Native policy was clear: he wanted them to treat the Native well, as had always been done in South Africa. Apartheid was a physical and moral impossibility.

There was a danger that Communism would spread in South Africa, but that could happen only if the Nationalist policy triumphed, for it would make the Native fertile ground for Communism on the slogan that the white man was his enemy.

"To represent to the Native that he is a menace to white South Africa instead of an important aid in the economic fabric, will, in the end, destroy the faith built up in white leadership and cause domestic and industrial dissension."

In his message to the electorate a few days before the Election General Smuts said: "we have a very good case... It is a fight for decency and justice as between men and men, and for fair social and living conditions for all, irrespective of race and colour—each within his own sphere and among his own. There is place and need for all, and justice will only be done in the great opportunities before us if we make full use of all our human resources, and strengthen them still further from our parent European stocks.... We look forward to that united nation and that highly developed and prosperous Land, which will be the happy home for all the people."

If you vote for the United Party you vote for a united nation, for continuing the wave of prosperity now before this country, for maintaining your present free parliamentary constitution and existing Commonwealth relations, and for linking up the black man with the country's labour resources and for giving him his separate, fair share of its social services.

The Nationalists want "apartheid," which they have failed to make intelligible, except that it means separate Native areas away from the whites, and away from the centres of industrial employment, where the Natives may live their own life and develop their own separate industries. Where are these areas to be obtained? It must mean, in any case, the cutting of South Africa into a white and black half, and making an

end to the joint development on present lines. It is a crazy concept, born of prejudice and fear and may create and inflame Native Communism and even end in a totally black South Africa.

More Electioneering Speeches

M. J. W. Muellet, Minister of Economic Development, during his election campaign at Goodwood last Saturday night, said that overseas industrialists often referred to the fact that 2,500,000 people had built up the great system of railways, cities, harbours and diamond and gold mines in South Africa.

They called it miraculous, but his invariable reply was that it was not miraculous, for it was a nation of 12,000,000 people—Native, Coloured and European—that had built up the South Africa of today.

The fruits of that policy of racial co-operation was now the admiration of the world, and, South Africa could look forward to a wonderful future if they did not give way to a policy of racial division.

Mr. N. C. Havenga

Speaking at Broekmanspruit on Monday Mr. N. C. Havenga, leader of the Afrikaner Party, said the United Party declared it was wrong to make an election issue of the colour question. They said that there was no reason to fear as White civilisation had been maintained for hundreds of years.

But the struggle in the past had been quite different. The Voortrekkers had had to do with a visible enemy. "To-day we have to do with an invisible enemy whose activities are undermining," he added.

When the Nationalist Party came to power there would be an end to these undermining activities. There would be an end to the influx of Natives to the town.

The Indians were part of a nation for whom South Africa had every respect. But why should they have a say in the government of the country? They were non-Christians and of an Eastern cult. What sense was there in asking them to contribute to the building up of a Christian nation?

Col. O. L. Shearer

Col. O. L. Shearer, United Party candidate for Maritzburg, during his electioneering in the Maritzburg City Hall on Tuesday, referring to the Indian question, pointed out that the Nationalist Party, when they were in power in 1926, had had the opportunity of introducing legislation in this regard. The first protest in Natal against Indian penetration, however, said Col. Shearer, came from two U.P. members, Mr. Douglas

Mitchell, former Administrator and Mr. A. T. Allison both of whom made protests in the Provincial Council. The representative attitude of the Nationalists towards the non-European was one that would stimulate Communism and not check it. The U.P. approach to the same subject was based on the principle of Christian trusteeship, embracing a true humanitarian outlook.

Mr. B. H. Henwood

Mr. B. H. Henwood, speaking at the same meeting, repeated what he had said previously that he stood 100 per cent behind the segregation policy in relation to the Asiatic Land Tenure Act because it meant protection against Indian penetration. He advocated the training of Native girls as nurses to nurse their own people and disapproved of European nurses being employed in non-European hospitals. The same principle applied to Indian girls who were wanted for training to nurse people of their own race.

"A SOCIAL CRIME"

We call the following from the current number of "Common Sense":

The case of Susan, a five-year-old Native child, which has shattered the whole of Natal, is more symptomatic of race attitudes in South Africa than a hundred protestations of goodwill and a policy of trusteeship from platforms between Capetown and Lake Success. Susan's father, a Basuto, was killed at Alamein. Her mother was servant to the family of a South African soldier, who, on being demobbed in Bloemfontein, shifted down to the Woodlands Estate, near Durban, taking Susan with him. Until the child's mother was able to join the family Susan was allowed to sleep in one of the rooms of the ex-soldier's house. She was four at the time, and the employer considered it was unfair for the child to sleep alone in an isolated kitchen every night. This was the first major offence which roused the indignation of other residents in Woodlands. The second was that Susan wore European clothes. The Montagu Municipal Association reported these things to the City Council declaring that it appeared that the child was being brought up by European standards. The ex-soldier answered her critics thus: "Susan is an intelligent child and when she is old enough we are sending her to school. I hope this is not going to be misunderstood as a social crime too."

The moral to this—and this is undoubtedly a story with a moral—is that South Africa has sunk very low if to act humanely towards someone with "black skin" is considered "a social crime."

WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT?

By J. C. KUMARAPPA in 'Harijan'

IN the House of Lords speaking on the atomic energy the most reverend, the Archbishop of York suggested that if negotiations between Truman, Attlee and Stalin should fail, then those nations, "willing to submit to an atomic authority should do so without waiting for Russia and be in a position to confront any potential aggressor with an overwhelming deterrent force." Has His Grace so quickly forgotten the lessons of the last two global wars or does he believe in getting in the blow first? It appears to us that the nations of the world are being blind-folded to the lessons brought home to us by the last two wars that force does not solve the problems between nations. Already people in the know are talking of the third world war. Premier George Drew of Ontario speaking in Toronto early this week said, "We must realize that we are at war today—and let us not balk at that word. Hundreds of millions of people are being held in slavery and two hundred millions more are under the threat of slavery. There is much talk of the world being divided into two kinds of ideologies, but there never was such a simple division as now—not just of ideology, but an irreconcilable difference between two ways of life." Yes, it is the two ways of life that are in conflict today; the one believes in gaining the whole material world for oneself, and other abhors violence even if it be at the cost of renouncing the world.

The people who would gain the world have forgotten that the means of violence even from the materialistic point of view is not worth the candle. Great Britain is squandering about 700 millions on military commitments. The Air Force itself accounts for about 170 millions. The Army clamours for over 300 millions and the Navy, of course, is the pet boy of whom not enough could be lavished. These figures mean nothing unless they indicate that so much of the productive power of the country is being diverted towards destruction and these figures naturally take no account of the enormous loss of human life. Unless the nations wake up betimes, we shall again be plunged into the cauldron from which there will be no escape to time.

India itself is being dragged into this whirlpool of violence. Our military expenditure in a budget under a National Government is soaring high. As far as we can see, the powers that are interested in enriching themselves are extremely busy fomenting the type of industrialization that will plunge us headlong over the precipice,

The "Industrial Policy" outlined by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently gives us no hope that the Government are aware of the dangers lurking beneath such a 'Policy.' The statements and actions of Government indicate that there is no considered policy in regard to the economic development of the country. The Government appears to be guided mainly by the exigencies of the case. Whichever interest happens to be vociferous at the time

THE TRAGEDY OF KASHMIR

[Rajkumari Anurit Kaur, whose name is well known to our readers, writes in *Harijan* above the initials A. K.]

WHENEVER I look at pictures of that beautiful little country in Europe, Switzerland, mind invariably turns to Kashmir. In pre-war days Switzerland was the country par excellence where one wanted to spend one's holidays whether in winter or summer, spring or autumn. Few can resist the lure of winter sports once they have tasted the exhilaration they create nor does one feel the cold even at heights of 5000 feet above sea level because of the lovely sunshine which has made certain places in Switzerland ideal for sufferers from tuberculosis. Summer in Switzerland by the side of the lakes or trekking in the valleys or mountain-climbing; in ideal and spring and autumn have a beauty all their own for lovers of nature.

All this beauty even on a grander scale is in Kashmir and with the development of communications and residential could be made available on a vast scale. This lovely land could be the most attractive holiday resort and ideal place could certainly be located sanatoria for patients suffering from T. B.

But the country is today being ruined owing to the cruel raids to which the poor peace-loving inhabitants of the country are being subjected. War despoils: nothing else and yet man, reasonable and intelligent though he is supposed to be, has not yet found the strength to settle his disputes in any other manner.

A peaceful Kashmir, allowed to develop along peace lines would, with its immense potentialities and untold beauties of nature be an asset to Pakistan no less than to India. As a paradise for holiday-makers, as a health resort, it could be a meeting ground not only for citizens of both India and Pakistan but for travellers from over the world.

Even at this late hour cannot wiser counsels prevail and cannot

obtain a promise that will win the party irrespective of the effect on the country as a whole. This programme of drifting along the current will not avail us much. What is wanted is a definite philosophy which will envisage the future of our country and indicate the means of attaining it, and all other considerations must be secondary to this main objective. Given such an objective our country can enunciate a policy which will not only bring peace and stability to our own land but will also usher hope into a world distorted with suspicion and fear.

India and Pakistan settle the question of Kashmir without resort to arms and without reference to anyone other than their own good sense? No problem is incapable of solution if the will to solve it is there.

Women And Military Training

In another note in the same paper Rajkumari writes:

I confess to a sense of sorrow at the increasing desire in women to go in for military training. In one sense this cannot be wondered at because the recent tragic happenings have shown that anger arouses the lowest passions in man and when he is thus caused his first victims are women. The abduction of women and children constitutes a grave stigma on our society and to think that we have to resort to police and military aid to retrieve these human beings is truly humiliating. When anger and passions have cooled down it should surely be possible for the guilty to atone for the error of their ways by voluntary terms of their erstwhile prey. In any event women are scared and they want to be able to protect themselves. With the majority of mankind, they will be safer and stronger if they know how to use firearms.

Military training, which disciplines them, which teaches them co-operative endeavour, which gives them lessons in First Aid and Ambulance work in the field, which will make them self-reliant and fearless, is all to the good. But for women to want to learn the use of firearms goes against the best traditions of all that the ancient culture and civilization of the womanhood of every land have stood for. I would like to draw the attention of my sisters to the lesson Gandhiji taught us during his long ministrations on earth. Steadfastness used to say, without the might of Ravana nor through any earthly weapon. But because of her unassailable purity Women will, I hope always rely on their strength of character and soul force and not give up the way of non-violence, not only for the sake of their sex but for the sake of the country and the world.

Gandhi Memorial Stamps In Four Denominations

Four denominations of Gandhi memorial postal stamps will be put on sale in India in about two months from now. Arrangements for printing these by photogravure process were completed by Mr. Krishna Prasad, Director-General of Post and Telegraphs, during his recent visit to Switzerland. The job, which could not be done in India owing to lack of similar equipment at the India Security Press, Nashik, has been entrusted with a press in Switzerland, noted for its high standard in design and printing. The four denominations will be 1 annas for inland postage, 3 annas for later postal mail, 12 annas for airmail and Rs. 10. The first three will be in single colours and the last in two colours and slightly larger size. Two different portraits of Mahatma Gandhi have been used for the three smaller and the higher denomination. Arrangements have been made to despatch the stamps as soon as they come from Switzerland to the U. K. and the U. S. A. Enquiries about the issue are already being received from many foreign countries. Preparations have also been undertaken at the Philatelic Bureau, Bombay, to meet the large demands for these memorial stamps and to cater to the convenience of the public. Mr. Krishna Prasad, who made a special study of the Philatelic Bureau at Bern, intends to enlarge the Bombay Bureau and make it up to date, with a view to improving its services.

NEWS IN BRIEF

General Smuts is expected to arrive in London on June 3 on his way to Cambridge where he will be installed as Chancellor of the University on June 10. He will spend three days in Cambridge.

The Fosa Fashure is a unique annual event in that artists of all the four races tender items to a mixed audience composed of all the four races. This is to take place at the Durban City Hall on Friday, June 4. Anyone, white or black, can sit anywhere in the Hall. The function is under the patronage of the Administrator of Natal and Mrs. Shepatone. The proceeds of the concert will help Fosa in its fight against tuberculosis.

A batch of five convicts from the Transvaal crossed over into Natal on Wednesday.

INDIA'S Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, further clarified the position of the Government of India regarding U.N.'s resolution on Kashmir. The Kashmir problem could be resolved only in two ways, he said, either by warfare which India was carrying on, or by other methods of settlement. "We have tried both. We are carrying on that war, and we propose to carry on that war as effectively, efficiently and rapidly as possible till we drive out the last raider from Kashmir territory, and when peace and order are established, then other steps will follow," India was always prepared to negotiate with Pakistan "when there is a reasonable chance to end those negotiations, but just at the present moment there is no such chance."

Regarding the provisions of the resolution of the Security Council Pandit Nehru said: "We just cannot give effect to them, because they are counter to our undertakings to the people of Kashmir, to their Government and to the world, and are completely contrary to the policies that we have followed. Therefore it is not possible to give effect to those parts of the resolution, more especially those relating to the internal composition of the Kashmir Government, and to the question whether our forces should be there, and to the possibility of outside forces like Pakistan forces coming into Kashmir." He added that despite what happened at U.N., there was no question of India withdrawing from the world organisation."

Reiterating that even today Pakistan territory was being used as a basis of operations, Pandit Nehru said that it was India's desire not to get entangled with Pakistan on this or any other issue, and, therefore, she did not think in terms of any conflict with Pakistan. "India shall continue her activities in Kashmir territories, and as far as possible India shall avoid crossing over into Pakistan territory."

Hyderabad

With regard to Hyderabad Pandit Nehru emphasised three points: (1) Hyderabad must become part of the Indian Union because of various factors such as geographical, economic, military and political which none can ignore. (2) But, regarding accession, certainly India had talked in terms of the people deciding the issue by plebiscite or referendum and not the Army deciding the will of the people. (3) Responsible government in Hyderabad has become an im-

portant and urgent issue. (4) Peace and order on the borders and internally in Hyderabad, have to be given first priority. On one occasion, in March last, the Prime Minister recalled, there was a horrible incident, and a number of people were killed in a cold and calculated way by Nizam police and Razakars. Civilians were made to stand in a row of 20 and shot in Indian Union territory. Several instances of these raids occurred, and as for minor raids there were any number. (5) The so-called Razakar volunteer force must be curbed; they must be put an end to, just as in India they had tried to put an end to private armies. (6) The Standstill Agreement has not been complied with at all by Hyderabad. As serious breaches of the agreement, Pandit Nehru mentioned a loan by Hyderabad to Pakistan, changes in currency regulation, the strength of the army, which under the agreement was to be 7,000, was also rapidly increased to 25,000; police forces raised beyond stipulated limits; Razakars went up to large numbers. (7) Active preparations for war are going on in Hyderabad—arms have been imported from various countries in Europe and smuggled through Indian territory.

Two Ways Open

For Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru asserted, there could only be two possible ways. One was the accession to the Indian Union—which meant defence, communications and external affairs being controlled by the Union, in which Hyderabad also was represented. It was not submission to the Union, but a partnership in a large association of units. The other way was in not acceding but being in some kind of subsidiary association with India. Here, again, the State would have to surrender the three subjects. It could either have a partnership with the Indian Union with a voice in its affairs, or a subsidiary association in which it did not get the benefits of a union but had to yield to the subjects.

In the latter formula, the Prime Minister of India has shown a way out of the impasse, but the question whether the Nizam's Government have a will to come to an honourable

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Bombay, May 28

INDIA AND KASHMIR

agreement and to implement it honestly. Their latest move is to obtain the help of the Communists in perpetuating its Rajak rule. They have lifted the ban on the Communist Party in the State, and the latter is now out to accord its support to the former in their fight against the people.

Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the veteran Congress leader, and the present Governor of Bengal, has been appointed as Governor-General of India in succession to the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, who will relinquish his appointment on June 21. The appointment has been universally welcomed in India and "was received with pleasure in London," said a Reuters despatch. It seemed a foregone conclusion since the appointment of C.R. as acting Governor-General during Lord Mountbatten's trip to London for the Royal wedding. No other name, indeed, had been thought of in New Delhi for the succession. Lord Pollock Lawrence, former Secretary of State for India who headed the Cabinet Mission to India, said in London: "I am delighted to hear the announcement. Rajaji is not only a close personal friend of mine, but is regarded by one of the wisest of India's great statesmen. He will be worthy successor to Lord Mountbatten." That in itself is the highest praise.

"It is difficult to imagine a better choice," says the Times of India. "A statesman and administrator his worth has had practical proof, and that is in addition a representative of Indian culture in the best sense of the word is a well further asset. His steady influence and sage wisdom cannot fail to be of value not only to the Prime Minister and the Central Cabinet, but to the executive machinery of Government which has been bearing a heavy strain and of which he will become the official head."

On The States Front

The inauguration of responsible government in Bhopal State with the formation of an Interim Government has been announced by the Ruler of Bhopal. The Government of Bombay have under powers delegated to them by the Government of India, taken over the administration of Junjun State.

On June 1, Cutch will become a centrally-administered province. Having regard to the peculiar geographical position of the State and its need for development, the Maharaja of Cutch is understood to have accepted the advice of the States Ministry and agreed that the administration of the State be, in future, carried on by the Dominion Government. Says the New Delhi correspondent of the Times of India: "The State will, however, remain a separate administrative unit, and the Dominion Government have undertaken not to make any change in this position without prior consultation with the Ruler. As soon as the new administration is set up, it will have the close association of the people of the State. The strategic importance of the State lies in the fact that its northern and north-western boundaries touch the Pakistan province of Sind. Proposals for the developments of that State's natural harbour of Kandla, to make up for the loss of the port of Karachi, has been mooted more than once since partition. The State has an area of over 3,000 sq miles, a population of 700,000, and a revenue of Rs. 67 lakhs. The State is likely to become a Chief Commissioner's province. The Commissioner will conduct the administration, assisted by chosen leaders of the Praja Mandal. It is understood that the privy purse of the Ruler has also been fixed."

East Punjab States Union

The Rulers of Patiala, Kapurthala, Faridkot, Jind, Nabha, Khudais, Malagarh and Malerkotla have signed a covenant for the formation of a union. The Maharaja of Patiala and Kapurthala will be the Rajpramukh and Uparajpramukh for the Union. The inauguration of the Union has been fixed to take place on July 15, and it is expected that all the uniting States will have transferred their administration by August 20. The new State will comprise an area of over 10,000 sq miles with a population of about 3,500,000 and a revenue of about Rs. 5 crores. A message sent for the occasion from Mussorie "Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of States, says: "I am very pleased to know that the Rulers of Patiala, Kapurthala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Malerkotla, Malagarh and Khudais have signed a covenant integrating their states into the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union. The message was conveyed by Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary, States Ministry.

Sardar Patel added: "With the formation of the Union, the process of integration of Indian

States is practically complete. Thanks to the willing consent and patriotic co-operation of the Rulers as well as the people of the States, this difficult work has been brought to a successful close in an astonishingly short period. But for the patriotic assistance of the Rulers, it would have been quite impossible to finish this work so soon.

"I should like to add a special word of appreciation to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. Patiala has separate representation in the Constituent Assembly and we have always realised that, with its natural resources, the State can stand on its legs. His Highness has, however, willingly agreed to pool the resources of his State with those of the other States in East Punjab, and by so doing he has enabled us to build up a unit comparable in size and population to some of the largest units which we have hitherto formed. I am particularly grateful to His Highness for the commendable public spirit shown by him. No less am I grateful to Your Highnesses of the other States for your wise and statesmanlike decision.

"Great Future"

"I see a great future for this new Union. That area is rich in agricultural and natural resources. I am confident that it will become even more prosperous by sharing in our plans of future development. I have no doubt that your State will be the bulwark of our country in the days to come."

The Maharaja of Kapurthala on behalf of the Rulers of the East Punjab States, requested Mr. V. P. Menon to convey their assurance to Sardar Patel that he could count on their sincere effort to make this Union strong. He stated that the East Punjab States had come through a very difficult period and a heavy task lay ahead of them. He and his brother princes, he added, were fully conscious of their responsibilities which he hoped, they would be able to shoulder by mutual co-operation and the help of the Ministry of States. The Maharaja of Kapurthala said he would give full co-operation in making the Union a success.

Things In General

N.I.C. Verulam Branch

The annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress, Verulam Branch, was held in Verulam on Sunday, May 23, on the open space next to Cader's Cafe. Mr. Choonilal Ragbavjee presided. After the last general meeting's minutes were read the secretary and treasurer submitted their reports which were duly adopted. The following new office bearers were then elected: Chairman: Mr. Nathalal Ragbavjee; vice-chairman: Messrs. Manilal Gandhi, Choonilal Ragbavjee, Ajaya Nabee, A. Moonsamy, R. L. Behari; Jt. hon. secretaries: Messrs. H. C. Vawda, Y. S. Chisamy; hon. treasurer: Mr. N. Jutha; committee: Messrs. L. C. Soni, V. Govindasamy, L. Basant, R. Ramdas, K. P. Jack, D. V. Moodley, (Jethi), R. Ramnath, V. Jutha, Dr. Cassim Ismail, J. Ramdayal. The following were elected as delegates to the N. I. C. Conference to be held during the week-end in Durban: Messrs. Manilal Gandhi, Choonilal Ragbavjee, A. Ramdas, R. Ramnath, H. C. Vawda, Nathalal Ragbavjee and R. C. Soni. Messrs. Manilal Gandhi, N. Ragbavjee and H. C. Vawda addressed the meeting. A resolution was passed on the inadequate facilities for Indian education and urging upon the Provincial Administration to do the needful.

Maritzburg Branch

At the annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg Branch) held at the H. Y. M. A. Hall, on Sunday, May 23, the following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year—President: Mr. R. K. Naidoo, Jt. hon. secretaries: Messrs. S. G. Munzal and R. M. Pillay, hon. treasurer: Mr. V. V. Moodley, vice-presidents: Messrs. P. T. Pillay, Dr. W. R. J. Peters, Mr. M. R. C. Pillay, I. Ramdela and R. G. Naidoo; committee: Messrs. S. B. Maharaj, R. Ramessar, L. T. Ramdass, S. C. Pandey, Ganai M. Govender, A. E. Naidoo, K. M. Mudliar, R. P. Naidoo, S. N. Moodley, R. Govender, Miss F. M. Maistry.

Historical Records Commission in India

More than sixty eminent historians from all over the country assembled at Indore in December 1946 for the first of the third annual sittings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The proceedings which have just been set on foot, will be supervised by the Hon. Mr. J. B. K. Chatterjee, then Member-in-Charge for the United Provinces and Agra.

in the Interior Government urged upon the Government the necessity of throwing open all confidential records of the last century to bona fide research students. In another resolution the Commission called for suitable legislation against unwarranted destruction and export of documents. For some time past, the Indian Historical Records Commission has been devoting much of its time to the important problem of salvaging manuscript records in private custody. The present volume publishes a report of the work so far done in this connection by the Regional Survey Committees. Considerable work has been done in this field and a campaign of publicity was carried on against public indifference and apathy towards old manuscripts in general and historical records in particular. The Government of India sanctioned a token grant of Rs. 6,500 for the year 1946-47 to meet the office requirements of the ad hoc Survey Committees carrying out this work in the provinces. The publication comprises 33 short articles based on unpublished sources and covering a wide field ranging from the Imperial Manuscripts to the colonial records of the East India Company. It also gives a detailed account of the work done under the various schemes of the National Archives of India.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

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ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

1948

NOTICE

The annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress (Natal Branch) will be held at the H. Y. M. A. Hall, Durban, on Sunday, May 23, 1948. The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year—President: Mr. R. K. Naidoo, Jt. hon. secretaries: Messrs. S. G. Munzal and R. M. Pillay, hon. treasurer: Mr. V. V. Moodley, vice-presidents: Messrs. P. T. Pillay, Dr. W. R. J. Peters, Mr. M. R. C. Pillay, I. Ramdela and R. G. Naidoo; committee: Messrs. S. B. Maharaj, R. Ramessar, L. T. Ramdass, S. C. Pandey, Ganai M. Govender, A. E. Naidoo, K. M. Mudliar, R. P. Naidoo, S. N. Moodley, R. Govender, Miss F. M. Maistry.

In terms of No. 10 of the details of the annual general meeting of the Natal Indian Congress (Natal Branch) held at the H. Y. M. A. Hall, Durban, on Sunday, May 23, 1948, the following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year—President: Mr. R. K. Naidoo, Jt. hon. secretaries: Messrs. S. G. Munzal and R. M. Pillay, hon. treasurer: Mr. V. V. Moodley, vice-presidents: Messrs. P. T. Pillay, Dr. W. R. J. Peters, Mr. M. R. C. Pillay, I. Ramdela and R. G. Naidoo; committee: Messrs. S. B. Maharaj, R. Ramessar, L. T. Ramdass, S. C. Pandey, Ganai M. Govender, A. E. Naidoo, K. M. Mudliar, R. P. Naidoo, S. N. Moodley, R. Govender, Miss F. M. Maistry.

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Applications, stating age, present position, qualifications and experience and accompanied by copies of not more than three recent testimonials should reach the City Medical Officer of Health, Gate Street, Durban, not later than 12 noon on Monday, 14th June, 1948.

Personal canvassing for appointment is prohibited and proof thereof will disqualify a candidate vide Council's Standing Order No. 1.

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પો.બોક્ષ ૪૮૮૯
"આરવિન્ડ"

હેડ ઓફીસ :

૪૦૯, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રીચાર્ડ.

ફોન ૬૪ પો. બો. નંબર ૧૦૬

ટેલીગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ : "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—:: ફોલસેલ વેપારી ::—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

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| સીલકની બવન બરલી સાડીઓ તવીન ડીઝાઇન | | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
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| સીલક મલલીનની બરતબરલી સાડીઓ | | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી બરત સીલક મલલીન સાડીઓ | | ૧૩ ૨૦ ૦ |
| જરી બરત બેરબેર સાડીઓ | | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| ડીઝાઇન રહાય. બે રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીન તવીન ડીઝાઇન | | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

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નોંદ, ૮૭૩
સાકાઓ મળશે.
નંબર શી ૧૨/૧

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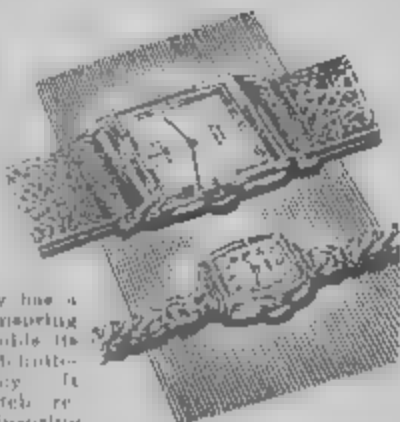
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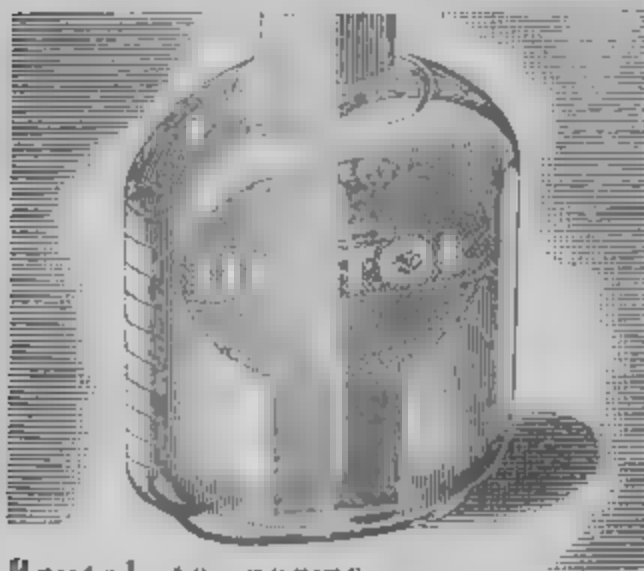
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, JUNE 17th, 1948.

Wanted Deeds, Not Words

LAST week we laid stress upon the need for moderation in our demands, but it has, apparently, had very little effect on the delegates who attended the Conference of the Natal Indian Congress. The Conference insisted on passing a resolution on the People's Charter for "votes for all," totally disregarding the amendment moved by Mr. Manilal Gandhi. His amendment was to delete the word "pledge" from the resolution and to insert the words "as an ideal" after "votes for all." Mr. Gandhi had rather a rough time for having proposed the amendment, though it did not in any way alter the substance of the resolution. The points Mr. Gandhi made in proposing the amendment were that the word "pledge" was not one which should be used lightly. To pledge to do a thing means that you will risk your life in doing it. To demand full franchise rights for all non-Europeans, at the stroke of the pen, was not a practical thing, and it was not in keeping with the principle of Passive Resistance (Satyagraha) to make demands for impractical things.

It is true that the Government is to blame for having kept the non-Europeans in such a backward state that they are not able to exercise full democratic rights. To that extent the rulers, who claim

to be trustees, have failed in their duties or rather, have deliberately neglected their duties. But what is the remedy? The remedy is to snatch the authority from the present rulers, which is not an easy thing to do. And, assuming it was snatched, are the non-Europeans really fit to govern? Would that they were. In that case, being in an overwhelming majority, they would assume power and tell the two and a quarter million Europeans and two hundred and eighty thousand Indians to quit, and if the latter were really honest they must quit.

When the non-Europeans are able to command that strength, all foreigners that have come to this land will have to retire or to live at the grace of the rightful owners of the land. Obviously that strength has not come yet. It came to India after two hundred years of untold sufferings and sacrifices. Freedom of India was won by Indians themselves. No one won it for them. Similarly the non-Europeans will and must win their freedom by their own strength. They will not be able to keep the freedom won for them by others. That strength will come to them as a result of their sufferings and their capacity to sacrifice. No community progresses without leaders and character is the first

essential for true leadership. It must be confessed that the non-Europeans, including the Indian community, are lacking in true leadership. Have we any right to profess to lead others when we cannot lead ourselves? We must repeat that, however admirable the sacrifices our people have made in fighting against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, they are by no means anywhere near adequate for the goal we are aiming at. And when we are not able to look after ourselves how do we expect to be able to look after others? That is why Mr. Manilal Gandhi stressed that a pledge should only be taken if we are able to keep it.

Hence to talk of "full franchise" and "full democratic rights," when we are not able to keep the pledge of fighting against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, is meaningless. Mr. Gandhi threw a challenge to the Conference that the delegates assembled there should volunteer to cross the border into the Transvaal to court arrest. Though there was a roar of yes, not a single one has come forward to accept the challenge. Practice is better than precept. If we Indians can fight in a disciplined manner and in the true spirit of Satyagraha for our goal and succeed in doing so, we shall have rendered the greatest service to the cause, not only of the non-Europeans of

South Africa but of the oppressed humanity.

If we wish to acquire any rights in this country or for that matter anywhere, we must be fit to exercise those rights. We must therefore, be thoughtful, dignified and moderate in our demands and in our speech and firm in our action. Then only shall we be able to win public sympathy that will count and the willingness of the authorities to favourably consider our demands.

We must regretfully say that all these qualities are lacking in the present leadership. That lack is reflected in the resolution on "votes for all" and on "full democratic rights." Let us not talk of big things when we are not able to look after the smaller things. We shall be judged by our deeds, not by our words. Let us not make the Europeans of South Africa feel that the non-Europeans desire to deprive them of their authority. They are welcome to keep their authority so long as they do not deprive the non-Europeans of their legitimate right to live and to progress as self-respecting human beings. Had they kept their authority without disturbing these rights there would not have been this discontent and frustration and the evils that result therefrom. Let the rulers too see the signs of the time and act and act wisely and decently.

THE second Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress was held at the Madressa Anjuman Islam Hall, Durban, on May 29, 30 and 31. The Conference was opened by Mrs. M. H. Lavoipierre, Chairman of the Council of Human Rights. In the course of her speech Mrs. Lavoipierre referred to Mahatma Gandhi, whose life, she said, "was one long struggle for the upliftment of his people. He sought no personal glory or monetary gain. In his living, mankind was enriched, in his death humanity mourns a friend. Remembering his great love, his simplicity and his charm, remembering his great endurance, his fortitude and his courage, let his eternal memory spur you on to greater effort and be the pattern of your struggle for liberation."

It is indeed an indictment on our system," she said, "that people of the calibre of Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naicker and Dr. Goonoo and other resisters of equality, are courage and integrity, should languish in jail as common criminals for the infringement of laws which are discriminatory and in which they have no hand in framing."

The deplorable state of Indian education," the speaker said, "is only one of the many evils that affect the Indian community—a result of the State's discriminatory policy. In a civilised state education is a fundamental human right. Yet because of the indifference of the authorities 10,000 Indian children of school going age are kept out of school. This indifference is typical of their attitude towards the vital needs of all non-Europeans."

"Your struggle is not an easy one," she continued. "It is bound up with the struggle of the African people and that of the Coloureds also. The forces which bar you all from full citizenship are the same, the economic insecurity which is the result of racial discrimination is the same, the policy of segregation is directed against you all, as is also the inferior status assigned to all non-Whites. The time has come for all South Africans who value freedom, whether white or black, to form a common front in fight for democratic rights for all. For unless we become a united South Africa, with all peoples sharing in the commonwealth, the country will be faced with strife and economic upheaval, which will ultimately lead to national disaster."

In conclusion I can assure you, the speaker said, "that progressive European opinion will always be on the side of your just struggle and my own organisation, the Council for Human Rights, will continue to work side by side with all oppressed people who are

striving for freedom for it is only by so doing that we can hope to destroy the evil forces of racialism and oppression which are prevalent with us to-day and which can have no place in a prosperous free South Africa."

Presidents' Speech

The Acting President, Dr. B. T. Chetty, in his speech referred to India having attained her freedom and said, it puts new hope and courage into our hearts in the struggle we are waging in this country.

Referring to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, he said, "his death has robbed India of her guiding star in the struggle for freedom and independence. We have lost the organisation of our method of struggle, Satyagraha. Even more important, we have lost the tremendous value of his wisdom and guidance." As a mark of respect to Mahatma Gandhi the President asked the Assembly to rise and observe a moment's silence.

Referring to the new Government that has come into power as a result of the General Election the President said, "the new Government led by Dr. Malan is professedly more antagonistic to the Indian people than was the previous Government of Field Marshal Smuts. It is possible, however, that the political speeches made as members of the opposition will not find a place in the policies of those same members harnessed in the practical tasks of administering the government of the country. Be that as it may, we have to take note of the fact that Dr. Malan was Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time of the first Round Table Conference. It is our duty, bear in mind all these things in mind and realising the greater difficulties, that we may be called upon to take immediate measures to assure the holding of a Round Table Conference."

"It is as well for me to emphasise that there can be no solution to the dispute between the Indian community and India on the one hand and the South African Government on the other, which fail to recognise legitimate aspirations of the Indians in South Africa for an equal political status." "True democracy," he said, "cannot flourish where vast masses of the people are denied it. The tasks ahead of us," the President said in conclusion, are onerous and are likely to be made more complex under a new government. We need to strengthen our organisation and the efficiency of our work in the coming year."

THE CONFERENCE

Messages To Conference

The following were some of the messages received by the Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress held in Durban last week-end:—

From Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President Indian National Congress

"I am glad to hear that the second annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress is to be held shortly in Durban. The Conference is meeting at a time when crucial questions affecting the political future of the Indian community in South Africa, are still awaiting solution. A slave India could do little to help her children domiciled abroad, but now with the dawn of independence, we have many opportunities which we can and will utilise to help our countrymen who are today the victims of racial intolerance. Meanwhile you have also a duty to perform. Indians in South Africa should unite in the face of the danger threatening them and forge such sanctions that the Government of South Africa would be compelled in their own interests to grant you the basic rights of citizenship which you can rightfully claim by virtue of the contributions you have made all these years towards the enrichment and building up of the country's economy. I hope your conference will succeed in reaching this unity and oneness of purpose. On behalf of the Indian National Congress, I send you my best wishes for the success of your Conference and of your struggle."

From Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister, India

"The heart of independent India is with you in your brave and rightful struggle for civil liberties. We all send you our best wishes and are confident that your just cause will ultimately be crowned with success."

From All India Women's Conference

"Executive Committee All India Women's Conference sends felicitations and expresses sympathy in your struggle."

From All India Socialist Party

"Socialist Party conveys its solidarity with your struggle for vindication of human rights. India's objective would not be deemed fulfilled till exploitation of man by man ceases everywhere in whatever shape or form. We offer our fullest support in your fight against racial domination." —Sgt. Ram Manohar Lohia, Aruna Asaf Ali, Jayaprakash Narayan.

From Mr. R. Sorenson M.P. —Great Britain

"In sending greetings to your Conference I do so with full appreciation of the nature of the struggle in which you are still engaged. May you and your members have strength and fortitude for the moral and political obligations that rest upon you; and may the spirit of your great founder Mahatma Gandhi, ever be a source of inspiration and guidance."

"In the world crisis in which our age is involved our greatest need is a bold expansion of liberty and racial fraternity and not a contraction. The fear and prejudices that oppress us can only be vanquished by a vaster faith in inherent human social and political rights. In the sake of South Africa, of India and of the human race I am sure your Congress will uphold its faith and service. India now sets an example of racial equality that should inspire South Africa to do likewise."

"I have watched the struggle in which you are engaged with sympathy, and though we cannot raise these questions in the House of Commons, I assure you there are many here who join with me in cordial good wishes."

From Mr. William Gaitacher M.P.—Great Britain

"We in England have watched with the greatest interest and admiration the struggle of South African Indians to win their rights. The sympathy and support which the Indian case received from democratic nations at the U.N.O. Assembly is evidence of the justice of their cause and an assurance of their ultimate victory."

From D. M. Pritt, K.C., M.P. —Great Britain

"I send you my best wishes for the success of the second annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress. The treatment of the Indian people by the Government of South Africa has become known to many many millions of people in the last year or so because their case was stated so well and supported so solidly by certain States at the United Nations Organisation meetings. I regret that our own British Labour Government was not among those who gave full support to your cause, but I feel sure that if you keep united in your struggle for elementary social and political rights and work with discipline and resolution, you will win."

From India League—London

"We send you our greetings and wish you early success against those forces which are resisting your just and right claim to freedom of movement and political equality. The India League in London will continue to work for

the cause and to give you its fullest support in your heroic struggle until victory is assured."

From Indi League—America

"The India League of America deeply appreciates the splendid work that is being done through your Passive Resistance Movement to uphold the honour and dignity of man and to secure justice for all. The method the Natal Congress has chosen to achieve this end, a gift from Mahatma Gandhi to the world, is as noble and inspiring as the objective itself."

From Congressman Emanuel Celler—U.S.A.

"Please convey to your delegates at the Second Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress my complete sympathy with their aims and aspirations. It is well that you continue in the spirit of your founder, the blessed and beloved Gandhi."

"There must be no second class citizen in any land. Where man arbitrarily defines man according to race, colour or creed and there-

by limits his participation in a free life, there mischief abides. There, there can be no peace. The arbitrary rulers feel the weight of their conscience, deny it though they will. In defiance or an effort to shut that conscience out they practice wider and wider abuses until the very fibre of progress is warped and rotten. This is not idle chatter. Wherever discrimination exists, as history has pointed out, there has been no prospering and no growth. We see it thus in the Southern States of the United States.

"But because of the awareness of groups like yourself, that evil is being recognised for what it is. It is a battlefield from which no man of goodwill can afford to retreat."

From Chief Albert J. Lutshuli

"I wish the Conference all success and the Indian people success in their struggle for freedom in South Africa."

Fraternal Greetings were also received from East Africa, Mauritius, Aden, Ababa, Jinja and other places.

would be to wait and see and to hope and pray that the new Government may be guided by wisdom to govern for the good of humanity and not for its exploitation.

Arrivals From India

The following were among the passengers who landed in Durban from the *ss Amra* which arrived from Bombay on Wednesday June 2: Dr and Mrs. N. P. Desai, Mr. and Mrs. V. R. Parekh and family and Miss Sita Gandhi, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Gandhi.

Mahatma Gandhi's Ashes

We have been informed by Mr. Devadas Gandhi from India that it had been decided by the Government of India after consultation with near relatives of Mahatma Gandhi, that no ashes were to be sent to foreign countries and that all the ashes were there fore interred with the exception of a small quantity which was collected by a few private individuals, who were closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi, for sentimental reasons and not for any demonstration purpose. Hence no ashes for such purpose have been sent to us here.

MUNICIPAL VOTE FOR BRITISHERS ONLY

THE Victoria Falls correspondent of the *Rhodesia Herald* in a message dated May 26 states:—Foreigners and Asiatics who enter the country and buy property but who do not become British subjects should not be given municipal votes, the Municipal Association of Southern Rhodesia decided here.

Bulawayo was instanced as a city already dangerously under the control of a foreign element—most of whom could not even speak English.

Only two delegates voted in favour of an amendment designed to give municipal votes to persons not British subjects.

The matter arose out of a report by the Association's Executive Committee that they had forwarded to the Minister of Internal Affairs a 1947 resolution asking for clarification of the municipal franchise position. A point of eligibility put forward by last year's conference was that no person who is not a British subject shall be entitled to be included in the voters' roll.

When Councillor C. Olley put this forward as a new proposition with the added provision that natives (who as payers of water and light bills might eventually claim admission to the municipal rolls) should be excluded, Councillor D. Macintyre, M.P., moved to delete the entire clause.

They were anxious to encourage people to bring their capital from overseas and help develop the country, he said, and a number of Greeks and Americans whose dollars were urgently needed had done so. Yet they were to be denied any say in the management of towns in which they had such a large stake.

Councillor Olive Robertson replied that while the Colony wanted the money, brains and initiative foreigners brought from overseas, they should also become British subjects. Mr Macintyre, she added, would soon find that if he went to America he would not have a vote unless he became an American citizen, no matter how much property he had there.

"In Bulawayo you occasionally hear English spoken," remarked Councillor Olley. "The place is alive with foreigners."

"You are glad to take their money, aren't you?" interjected Councillor Macintyre.

"I would rather not have it," retorted Councillor Olley.

In exchange for the rates paid by foreigners, the municipalities provided their properties with services. For payment of rates that they gave foreigners the right to run the country, Councillor Olley went on. If they let them they would be creating for themselves a serious minority problem.

Councillor Olley mentioned particularly foreigners who had come to the country since the war.

"They sat pretty during the war and made fortunes," he exclaimed.

He suggested that it was a known fact that foreigners and Asiatics concentrated on the polls while Europeans were inclined to be apathetic. As a result they could govern the polls.

Councillor Macintyre's amendment to include foreigners was lost and Councillor Olley's motion, including the provision to exclude natives, was carried.

THE NATIONALIST PARTY GOVERNMENT

NO OCCASION FOR INDIANS YET TO BE JUBILANT OR SORRY

IN response to a request by Reuter's office in London, Mr. Manilal Gandhi has made the following statement on the Nationalist Party Government that has come into power:

One cannot judge the Nationalist Party by its utterances during election time. Much will depend on the policy it pursues after having come into power. A declaration of its policy is still awaited.

One thing, however, can be said and that is that under the United Party Government under General Smuts the position of the non-Europeans, including the Indian community in South Africa, was deteriorating to such an alarming state that things were almost coming to a crisis, some of which were evidenced from the growing unrest among those people. The policy of the United Party could be described as one of slow poison. Lately it had introduced the policy of divide and rule, a policy hitherto little known to South Africa. India has tasted the bitter fruits of that policy and the rulers at the end found it unprofitable. South Africa would do well to profit by that lesson.

Frankness, however brutal, is better for the rulers and the ruled,

than deception. The Nationalist Party has been brutally frank in speech. If the same will be interpreted into action, the non-Europeans are definitely in for a bad time. But, at any rate, it is preferable to death by slow poison. We are, however, hopeful that the Nationalist Party Government, under Dr. Malan, will not be as ruthless as that Party has professed to be before coming into power and that its frankness will become its virtue which will bring peace and prosperity to the people of South Africa in general and that fundamental human rights, for which we are fighting, will be enjoyed by all alike.

The Communist bogey seems to be frightening everybody today. The Nationalist Party has made no secret of its hatred for the Communist. But so far no one has attempted to tackle the evils that have given birth to Communism. The Nationalist Party Government have the finest opportunity to do so and in win the blessings of humanity. In so far as the Indian community of South Africa is concerned it is yet too early for a either to be jubilant or sorry that the Nationalist-Africanist Coalition Party has come into power. The wise course

A RICH ELEMENT OF ALL THE EARTH

By RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

In 'Harijan' dated May 14

[Many and marvellous are the tributes that have been paid to Gandhi in foreign countries. There is no doubt that in a world yearning for peace all eyes were turned towards the one person who through long years of self-suffering had shown mankind the way to peace. The way is so hard and fraught with such sacrifice that it is difficult for persons without the faith and power of sacrifice which were Gandhi's crowning glory to follow that path. Nevertheless deep down in the hearts of all men, they will only be big enough to acknowledge it, does lie the belief that what he said was right. The following is a tribute from a Canadian who had never met him. So full of understanding is it that I feel it will bear publication in the *Harijan*. It was an address delivered by this friend at a Service held on the 15th February, 1948 in honour of Gandhi. — A. K.]

WE are met to pay honour to the memory of one whose passing is mourned by the whole world of men. I doubt whether, in our time, any death would be so lamented by so many people in so many lands. Certainly, no less would seem so grievous and intimate to so many lonely people throughout the earth.

I can think of only one other martyrdom that in a much smaller world sent so sharp a pang of sorrow through men's hearts. The seed of that sorrow also has multiplied a hundredfold. For it did not fall upon stony ground. It was the sorrowing for Abraham Lincoln.

We have all read in recent years of the moving pageant of the grief of India as the ashes of her son were cast into the Ganges on their way to the great ocean that cleanse the shores of all islands and all continents. And as I have read, I have recalled (as many others have recalled) that other martyrdom, and the last journey of Abraham Lincoln from New York to Springfield. For seven or eight hundred miles, by day and night, his fellow citizens (and by their side the invisible presence of millions of men of other races) stood in silent homage as the train bore him homeward to the triumph of his sacrifice.

It was recorded by one who wrote of his life and death that the people, the nameless masses, the mill — who had counted him great, warm and lovable gave to that funeral procession "the dignity and authority of a sun darkened by a vast migration of clouds." They gave it the colour and heave of the sea which is the molten of tears they lent to it the colour of the land, the earth which is the bread-giver of life and the quiet tomb of all mankind."

As my mind has turned to the

scenes where men wept for Gandhi by the banks of the sacred river, I have often thought of those words written of another man who also looked at the world with the eyes of pity.

Who can say how many men have been enabled and uplifted by the look in those eyes and the memory of that face?

Now I suppose that the features of Mahatma Gandhi, his spare ascetic form, his dress, the simple purity of his life, the power which seemed to be rooted in the sheer goodness of his character, were known wherever the family of mankind has set its dwelling place.

Although he lived in a far off land, he seemed in some strange way to be known to each one of us. He was a part of our world. I never knew the pleasure of seeing him or listening to him. I have read books about him, speeches that he has made and wisdom that he has written. I have talked to many men who knew him and had spoken with him.

They were sometimes in disagreement and impatient with his ways and thoughts. All were agreed, however, that he was a great man, that there was true wisdom in his humility, in his wonderful humour, in his abounding clarity, in his faith that there was a value immeasurable and eternal in the humblest of human lives.

I remember attending a conference in London during the war, at which General Smuts was speaking. Someone asked him a question which seemed to be unduly and unfairly critical of Mahatma Gandhi.

General Smuts, who long ago had many troublesome difficulties with the Indian patriot in his old South African days, gave the answer which so many men of of many races have given. "I consider Mr. Gandhi one of the greatest and noblest men in the world. He deserves the homage of us all."

There is surely not in modern history nor perhaps in all history, a more romantic and heartening story than the record of this man's pilgrimage.

Born into one of the more lowly Hindu castes, he became the senior leader of the Brahmins and the untouchables.

Serious knowledge along the hard road of poverty and sacrifice, he became one of the world's wisest and most eloquent philosophers. A little lawyer, without privilege and without influence, he became a prophet of the eternal truths that justify God's ways to man. A man of peace, he became

one of the greatest warriors for freedom. A man of another faith than ours, he was often hailed as the greatest Christian of his age. Displaced sometimes by many of his foolish men, for his colour and his creed, persecuted for his opinions, he stood forth in a world torn by hate as the apostle of charity and the great Evangelist of the love of brothers and the unity of mankind.

One lonely man in a seeming continent held by an alien power (and let us not forget how dependent that power was of past sins, how benevolent of intention, how honourably anxious and at its best to end an ancient injustice) on that continent he lived and died to see his people rising in the panoply of a new freedom and a new strength and bringing their precious gifts to the nations of the world.

And all this because in a world of goods and possessions and lusts and ambitions he dared to proclaim the things of the spirit, because in a welter of hate he preached and practised the power of love because in the encirclement of terror he knew no fear, because in the midst of the temptation of luxury and the enchantment of the flesh he remained simple in life and pure in heart. In the words of the old Greek philosopher, sublimity was the echo of his great soul.

Many great and good things have come from the East to cleanse men's hearts and to bless our common heritage—but no greater example than this fact, to be a hero in India a man need not be a general or a statesman, a man of power or of riches. Above all he must be a thinker, a philosopher, a teacher, a saint.

The way to the heart of India is the path of poverty and self-denial. Much has been written and much will be written of this man's apostolic succession in that noble tradition of India's sanctity.

The deities of his life seem to have been to end the discords of his own land, to raise the position and influence of the women of India, to improve the social and economic standard of the so-called Untouchables and thus of all Indians to bridge the differences between races and creeds (believing that truth is like a precious jewel—it has many facets) to teach to his countrymen and the world the folly and wickedness of violence, to restore the dignity of the labour of men's hands and to lead his motherland to the blessing of freedom and her rulers by gentle but firm persuasion to his willing surrender.

His life accomplished many of these things. His death will accomplish still more. That at least is the faith of his disciples and we are all (are we not?) in some degree his disciples.

Subject no doubt to many human frailties but overcoming them so often with his indomitable will, Gandhi sought to obtain the good as he saw it, strove for it, by a willing servitude to his conception of absolute truth, by a rare purity of life and living, by his insistence (sometimes criticised by us) on the stupidity of meeting violence with violence; by that humility which is also the conquering sign of true greatness and above all by the faith in God and the coming of His Kingdom.

"I have no desire for the perishable Kingdom of the earth," he said. "I am striving for the Kingdom of Salvation which is spiritual deliverance. For me the road to Salvation is through incessant toil in the service of my country and of humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives. I want to live at peace with both friend and foe. So my patriotism is for me a stage on my journey to the eternal freedom and understanding."

Gandhi was surely one of those who "ever in his right hand carried gentle peace as a sword, envious tongues." Perhaps that is why so many millions of humble men and women in a war-torn world revere his name and memory.

His daily prayer was:
Lead me from Untruth to Truth.
Lead me from Darkness to Light.
Lead me from Death to Immortality.

That prayer has been answered. One who knew him well said that "to be true, to be simple, to be pure and gentle of heart, to remain cheerful and contented in sorrow and in danger, to live life and not to fear death, to serve the spirits and not to be haunted by the 'spirits of the dead,' nothing better has ever been taught or lived since the world began."

It is right that we should honour the memory of such a man. And I hope it is fitting also that an ordinary Canadian like myself should offer a wreath of maple leaves in his immortal memory.

For Canada is also a land of many races, of many reconciliations, of many unities. We too love peace and seek for justice and goodwill between men and men and nation and nation. We have welcomed and do welcome well our Indian Mahatma Gandhi's great Motherland and the community of free peoples.

We join her citizens here and everywhere in the mourning for

her noblest son.

"He does not die who can bequeath

Some influence to the land he knows

Who dares persecute suffers woe

Love programmes with the will bedgewows;

He does not die but still remains

Substantiated with his darling plains."

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

London, May 8

FREE KASHMIR CELEBRATIONS

IN recent months we have come closer and closer together till there is now a spirit of comradeship which has been engendered by common dangers and common ideologies," said Sardar Patel in a message for the Free Kashmir celebrations last week place last week. "Our friendship is now settling down into enduring affection, and let us hope that in future the bond that will link Jammu and Kashmir State and its people with us will mature into permanent association in all spheres of life." "The task before my Government is to abolish all forms of exploitation and end distinctions of high and low," said Sheikh M. Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir. Referring to mid-air outages in Kashmir Pandit Nehru said at Srinagar. "Such gangsterism throws to the winds all the canons of civilisation." He called Delhi his "perpetual prison house." He recounted how, since last October, the raiders had devastated towns and villages, massacred the people, abducted women and looted property. In Kashmir, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, both Muslims and Hindus regarded Kashmir as their common motherland, and there was common unity.

Muslims Returning To India

"India's freedom, Pandit Nehru said, was based on equal rights and citizenship irrespective of creed, colour or religion. Mahatma Gandhi's foremost ideal was to create communal harmony. Pandit Nehru pointed out that many houses evacuated by Muslims in Delhi were kept vacant although non-Muslim refugees coming from different parts of Pakistan needed shelter. These houses were being given back to Muslims returning to

And although Gandhi is sub-marine with his darling plains, he is in very truth a part of the fabric of our freedom, a rich element of all the earth.

Salvation has always been born of agony. And everyday out of the East comes the light.

Let it be our hope and faith that the glow of the funeral pyre on the banks of the Great River may throughout the ages help to guide the feet of all men along the way of peace.

Delhi. Recently 50,000 Muslims had returned to Delhi, while a number of Muslims were still fleeing from Sind and other parts of Pakistan into India. This created formidable difficulties for resettlement. But whatever the difficulties the Government would stick to what they considered was a right decision. He had no doubt that India would become one of the greatest Powers because she believed in certain fundamental principles. Pakistan was following a different course. Although Pakistan claimed that its citizens had equal rights, republics found there did not conform to their claims. But circumstances would make Pakistan change that course.

U.N. Commission

"The U.N. Commission on Kashmir cannot act without our consent, nor can the U.N. threaten any decision on us. We have rejected the Security Council resolution. But I shall be happy if anybody comes here and sees things for himself," said Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir. "We have nothing to hide from anybody. Our hands are clean. In fact I had myself asked the Council to agree to come to Kashmir and see things for themselves. My invitation still stands." "Despite the pre-occupation of fighting the enemy," he went on to say, "the Jagirdari system has been abolished in pursuance of the New Kashmir Plan. Rs. 10 lakhs have been set apart for industrial co-operatives, and a large sum for the development of the young's motorisation is given to the artisan and craftsman in Delhi. Sixty thousand refugees are given free rations by the Government in Kashmir and Jammu, while many more who have lost their all, are staying with friends and relatives."

Battle Against Raiders

In the operation around Jammu (Kashmir) on the 10th and 11th, the raiders are estimated to have suffered in all, at least 100 killed and 200 wounded.

"We are determined that no forces will not come back until every raider is driven out of the beautiful land of Kashmir," said Sardar Baldev Singh, India's Defence Minister, at Bangalore. Those who knew the difficult terrain of this country would admit that it would be some time before this could be achieved.

the democratic form of the surrounding Provinces. He recalls that the corruption and inefficiency of the Muslim oligarchy had even compelled the British Raj to insist on the Nizam's receiving British officers to correct them. As for communal bitterness without any provocative utterances from the Indian Government, for over a year the leader of the Muslim League in Hyderabad had been indulging in the most violent abuse of the Hyderabad negotiators and terrorising the

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY CONFERENCE

The following two were among the resolutions passed by the second annual conference of the Natal Indian Congress which are referred in our leading article.

People's Charter For Votes For All

"This Conference pledges its wholehearted support to the People's Charter adopted by the First Transvaal-Orange Free State Peoples' Assembly for Votes for all. It notes with satisfaction the decision of the conference to convene a national assembly of the South African people for full franchise rights, and pledges to work for the sponsorship of the national assembly jointly by the National Executive of the South African Indian Congress, African National Congress and the A.P.O."

Full Democratic Rights

"This second Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress held at the Madrasa Hall, Durban, on the 29th, 30th and 31st May having given careful consideration to the present political situation in South Africa is convinced that the tide of reaction has reached new heights and that the state policy of continued denial of full democratic rights to the vast majority of non-European peoples in this country must cease. This Conference therefore demands the extension of the common roll franchise to all sections of the South African population and reiterates its rejection of the communal franchise for Indians embodied in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, as a sham and mockery of democratic government."

"This conference therefore calls upon the Indian people to boycott any attempt by the Government to prepare a communal voters roll and calls upon the Indian people together with other sections of the non-European people and other progressive sections of the South African people to campaign vigorously for full franchise and democracy for all."

A British View

Mr. John G. ... in a letter to the "Spectator" (London), challenges the statement that the dynasty of the Nizam "has ruled Hyderabad since Muslims conquered Deccan 700 years ago." He refers to the fact that the Nizam was unanimously elected as ruler by the Deccan Muslims in 1724. He says that the British Government of India cannot tolerate an independent sovereign State in India. He says that the British Government of India cannot tolerate an independent sovereign State in India. He says that the British Government of India cannot tolerate an independent sovereign State in India.

Hindu population—and all this without rebuke or check by the Nizam. "There ought to be no doubt about the side to which sympathy of the British public should be given. There can be no peace until the out-moded Government of the Nizam, excluding the vast Hindu majority from all office and power, is reformed."

Hyderabad On The War Path

Sardar Baldev Singh, India's Defence Minister, said at Poona that they either wanted to secede into Hyderabad, or did they ask to convert the Nizam

into accession to the Indian Union. But they did not want to recognise the sovereign will of the people and desired that, just as in Kashmir, the will of the people in Hyderabad should be ascertained. A free India, he added, could not for long be a silent witness to any infringement of its borders.

The Nizam has declined an invitation extended to him by the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, to visit Delhi. In the meanwhile, reports of a large number of incidents on the eastern border of Nizam's territory, which is an island in the Osmanabad District in the Nizam's territory, continue to be received, says a Bombay Government communiqué, which gives details of several such incidents. Similar incidents are reported by the Madras Government also. According to latest reports from Hyderabad, it is clear that the State is now organised on a war footing, says the New Delhi special representative of the "Hindustan Times".

India And Pakistan

About 5,00,000 Hindus and Sikhs still remain in Sind. A large number of them are awaiting evacuation. Only 1,00,000 refugees reached India in April, as against over one lakh in March. Various relief camps have been placed by the Pakistan authorities. Evacuation from the N.W.F.P. is virtually complete, barring a few pockets. Mass evacuation from Bawalpur by special trains is now complete. Efforts are being made to evacuate the Harijans in the State who, it is reported, are not allowed to leave. In all 41 lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs have left their homes in West Punjab and crossed over to the Indian Dominion. Talks between India and Pakistan have ended in virtual agreement for a common approach on the release of sterling balances from His Majesty's Government in Britain for the second half of this year.

The route of world peace would be greatly advanced, said Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan at Karachi, if the present relations between the neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan underwent a radical improvement and became most cordial and friendly. He was very sanguine of an early achievement of such relations, because recently complete understanding between them in respect of some controversial matters had been reached, while there was great hope of a satisfactory solution of several other matters in respect of which negotiations had been going on.

C.R.'s Farewell Message

Speaking at Jalpaiguri (West Bengal) Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, said:

"As you all know, I am likely to go away from Bengal very soon, and I appeal to you all to remember my advice that the more united we maintain, the happier we will be. Once upon a time we did not quarrel with one another though we were Hindus and Muslims. Recent events, however, seem to have made a distinction and created an impression that a Hindu and a Muslim are different kinds of men. 'Believe me that soon we will realise that Hindus and Muslims are made of the same flesh and blood. And we need not quarrel with one another. What we want are roads, hospitals, schools, cinemas, parks, music and dance and play—all these are common for either Hindus or Muslims. I want to tell all of you before I go away from Bengal, that in a few years' time there will be no enmity between the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal, and there will be no difference whatever.'"

*Brightens
the home*



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Applications, stating age, present position, qualifications and experience and accompanied by copies of not more than three recent testimonials should reach the City Medical Officer of Health, Gale Street, Durban, not later than 22 noon on Sunday, 4th June, 1948.

Personal canvassing for appointment is prohibited, and proof thereof will disqualify a candidate vide Council's Standing Order No. 1.

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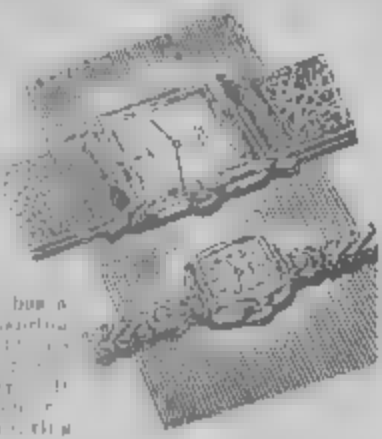
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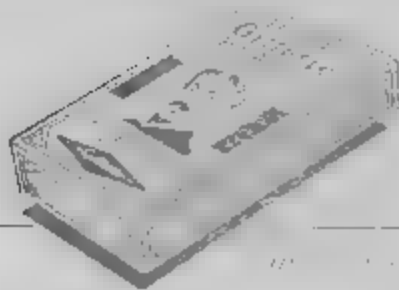
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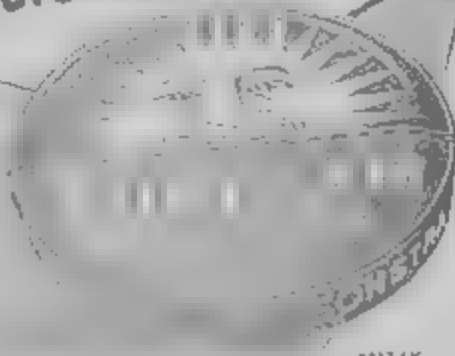
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FRIDAY, 17th JUNE, 1948

The New Government's Policy

THE statement of policy of the new Government is under the leadership of Dr. D. F. Malan broadcast on Friday, June 4, in no way differs from that of its predecessor. Dr. Malan has been very guarded in his statement and no one can take exception to what he said excepting in one instance to which we shall refer later.

His interpretation of the term "national" we have no doubt, is acceptable to all, when it means the embracing all sections of the South African population. The word "national" denotes also says Dr. Malan, that we shall always place the interests of South Africa before that of any other country in the world. There is nothing wrong in that. No country works for the interests of another at the risk of jeopardising its own. But it will certainly act in a manner that will serve the interests of all alike. Nor does Dr. Malan's nationalism rule out the cherishing of neighbourly feeling by South Africa and of the possibility of going out to the aid of another country or countries if such an act in the long run would serve the interests of South Africa itself. We do not read in Dr. Malan's statement that his Government stands for a narrow bigotted nationalism which

is out-moded and has no place on the face of the earth. That is why Dr. Malan while asserting that his Government will serve South Africa and its people with undivided loyalty and devotion has stated emphatically that "we do not in any way subscribe to a policy of isolationism."

We also agree with Dr. Malan that no country would brook external interference in its domestic affairs or unimpeding with its autonomous rights. But if autonomous rights mean a licence to deny any section of the human race, particularly when that section has no voice in the Government of the country, elementary human rights and if such acts are to be called "domestic affairs," then there is bound to be a clash and the interference of the civilised world, which to-day happens to be embodied in the United Nations Organisation. Here we must quote Dr. Malan's words since they have a direct bearing with India and Indians in South Africa.

"It will be generally conceded" says Dr. Malan, "that, as a result of the recent accession to the Commonwealth of new members with rights and privileges on the existing basis, the danger of interference can not be regarded as imaginary, especially if South Africa's experience at Lake Success are

borne in mind. This inevitably must raise the question whether the generally desired friendly co-operation would not more effectively be achieved by means of separate contacts between the individual members of the Commonwealth, rather than through discussions at joint and inclusive conferences."

We entirely agree with Dr. Malan's suggestion and submit that it was with that view that when the South African Indian question was raised at the United Nations Organisation, that Assembly decided to leave the question to be amicably settled between South Africa and India, which can only be done at a round table conference. We are pleased to note that Dr. Malan's statement does not rule out the possibility of such a conference being called.

We now come to the point in Dr. Malan's statement to which we take exception. He has singled out the non-Europeans as a class of "untouchables," whose interests the Government will serve "to the best of its ability." This is not a happy state of affairs for the non-Europeans. The time has surely come when the South African nation should be spoken of as one including all sections of the population, whose common interests is the duty of the Government to serve. The days are passed when the non-Europeans will brook being

continually treated as "untouchables." India committed that blunder but that does not justify South Africa repeating it. The suppression of the natural rights of any people is bad enough and does not pay in the long run. Mankind has learnt that lesson at a very heavy cost. When such suppression is based on race, colour or creed it is worse and will bring untold misery to both the perpetrators and to the victims of the crime.

The day is bound to come when all racial barriers must and will disappear. If they are not removed with a willing understanding they will be forcibly removed. None can stay the hand of Nature.

It is refreshing to note the following words of Dr. Malan.

"Upon the assumption of our great task we also wish to acknowledge our utter dependence on the guidance and blessing of the Almighty. In the South African Constitution the Sovereignty of God in the destiny of our country is specially acknowledged, and in exercising our governmental functions we wish to act in conformity with that confession."

God will always be on the side of what is good, right and just. May He guide us all—the rulers and the ruled—to loyally serve Him in serving Him we shall be serving humanity.

DR. MALAN MAKES FIRST BROADCAST TO NATION

DR. MALAN, the Prime Minister, made his first broadcast to the nation on Friday night, June 1. He spoke in Afrikaans and then in English.

This was one of the first public speeches in the English language in which he relinquished the portfolio of the Interior 15 years ago.

Dr. Malan said: "The new Government constituted as a result of the recent General Election, to-day assumed office. As head of that Government I wish, in all modesty, to avail myself of this opportunity to extend our sincere greetings to all sections of the South African people."

As the then opposition, we went to the polls in order to obtain from the nation a mandate more specifically in regard to certain outstanding problems. That mandate has been entrusted to us, and we intend fulfilling the task imposed upon us to the best of our ability.

To that end we need the full confidence and support not only of those who, by voting for us, called us to this responsible and onerous task, but also of all other well-disposed citizens who wish to contribute to the successful implementation of the accepted policy. That is what we ask of you now.

As is generally known, the term "national" appropriately describes the character and general policy of this Government.

In our own minds that word has no exclusive meaning. We use it in an inclusive sense to embrace all sections of the South African population whose welfare and happiness, and mutual friendship and co-operation, we sincerely wish to promote.

Distinctive S.A. Nation

On the other hand, that word also denotes that in this country of ours there is already in existence a real and distinctive South African nation, that we wish to encourage in all sections that consciousness of our own nationhood and that sentiment of national pride upon which alone we can build up a united nation on a common national foundation; and, hence, that we shall always place the interests of South Africa before that of any other country in the world, however firm the bonds of our friendship with that country or countries and however close our collaboration with them for common purposes may be.

Our Government will serve our own South Africa and its people with undivided loyalty and devotion.

We unreservedly recognise our relationship to the community

in general. We do not, therefore, in any way subscribe to a policy of isolationism.

No UNO Interference

In regard to our membership of the United Nations Organisation, however, we wish to emphasise that we, in company with our predecessors in office, accepted on the clear understanding that there was to be neither external interference in our domestic affairs nor any tampering with our autonomous rights.

On that foundation we shall continue to build, and consequently we shall steadfastly refuse to allow any country or power or organisation to determine our destinies—that being a right which we reserve to ourselves alone as a free and independent nation.

We also readily acknowledge the uniquely friendly relations existing between South Africa and the United Kingdom and other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is the desire of our Government that these friendly relations shall be continued.

We must, however, emphasise that co-operation for common purposes will be possible only if such co-operation does not in any way detract from our status and freedom of action as a sovereign independent state, and, further, only if through such consultations no attempt is made by any external agency to interfere in our domestic affairs.

It will be generally conceded that, as a result of the recent accession to the Commonwealth of new members with rights and privileges on the existing basis, the danger of interference cannot be regarded as imaginary, especially if South Africa's experiences at Lake Success are borne in mind.

This inevitably must raise the question whether the generally desired friendly co-operation would not more effectively be achieved by means of separate contacts between the individual members of the Commonwealth, rather than through discussions at joint and inclusive conferences.

In regard to our internal relations, we rejoice in the fact that such a large proportion of our English-speaking population stood by their Afrikaans-speaking countrymen in supporting our declared policy in the recent General Election.

Guarantee Of Equal Rights

They refused to follow the example of others who distorted our assurances and our given word

of honour, namely, that we guarantee the proper observance of the principle of equal rights, always accepted by us in theory and practice and upon which alone national unity can be built up in South Africa.

The support received from English-speaking South Africans created a new common ground between the two main European races which, if further extended and built upon, will lead to nothing less than the total elimination of the so-called racial question from the political life of South Africa.

UNION'S NEW CABINET

THE following is the personnel of the new Cabinet, formed by Dr. D. F. Malan:

Dr. D. F. Malan, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs

Mr. N. C. Havenga, Minister of Finance

Dr. E. G. Jansen, Minister of Native Affairs

Mr. J. G. Strydom, Minister of Lands

Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice

Mr. P. O. Sauer, Minister of Transport

Dr. A. J. Stals, Minister of Health, Education and Social Welfare

Mr. E. H. Louw, Minister of Economic Development and Mines

Dr. T. E. Douglas, Minister of the Interior and Posts and Telegraphs

Mr. S. P. Le Roux, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry

Mr. F. C. Erasmus, Minister of Defence

Mr. B. J. Schoeman, Minister of Labour and Public Works

Unfortunately, that development had not yet reached that stage which would have made it possible to form a joint Cabinet consisting of both English speaking and Afrikaans-speaking members.

On the other hand, however, it certainly is a significant and welcome fact that to-day, for the first time since Union, a Government could be formed composed of members of whom everyone is fully bilingual and, therefore, able to serve both sections of the population in their own language.

Non-European Policy

The Government will also serve the interests of the non-European population to the best of its ability.

"Apartheid" is not the caricature it has so often been represented to be. On the contrary, for the

non-European it means a large measure of independence through the growth of their self-reliance and self-respect and at the same time the creation of greater opportunities for free development in conformity with their own character and capacity.

For the Europeans, again, it means a new sense of security, resulting from the safeguarding of their own identity and future. And for both races it means peaceful mutual relations and co-operation for their common weal. The Government will, with fixed determination, endeavour to achieve the realisation of this felicitous state of affairs.

Upon the assumption of our great task we also wish to acknowledge our utter dependence of the guidance and blessing of the Almighty. In the South African Constitution the Sovereignty of God in the destiny of our country is specially acknowledged, and in exercising our Governmental functions we wish to act in conformity with this confession.

We acknowledge the fundamental value of the Christian faith and the indispensability of the Church with its purifying and constructive influence in our national life.

It is the desire of our Government to seek co-operation with the Church in all its sub-divisions in all matters of common concern. At this important juncture especially, but also for the future, we wish to rely on the friendly interest of the Church and respectfully to ask for their intercessory prayers.

Congress Seeks Prime Minister's Interview

The Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses have sent a joint letter to the private secretary of the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, asking whether Dr. Malan will agree to meet a joint delegation of the two Congresses. They want to discuss "the difficulties facing the Indian community with particular reference to the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946." The letter adds: "We are directed by our respective executive committees to communicate to you the desire of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, representing the Indian people of the two Provinces, to meet the Prime Minister."

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

BY DR. SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, M.A. D.Litt., D.Sc., LL.D.
In The 'Modern Review'

THE world at large is, at the present moment, divided by two conflicting sets of ideologies, viz., Democracy and Communism, but very few people owing allegiance to each political creed really understand what they stand for. The protagonists of communism profess to be democrats though the democrats repudiate this claim. The question is whether there is any basic common principle between the two sets of political thought, or if there is no meeting ground, how far they are apart, and how far their distance remains in the various countries where the two doctrines are contending for mastery.

Political theorists tell us that the term 'democracy' of today is very different to the democracy of the Victorian Age, when democracy was as much abhorred by the Liberals, Radicals and the Whigs as communism is abhorred by the democrats today. In the mid-Victorian age, democracy was understood to mean 'mobocracy'; something akin to what communism is today. This extreme sense of democracy became modified as time went on, and even the old die-hard Tory began to recognise democracy as the basic principle underlying his political creed. In the last century, political power, centred in the feudal lords, began slowly and imperceptibly to gravitate downwards to the middle class and through them to the lower middle class, but the working classes at large were absolutely excluded from all power, and the radicals of the day could never think of sharing their power with the man-in-the-street. As late as 1866, Mr. Gladstone, in introducing a bill for the enfranchisement of the town worker vehemently refused the suggestion of Tory and Liberal critics that it was a democratic measure.

In later years, however, as the labourers became more politically conscious and organised, they formed their own unions and through them, demanded a share of Government. The great psychological revolution of 1848 on the continent of Europe has led the way. The French Revolution of 1789 was the pioneer of this later revolution on the continent, and this revolution in its turn awakened the tiller of the soil and worker in the factory to something outside his own narrow sphere of toil and work, the result being that the conception of democracy has been evolving on the continent of Europe from the bottom. In England, the people of which

have always followed their insular policy of 'wait and see,' the development of democratic conception has descended from the top of feudalism to the wider circle of ruling classes who have for a century past retained all real power and it has only gradually and slowly filtered down to the common man. A wide generality of the evolution of democracy has thus been as to opposite and complex directions on the main continent of Europe and in the insular domain of England with the result that while on the continent, the hegemony of the church was destroyed with the fall of the Basmile, in England the nominal head of the State is still Defender of Faith, and as that extent the religious disability of persons standing outside the Anglican Church still continued with the result that the Lord Chancellor of England, Head of the British Judiciary, cannot be a member of the Catholic Church. But this apart, the filtering process has permeated the working classes, who have taken their cue from the continual expansion of democracy, and the conquest of the labour movement in England has resulted in the dethronement of the ruling classes mainly represented in the Conservative Party and their arch-leader Mr. Winston Churchill, who is still struggling for the apotheosis of his narrow conception of democracy by declaring an ethical war upon communism in which the Labour Party have joined hands.

The fact is that the true conception of democracy versus communism has not yet dawned upon the publicists and political thinkers of Great Britain to the extent they are realised on the continent of Europe and America. To a political thinker, a clear conception of the two ideals would betray the weaknesses of each system of government. Turning first to the progressive forces as described by the Soviet Union apostles of communism, who proclaim that their ideological structure in Eastern Europe and Russia have brought about the apotheosis of human rights and human progress and with it human happiness, it must be remembered that the Russian Revolution of 1917 proceed upon the academic conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat or working classes. Karl Marx (1818-1883), the author of *Das Kapital*, was a thinker and not a practical worker. He minimised if not ignored the mass considerations of sentient life including

man which point to individualism and self-advancement as creative of action, the result being that the doctrine of communism, which denies every man his right to his private property acquired by his own endeavour and labour, comes in conflict with the actiology of communism. Its history for the last thirty years has brought to the apex the two conflicting in centuries of life, namely, the communist doctrine of denial of all right of private property and its free disposal denounced as capitalism and the effect of its working on human society.

The Bolshevik started their revolution by eliminating all suppluses of intellectual and inherited wealth which they denounced as Bourgeois, but when they had created an order out of their new chaos they had to appoint a few people to carry out the doctrine which imbued the millions of communists in Russia. These few owed their allegiance to one man who became the totalitarian dictator of the new doctrine and to this extent, his powers and position were akin to those of the fascist leader of Germany. The totalitarian chief could not manage millions of his countrymen in their far-flung activities and he had to apportion his power to a class of workers who became twentieth-century edition of the feudal lords of the damned order of Capitalism and Bourgeoisism. They professed to work for the people, but their innate instinct of self-love, self-preservation and self-aggrandisement could not and did not die out with the result that they began to amass property and transfer it unobserved by the watchful proletariat, the result being the creation of a ruling class in the Bolshevik regime akin to the ruling classes in America and on the continent of Western Europe. The difference between the two systems was essentially that of direct and indirect acquisition of property and its disposal. The one was open, the other was secret, but the essential difference between the two continued with the result that the Bolshevik doctrine had to be modified and attenuated; the scheme of private property has begun to be recognised though grudgingly but necessarily as was to be expected.

As communism is a new doctrine and as it is the rapist the old policy has to be reconciled with the new and the actual difference between democracy and communism though still emphasised and constantly preached are being narrowed down by a process of natural human evolution with the result that the fastenings of the two are denaturing. Both are a mixture of idealism and practicality, inconsistently working on the way of moderating the

excesses of both extreme systems of capitalism and communism. The time will soon come when the two systems would so blend as to become indistinguishable, except to the theorist who would like Karl Marx remain apart from human psychology and action.

The advent of the Labour Party in England and in some of the Commonwealths, and its reaction throughout the world, is eradicating some of the evils of plutocratic monopolies. Even in a country as advanced as America, a struggle is proceeding between monopolies and popular rights. The words democracy and communism have become pass words for the general public who neither appreciate nor even understand the true complexities of human life when it is brought face to face with the practical realm of human action. In India, the political apogee of nationalization of private economy has become confused, though if a judicial view be taken of nationalization, it would introduce the evils of the Marxian doctrine of communism.

Servants of the State cannot be expected to work for their wages, when they have means of aggrandising themselves by interpretable corruption and indolence. There is no spur of self-advancement in proceeding to carry out the national purpose of national good. A short analysis of any of the nationalized and privately owned ventures would clear up the main factor which is a fulcrum of human action.

Human society has always been imperfect and would continue to so remain till we reach the paradise of human perfection. There is a far cry in the present century and though the apostle of nationalization, communism and democracy all concentrate their eye on such an apotheosis they would never reach the ideal goal of human happiness, such happiness as we dream of, but such happiness is impossible in human societies in which the brain power is so unevenly divided and most of which are wantonly dissipated.

While there is a venomous inter-war proceeding between democracy and communism, the leaders of the two are re-shaping their own constitutions to create new factors for popular esteem the fact being that while the West is fighting for democracy, democracy is still amorphous and re-shaping itself, and the same is equally true of communism. The fact is that neither side is quite sure of the ground upon which it treads,

M. CAMPBELL JOHNSON, Press Attache to the Governor-General of India, paid a visit to Hyderabad to deliver a letter from Lord Mountbatten to the Nizam. The letter, says an A.P.I. report, is believed to be in continuation of the personal efforts that Lord Mountbatten has been making to find a satisfactory solution to the Hyderabad problem before he lays down the reins of office.

Attacks on the Indian borders by Razakars and the Nizam's police continue unabated. *Candidus*, writing to the *Times of India* of May 31, says: "Besides an increase in the tempo of internal terrorism there has in the past few days been an alarming frequency of raids reported on Indian Union territory by Razakars and the State police, resulting in loss of life and property amongst Indian citizens inhabiting the border districts. Reports from Delhi show that the Government of India is not unaware of the growing menace. A semi-official observation in Delhi says that over 200 incidents of systematic gangsterism have been listed so far, excluding the recent attacks near Chhotapur and in the Telangana areas. 'Responsible opinion in India,' *Candidus* goes on to say, 'fully realises the implications of action against Hyderabad, and is not oblivious to its internal consequences and its effect on Indo-Pakistan and Hindu-Muslim relations in India. Nevertheless there is growing evidence of impatience and restlessness over their Government's inaction. People in Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces are at a loss to understand why nothing is being done, beyond defence measures, to put an end to border atrocities perpetrated by Razakars apparently aided and abetted by the Nizam's Government. India's patience is nearly exhausted.' *Candidus* calls the Government of India's attitude towards Hyderabad as one of inexplicable tolerance.

Situation Surveyed

An A.P.I. report from New Delhi, surveying the situation, speaks of grave concern in authoritative quarters at the alarming increase in border incidents committed by the Razakars of the Hyderabad State. The Razakars, whose number was about 30,000 a few months ago, and has now risen to one lakh, is said to have decided upon the following plan of action. The moment the Nizam agrees to a democratisation of the administration, the Razakars, who are now the sheet anchor of the Government, would set up a

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM THE OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Baroda, May 17.

HYDERABAD—MENACE TO PEACE

parallel Government. This Government would exterminate all State Congressmen and Communists, liquidate non-Muslim personnel in the State service who might be suspected of treachery, and threaten dire consequences for the pro-Union element in the State.

The Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen (the parent body of the Razakars) controls seven daily journals, besides a number of weeklies which all enjoy complete freedom in propagating a violent campaign against the Hindu community and the Dominion Government. Razakars get as much patrol as they require. The Razakars are generally recruited to the Army, the police and the civic guards. No criticism of the Razakars is permitted within the State, and journals which venture to condemn them are put under a pre-censorship order. Razakars and Communists have now joined hands against the Indian Dominion and the State Congress. Syed Khan Rezaei said that responsible government could not be established in Hyderabad State.

Gandhiji's Martyrdom Bearing Fruit

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, an intimate associate of Gandhiji, stayed for seven days in Ajmer in connection with the Muslim 'Urs' of Kwaja Saheb which passed off quite peacefully. His visit had a very healthy effect on inter-communal relations in Ajmer, and Hindus and Muslims mixed freely in the the prayer gathering and at the Dargah. About 5,000 pilgrims came to the Urs from different parts of the country. The arrangements made by the Government were excellent. Vinoba participated freely in the religious ceremonies at the Dargah, and Muslims showered their affection on him. Common prayers were held at the Dargah in the evenings, where the Gita was recited. Muslims always heard him with great attention. "All this is very good," said Acharya Vinoba on the last day. "By the grace of God there is a change in the atmosphere these days, and Bapu's martyrdom is bearing fruit. It is now the duty of all to maintain this cordial atmosphere. The message of non-violence preached by Gandhiji is really the message of India of which Gandhiji is only a vehicle.

In our country, inhabited by different communities, freedom and society can endure only on non-violence. Our country will progress only if the power of inflicting punishment is left solely to the Government. If people usurp this power and utilise it against one another, there can be no stable Government in the country. India never attacked any foreign country, but she gave shelter to all who came here. Being true to such a broad-based culture, we must realise our great responsibility. I want Ajmer to set an example in maintaining peace and synthesizing all cultures."

Congress Vs. Socialists

The Congress has captured, 2,899 seats out of 3,752 seats in the recent District Board elections in the United Provinces. The Socialists (who recently seceded from the Congress) have got only 61 seats. Shri Govind Shai Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier, said that hardly 5 per cent of the votes secured by Socialists were on the basis of the programme of the Socialist Party. They were gained through cast manoeuvres and malicious lies against the Congress Ministry. "Socialists have received a pretty good set-back," said Shri Sahai, "and it will take a long time before the public will forget the tactics they adopted."

Shri Shrikrishna Sinha, Premier of Bihar, asked the Socialists to desist from their policy of obstruction and destruction in the interests of the country as a whole. The Bihar Premier said he was as much a Socialist as anybody. He could justly claim to be so, as it was his Ministry which had taken the lead in abolishing the Zamindari system to usher in a new life for the peasantry. But the Socialists had committed a great blunder by breaking away from the Congress. The policy of obstructive and destructive criticism that they had adopted was doing incalculable harm to the country. Forces of evil had been let loose. The forces had to be checked in the interests of order and progress. If denunciations, unwarranted strikes and general lawlessness continued, Shri Sinha said, they would have to take stern measures to control the situation.

'Bloodless Revolution'

This is how the *Times of India* describes the rapid change that has taken place in the States. "Dazzled by current kaleidoscopic changes," the paper says, "the present generation may not adequately appreciate the immensity of this achievement. Yet, all being otherwise well, the future historian will not fail to give pride of place to the metamorphosis brought about by Sardar Patel's Ministry, the thorough reconstruction of an edifice which had stood intact for two hundred years, propped up by British power." The States numbered about six hundred and covered a third of the territory of undivided India. Kathiawad alone, with an area of but 20,000 sq. miles, contained within itself no fewer than 499 states and estates. "Almost the first task of free India," says the *Times of India*, "was to even up the country, demolish countless petty barriers, raise the political stature of States' subjects, group them into self-sufficient units or tack them to advanced neighbours, and enable them to swim with currents of freedom and progress. This has been accomplished in a flattering measure. A bloodless revolution has taken place. The six hundred odd States have been reduced to twenty-five units—six Unions, ten large States, and a few smaller ones which are bound sooner or later to be absorbed in adjoining States or provinces. All this has been achieved in the remarkably short space of six months. The process of unification has already had its corollary in the attempt to co-ordinate all-India legislation by empowering the Union legislature to make laws for States in respect of all the federal and concurrent subjects. Power having passed from the rulers to the people, it is inevitable that the States should seek in an increasing degree to share the benefits of the Union administration."

National Songs In Theatres

The Government of Bombay have instructed proprietors of cinema houses in the province to keep the doors of cinema houses closed while any of the national songs played at the end of the cinema shows are being played. "This has been done," says a Press Note, "as it has come to the notice of the Government that some members of the audience walk out of the theatre while the national song is still in progress."

PASSIVE RESISTANCE SUSPENDED

THE following statement has been issued by the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses which met at Johannesburg on June 2:

The Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses assembled in Johannesburg, has given careful consideration to the Passive Resistance struggle of the Indian people in relation to the changed political situation. The Joint Council recognises that the political situation has been profoundly affected by the result of the general election from which the country has just emerged. A new Government has been returned to power. This new Government has not yet defined its policy on the Indian question. The new Government that has been returned in the election is the Government of the National Party. The Joint Council is aware that the National Party is the party believing in the policy of Apartheid, which policy is repugnant to the Indian people.

Under the leadership of the Joint Council, the South African Indian people have for the past two years carried on a resistance struggle. This struggle was launched in opposition to the enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, which was the culmination of a series of anti-Indian laws enacted by the Smuts Government, aimed at the further segregation of the Indian people. The Joint Council is determined to continue its opposition against injustice and oppression and re-assert its desire to co-operate with

all other freedom-loving sections of the South African population.

The Joint Council has clearly rejected the policy of racial segregation and political discrimination of the Indian people and has consistently demanded from the Smuts Government the inalienable right of the Indian people to enjoy full and free citizenship in the land of their birth and adoption. To this policy, the Indian community is firmly pledged.

Believing in the code of passive resistance Satyagraha the Joint Council feels that it is an inherent duty to give a clear lead and guidance to the Indian people in the present changed political situation. It is of the opinion that the Indian people should receive a clear pronouncement from the new Government headed by Dr. D. F. Malan, on its policy towards the Indian people, and in order to do so it considers it necessary that a delegation from the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses should have an interview with the new Government forthwith for the purpose of discussing ways and means to solve the existing deadlock.

The Joint Council following the tenets of Satyagraha as enunciated by the late Mahatma Gandhi considers it necessary that the discussion with the new Government should be held in an atmosphere removed from any strained conditions and without prejudice and that to achieve this the Joint Council after giving the matter its most weighty and solemn consideration, has decided to suspend the passive resistance campaign pending the interview.

public to the court during the trial will be regulated by permits.

Jinnah's Message To 'C.R.'

The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, sent the following telegram to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal:—"My warm congratulations on your appointment as Governor-General of the Indian Dominion. Under your guidance I hope will come real friendship between the two Dominions. It is no less essential to India than to Pakistan." Mr. Rajagopalachari replies:—"My grateful thanks for your message. I have no doubt in my mind about the essentiality of the utmost friendship and mutual help between India and Pakistan. I am glad you insist on it in such clear terms. Real understanding will come out of mutual trust and co-operation. India and Pakistan each need the other absolutely. Your message has heartened me."

India Will Expel All Raiders to Kashmir

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, told a public meeting in New Delhi that India had no intention of withdrawing from Kashmir without achieving her aim of expelling all the raiders in that territory. He said he had substantial proof to show that Pakistan was using its army and other resources against India in Kashmir. Referring to Hyderabad, the Prime Minister said that in his opinion Hyderabad neither could nor should leave India. Geographically it was so situated that it could not join any other country and economically it was very much dependent upon India. Except in Hyderabad people all over India enjoyed responsible government, and it was impossible for Hyderabad to stand against the tide of the times and continue its medieval feudal system of government.

Tolerance And Brotherhood

Lord Rowallan, Chief Scout of the British Empire, who is in New York was to attend a meeting of the Boy Scouts of America, paid a tribute to the Scouts of India and Pakistan for their work during the disturbances following partition. Lord Rowallan said: "what the world needs today is tolerance and brotherhood," and he gave as an example the close cooperation which existed between the Boy Scouts of India and Pakistan during the communal disturbances there. "The Hindus and the Muslims worked together without the slightest friction."

Lord Rowallan said that the spirit as shown by these Scouts was of the highest tradition in world brotherhood. "I am looking forward to visiting both India and Pakistan in September and October of next year when I will tout both Dominions and hope to pay personal tribute to these wonderful lands."

Arrivals From India

Among the passengers who alighted from the "Kampala" which arrived in Durban from Bombay on Wednesday were Mr. M. I. Paruk, Mr. Ebrahim Motala and Sulaiman Randeria, who had been on Haj pilgrimage, and Mrs. C. J. Mehta with her three children and Mrs. P. P. Desai with her two children and Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Joshi.

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Things In General

Godse's Trial

THE trial of Nathuram Vinayak Godse, alleged assassin of Mahatma Gandhi, and eight others, including Mr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, also alleged to be implicated in the crime, is being held in the Red Fort, Delhi.

The charges against the accused include conspiracy, murder and offences under the Arms Act.

A notification in the "Gazette of India Extraordinary" dated May 15, 1948, says that Mr. Ajma Chhabra, J. C. S., Judge, Special Court, Delhi, is to try the case.

Besides N. V. Godse and Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the accused include Narayan Dattatraya Apte, Vishnu Ramkrishna Karkare, Digambar Ramchandra Badge, Madhusut N. Kashmirilal Pab-

wa, Shankar N. Kistayya, Gopal Vinayak Godse and Dattatraya Sadashiv Parchure.

The accused are charged with offences punishable under Section 120 (B) I.P.C., read with the Section 302 I.P.C., and Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 of the Explosive Substances Act IV of 1908 and Sections 19 (D) and 19 (F) of the Indian Arms Act XI of 1878 and under Section 3, 1 (B) and 5 of the Explosive Substances Act VI of 1908 read with Section 6 of the Explosive Substances Act of 1908 and Section 109 and 113 I.P.C., and under Sections 19 (D) and 19 (F) of the Indian Arms Act XI of 1878, read with Sections 109 and 114 I.P.C., and under Section 113 I.P.C., and under Section 302, read with Sections 109 and 114 I.P.C.

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|---------------------------|---|----|------------------------------|----|
| संविम कथा गाथाओं | १ | १ | मायावाद समाधान | १ |
| गाथी कीना भातःकाय | १ | २ | नगर गेतागाय (हमस्यन्ताउ) | १ |
| नम भयेत नहि भयेत | १ | ३ | समावसाद-पुनोपाद | १ |
| भेदोमी भाव के मां सात | १ | ४ | हवारी गामेतीक समस्यमें | १२ |
| लठग्यबाती दुनिया | १ | ५ | संगे स्थानी (प. नेहदकः वहीक) | १७ |
| हमारी भावकी दहानी | १ | ६ | मायी विचार सिरन | २ |
| भागे वही | १ | ७ | बनोंके लीये | |
| हाथुची (गामीय) की कूट गती | १ | ८ | पदांका ११ | |
| विद्यकी (बभूलीय) | १ | ९ | चन्द्र गुप्त | |
| पगल | १ | १० | होभा कहर (सकी भात) | १ |
| सालोक भाग पखदुर | १ | ११ | समीहतीक दहानीय | |
| दुर्ग दुनिया | १ | १२ | शिक्षाती | |
| प्रेमके कथाया | १ | १३ | असोक | |
| नयनाके वषण | १ | १४ | दवा समकी कहानीया | १ |
| सगी नृपतीकी कहानी | १ | १५ | कृष्ण भयमीत (समावसाद) कदम | |
| मायावाद पुनोपाद | १ | १६ | (पार्थकी कहानीया) | १ |

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન.

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના દરને
સને ૧૯૦૭માં સ્થાપાયું.

પરત્ર ૪૬ મું—અંક ૨૩

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૧ જુન, ૧૯૪૮.

કુલ નક્ક ૬ પૈની

"ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન"

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૧ જુન, ૧૯૪૮

નવી સરકારની નીતી

ડૉ. ડી. એચ. મલ્હાનના નેતૃત્વ હેઠળ રાજધાનીની નવી સરકારની શુક્રવાર મુલાકાત થઈ ગઈ છે. મલ્હાન પાંચથી વધારે કરવામાં આવેલી જીપી તેની અનુભવી સરકારની નીતીના કરવામાં કોઈ પણ રીતે જુદી નથી. ડૉ. મલ્હાને 'ગોલાનુ' નિવેદન રજૂ કરવા માં પ્રાણીય સાવધાની વાપરેલી છે અને તેમણે જે કહેલું છે તેની સામે કંઈ પણ અપવાદ કંઈ સંશય લેવા નથી. સિવાય કે માત્ર એક સુધાપર, કે જેનો ઉલ્લેખ અમે કરે પછી કરીએ.

સમીપ "શામલના તેમણે કહેલા અર્થમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની વસ્તીના સંખ્યા વર્ગીકરણ સમાવેશ થતા હોય તે તે સમીપના છે એમ કહેવામાં નથી કશું પડતું જોવા નથી. વળી એ શામલના અર્થ, ડૉ. મલ્હાન કહે છે કે, એવો પણ થાય છે કે, "દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના કિલોને અમે ડુનીયાના કોઈ પણ અન્ય દેશની પછેલા શુદ્ધિ." તેમ કહેવામાં પણ કશું પડતું નથી. કોઈ પણ દેશ પોતાના કિલોને પાની પછેલા પાનાને જોખને બીલ દેશના કિલોને માટે કાર્ય કરવા જશે નહિ. પરંતુ જેમાં સંખ્યાનુ સમાન કિલો રજૂ હોય એવું તે ન જરૂર દરેકે. વળી ડૉ. મલ્હાનના રાજવાદમાં એવું પણ સુચન નથી કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાએ પોતાની પ્રત્યેની સહજાવના પોષવી નહિ અને એવું પણ તેમાં સુચન નથી કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા ગીલા દેશ કે દેશોની મદદ ન જઈ શકે, તે તેમ કહેવામાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાનું પોતાનું જ કિલો સમાન એવું હોય. ડૉ. મલ્હાનના નિવેદન

માં અમે એવું કશું જોવા નથી કે નેમની સરકાર, જેનું પુષ્ટીપર ન્યાન રજૂ નથી, એવું સ કુચિત અને દુરામણી રાજવાદમાં માનવી હોય આવીજ છે. મલ્હાને, પોતાની સરકાર દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા અને તેની પ્રજાની અર્થ કદાચી અને બહિષ્કારથી સેવા કરશે એવું કહેવા નથી જોવા પૂર્વક જાણાયું છે કે, "અન્ય દેશોની નિષાયા રહેવાની નીતીમાં અમે બીલકુલ માનવા નથી."

ડૉ. મલ્હાનના એ મતને પણ અમે મળતા કદાચ એવું કે કોઈ પણ દેશ પોતાની આંતરિક ગામતોમાં અથવા પોતાના, દરેક જાતના સત્તાથી માન્ય થઈલા, કદાચ પ્રજાની નમજગીરી સામેથી નહિ પરંતુ સ્વતંત્ર રાજસત્તાથી માન્ય થઈલા દેશને અર્થ તે એવો કરવામાં આવે કે તેવા કોઈ પણ દેશથી માનવતાની કોઈ પણ વર્ગને, ખાસ કરીને જેને દેશના રાજકારણમાં કોઈ અપવાદ ન હોય, એવા વર્ગને માનવીયતા તરીકેના પ્રાથમિક દરેકથી વચિત રાખવાનો સ્વતંત્ર કરી સંકાય. અને એવા કારણે તે "માનવી પ્રાણી" કહેવાની હોય તે પ્રજાની સમાવેશ વગર નહિ અને સુધરેલી ડુનીયા, જે આજે સમુદાયમાં સુતીંગ છે, તે વચે પદને અર્થ અમારે ડૉ. મલ્હાનના પોતાનાજ સામે દાંડવા સમજી કેમકે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના કિલોના અને કિલો સાથે તેને સમીપ સમાવ કરી સેક્ટરોમાં દક્ષિણ

માનવતાના રીત રિવાજમાં અપેક્ષા પ્રચલિત રીતરિવાજે હકા હકા અંગતતા સમાવેશમાં જોડાયેલા નવા સંખ્યાના પરિણામે ખાસ કરી સેક્ટરોમાં દક્ષિણ

આફ્રિકાને ધ્યાને અનુભવો સેવા સમાવગીરિનું નેપથ્ય રાજધાનિક ગળી નહિ સકાય. આ પરથી એ સમાન અનિવાર્ય હિસાબ થાય છે કે સામાન્ય રીતે પ્રજાની માનતા બંધી સરકાર સમાવેશમાં સમાવતા જાયે સાચ સંકુલ સમાવેશ કરવા કરતા અકિમગત સમાવેશ વચે બાધ જોઈ રહેવાથી જે ભાર અસર કરે તે સાચી નહિ સકાય.

ડૉ. મલ્હાનના આ મતની નીતીમાં સંપૂર્ણપણે અન્યતા થઈલા છે અને અન્યતાથી કોઈ કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને કોઈ સમાન રાજવાદ સમાવેશ વચે કરવા માં અપેક્ષા ભારે અપેક્ષા દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને કરવામાં કોઈ કે એ સમાવેશ કરવામાં કોઈ કે એ સમાવેશ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા અને કોઈ કરે એ કહેલી કરી નાખવા જોઈએ, કે જે વસ્તુ કોઈ કે કોઈ કોઈ સમાવેશ સમાવેશ કરે. અને સમાવેશ નોંધ સમાવેશ કોઈ કે ડૉ. મલ્હાનના નિવેદન એવી કોઈ સમાવેશ અપવાદની સમાવેશ માનવ કરવામાં નથી.

કેવે અમે ડૉ. મલ્હાનના નિવેદન ના એ સુધાપર આવીએ કે જેની સામે અમે અપવાદ સમાવેશ કોઈ, તેમણે ગીલા ગોલાઓને અપેક્ષા તરીકે એક નોંધ નહિ પાડે છે અને તેમના કિલોને સરકાર "પોતાની પાનાની સમાવેશ ને." એવું જણાયું છે ગીલા-ગોલાઓને મદદ આ સુધાક રિસાલ નહિ ગણાય કદાચ એ વગત આવેશ છે કે જ્યારે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની પ્રજામાં વસ્તીના સંખ્યાના પોતાને સમાવેશ થયે તેમજ અને તેનું સામાન્ય કિલો તેવાની સરકારે પોતાની કરવા સમાવેશ નોંધ. ગીલા-ગોલાઓ: પોતાની પ્રત્યેનો અપેક્ષા તરીકેનો વગત સમાવ કરી છે એ કિલોના રીત મથા. પરિ એ ગણતરી કરી હત પરંતુ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાએ તેનું પુનરાવર્તન કરવા જોઈ નથી. કોઈ પણ પ્રજાના કુદરતી સમાવેશ કરવાથી કેવો એ જુદી વસ્તુ છે

અને કોઈકે તેથી જાણ થતે નથી. માનવતાની એ પાક સમાવેશ ભારે કિલો અપવાદ પડી છે એવી દક્ષિણની નીતી, માની કે વળીના કોઈકે સમાવેશી હોય રવારે તે તેનો અમાન પ્રત્યે એ તેમજ તેના નોંધ વચે પડેલા કોઈકે એક સંકેત નાખવાથી થઈ તે છે એ નોંધ અપેક્ષા કે જ્યારે સમાવેશ માનીએ. કોઈ સમાવેશ પડે અને સમાવેશ તે તે જાણ જુદીથી સમાવેશ કરે કરવામાં નહિ આવે તે વગત જાણથી કરવામાં આવે, કુદરતનો કદાચ કોઈકે કોઈ સમાવેશ નથી.

ડૉ. મલ્હાનના નીતિના સમાવેશ સમાવેશ આપવામાં છે.

અમારી ઉપર જુલાઈ નક્ક કાર્ય ભારેલા અને સિવાય પ્રજાને કોઈ કે અમારો સમાવેશ આપાર કિલો કરવામાં સમાવેશ અને કોઈ કરવા કરે છે. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના પોતાના અપવાદ વચે માનવતા સમાવેશ સમાવેશ ના માત્ર સિવાય કરવામાં આવે છે અને સમાવેશને અમારો અમારો માનવતા સમાવેશ સમાવેશ કોઈ.

અમારો સમાવેશ નોંધ નોંધ છે નાં જ કોઈકે વચે છે. સમાવેશમાં અને સમાવેશ નીતિ તે કદાચારીથી પોતાની સેવા કરવા કરે એવી અને પ્રત્યે કરીએ કોઈકે એક તેની સમાવેશ માનવતાની સેવા સમાવેશી છે.

કોઈ સરકારની નવી ઓછાગત નીતિ અપવાદના પાનાને કિલોના સમાવેશ સમાવેશ સમાવેશ સમાવેશ સમાવેશ અને હકા આપવામાં સમાવેશ માનવી આપી હતી. રિસાલ કરે, અપવાદ બધે, કોઈકે વગત પાક કરવા કિલોના સમાવેશ સમાવેશ નોંધમાં ૫૦ હકા કિલોના સમાવેશ અપવાદની કોઈકે કરી હતી.

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| જરી વારત મીલક મગલીન સાડીઓ | | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી વારત જોરજોડા સાડીઓ | | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| લીલક સ્કાર્ફ બે રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીત તવીન ડીઝાઇન | | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

જાપેતુ વાપલ, સાડી આદે ૫૦૦ પનો. આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, શી. ૧ પાર. વારત વરલી રંગો, સાડી અને જાલકિય આદે ૫૦૦ પનો શી. ૧૨-૧૫. મરદ તમા કાલકાઓ આદે મીલક સર્કલ પાપલ્લુના, સોલેસ, રૂબરૂ લીલકના વારતમા જાત ધરાતા કપો છે.

જોશનીસમર્થનું હરમ પનો શી. ૮-૧૧ પાર

મુકેલીમ બધુઓ આદે જરી વારત સુરો

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કાલકાઓના
લીલકના બેલ
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IN 1918

No. 21—Vol. XXVI

Friday, 16th June 1948

No. 21—Vol. XXVI

Indian Opinion

Friday 16th June 1948

Dangerous Ground

IT is barely a fortnight since the new Government came into power and the unexpectedly pleasant day of the Prime Minister's first broadcast in the nation has hardly yet disappeared when some of its men have begun to cause world-wide sensation and condemnation as to what the future of this country is going to be. In so far as we were concerned, we were indifferent as to which Government was in power, but some at least of those who were strongly opposed to the Nationalist Party coming into power, were beginning to reconcile themselves to destiny and, soothed by the moderate tone of Dr. Malan's speech, were just beginning to wish his Government well; and how rudely have they been shocked! They see something more sinister behind what appears to them to be a hasty act on the part of the new Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, in releasing Rooy Liebrandt and others guilty of high treason and other serious crimes against the State during the War.

We shall, however, desist from involving ourselves in high politics and be content with dealing here with subjects which affect Indians in particular and the non-Europeans in general. It is not our purpose to find fault with the Government with any ulterior motives. It is all the same to us whether it be Smuts Government or Malan Government. Our only wish is, that it governs rightly and justly, serving the best interests of all sections of the population.

We shall deal firstly with the statement of Dr. T. E. Donges, the Minister of the Interior, on the Asiatic Act. There is nothing new or startling in what he has said. He has said firstly that neither he nor the Cabinet had yet given any attention to the Indian question. Then with re-

gard to Chapter II of the Act which provided for the representation of Indians in Parliament and in the Natal Provincial Council, he has stated what the policy of the Nationalist Party has been and has said that that part of the Act was not in force, as it had not been proclaimed, and that it would not be proclaimed by the new Government. Dr. Donges's statement does not in any way make the position of Indians worse than it was. Indians have totally rejected the whole of the Asiatic Act and if a part of it is not enforced it is a matter of relief and not of anxiety to Indians for it at least removes from the Statute Book part of the Asiatic Act which on them is an inferior race. The sort of representation sought to be given to the Indians is not acceptable to them. What the Indians seek is not the honour of being merely known as M.P.s or M.P.C.s. They seek representation which would be effective and that is what the Act does not give.

This should remove the erroneous impression in some quarters that the Indians have blundered in not accepting what was so generously offered by the United Party Government and that they will now regret that by their foolishness they will lose even the little that was given them. Moreover it is not quite true to say as is being said in some quarters, that the second part of the Act was not proclaimed by the United Party Government because of the opposition of the Nationalist Party. We hold no brief for the Nationalist Party, but for the sake of truth it should be stated that the Dominion Party in Natal was no less vociferous in its opposition.

But what has caused a great deal of perturbation among the non-Europeans is the action of the Minister of Labour, Mr.

Schoeman in giving orders that the training of Natives as artisans should be stopped immediately. This is quite contrary to the declaration made by the Prime Minister that his Government's policy in regard to the Natives in Europe involves no oppression or removal of any of their rights and that the Government will protect them against oppression and bring about good relationships between them and the European population. It is contrary even to the Nationalist Party's apartheid policy which contemplates utilizing the Natives self-supporting and self-contained.

Strangely enough this action of the Minister of Labour almost synchronised with a meeting sponsored by the Allied Trade Unions and advertised to be held at the Durban City Hall last Wednesday to protest against the proposal of the Durban City Council to employ Natives as handymen for maintenance work in recognised Municipal Native institutions. To play upon the sentiment of the European people, the advertisement convening the meeting read: "Do you want your son replaced by a Native?" And yet the Labour Party has just declared that there shall be no differentiation based on race or colour in the field of labour! It is gratifying to note that this action of the Minister of Labour has been strongly disapproved by all thinking Europeans or South Africa. But that alone is not going to satisfy the Native who is fast beginning to think for himself. What respect can he have for the White man and his much vaunted civilisation when he sees such crass petty-mindedness and the desire to crush individual liberty all around him? Even the most humane among them will laugh at the way his self-appointed trustees are carrying out their responsibilities in a truly Christian spirit. If this is what Christianity means, what respect will they have for the Christian religion? If the actions of the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Labour are to be taken as a criterion of what is

to follow, we regret to have to say that the Government is treading on very dangerous ground and it will have serious repercussions not only in South Africa but all over the world.

Since the above has in print the report of the Durban meeting has come to us. A resolution opposing the proposal that the Durban City Council should employ Native handymen for repair and maintenance work on buildings in Native areas was carried with only three dissentients. The reported speeches at the meeting leave the impression on our mind that while the Trade Unionists pretend to be working for the interests of the Natives they are more concerned about the standard of the European worker being lowered than the standard of the Native being raised. There seems to be more hypocrisy than a sincere desire to work in the interests of the Native. If the Native has to wait until his standard of living is as high as that of the European before he is allowed to become a skilled artisan he will have to wait all his life.

Mahatma Gandhi's Ashes

BY MANILAL GANDHI

IT pains me to have to write this personal note about my father's ashes. Five months have elapsed since our beloved father departed from this world. Two days after his departure we—members of my family and I—were most anxious to have his ashes and I had telephonic communication with my brother in Delhi on the subject. A letter giving the reasons for not sending the ashes was received by me in the beginning of last month. I was informed by my brother in that letter that the Government of India in consultation with the relatives of my father, had decided not to send the ashes to foreign countries. One of the main reasons why the Government had come to this decision was that father as father of the

Nation would not receive the honour that was due to him. Even in India the ashes were carried only by the heads of the Government and the ceremonies were organised under Government control. The same, naturally would not be expected to be done in foreign countries. The ashes have consequently not been sent even to countries where there are accredited representatives of the Government of India. For instance, Mr. Krishna Menon and Mr. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit had asked for ashes to be sent to England and Russia respectively but they were not sent to those places. All the ashes were therefore immersed with the exception of a small quantity which was collected by a few individuals to keep but not for any demonstration purpose. Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee was one of these individuals.

Beyond what had been intimated to me by my brother I had no knowledge that the ashes were to be brought to this country. It is now learnt that the ashes are being brought by Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee. Mr. Rustumjee is a well-known lawyer in South Africa and the advisability of bringing

the ashes to this country or informing me or anyone else about this long delay in bringing it. Nor has he informed me or anyone else that he has been authorised by the Government of India to bring the ashes. The only thing Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee has done is to inform me by cable when he sailed from India that he was bringing the ashes and to ask me to make all arrangements through the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses and other public organisations to demonstrate and not having been taken of such demonstrations. In view of the circumstances referred to above, and out of my deep reverence and respect for the ashes of my father which I hold to be very sacred and out of my anxiety to avoid any risk of any possible breach, I wholeheartedly agree with the wise decision of the Government of India and shall abide by it. I have sent a cable to that effect to Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee and have asked him also to do likewise. This is such a delicate matter that I for one am not inclined to enter into any controversy. I can only advise Mr. Rustumjee. If he persists in acting on his own initiative he is at liberty to do so. In that case he should not expect any participation or co-operation from me.

South African people. There were thousands of people who were not followers of the Nationalist Party, but who had voted against the United Party in the election.

Labour Party's Policy

Mr. John Christie, leader of the South African Labour Party, issued the following statement on behalf of the party caucus: 1. The Labour Party fought the election to protect the people of South Africa against anti-democratic threats, to defeat racialism, to protect trade unions, to continue the present co-operation with the British Commonwealth and the Western democracies, and it will, therefore, oppose any measures in conflict with these principles. 2. Accordingly, the Labour Party will most strenuously oppose any attempt to remove or restrict any statutory rights at present enjoyed by any section of the people, and will defend to the limit the freedom of the individual and of the democratic institutions of this country, especially schools, universities, churches and trade unions. 3. The Labour Party reiterates that the Native problem must be solved on the basis of residential and social separation, while at the same time giving justice and fair play to both Europeans and non-Europeans. 4. The Labour Party emphasises that it will continue to follow its own independent course based on the policies traditionally associated with the name of Labour.

Dr. Malan's Pledge To Non-Europeans

The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan on his arrival on Saturday, June 12, in the course of his speech is reported to have said:

"The days when people spoke of racialism are past. We will get the co-operation of the various races. There will be no discrimination against any section. We have a policy in regard to the Non-Europeans, but this involves no oppression or removal of any of their rights. We shall protect them against oppression and bring about good relationships between them and the European population."

Nationalist Government's Labour Plans

The New Minister of Labour, Mr. Schoeman, announced the same day that he had given instruction that training of Natives as artisans must cease immediately; the unemployment insurance Act will be amended; Communism in trade unions will be eliminated; no intermingling of Europeans and non-Europeans in trade unions; Government will protect trade union movement, but executives may not misuse their powers.

proposed recognition of Native trade unions will be abandoned, efforts to be made to increase cost of living allowance.

A Free State View Of New Government

"Die Volksblad," the Free State Hereford mouthpiece, considers that the first duty of the new Government will be to establish healthy relations between the two white races and between Europeans and non-Europeans. The Hereford Party believes, in spite of the suspicion and dissension sown by the United Party propagandists during the election, that co-operation can be secured "on the basis of real South African nationalism and patriotism." They also believe that the two European groups are in essential agreement that the colour problem should be solved in a way to ensure the preservation of European civilisation and at the same time allow that justice and fairness to the non-European that could be expected of a Christian guardian in the discharge of his duties to his ward. "We are confident that the new Government will regard the dissipation of these suspicions as its immediate aim and so prepare the way for a United South Africa."

Future Of S.W.A.

Speaking during the Budget debate in the Legislative Assembly, Colonel P. I. Hoozemant, the Administrator, is reported by a Saps message from Windhoek, to have said it was the non-European population which would decide the ultimate future of the territory. It was the bounden duty of the Administration to see that the population was fed and to ensure that the Natives received a square deal.

No Place For Indian Labour In Proposed Textile Factory

The Town Council of Kokstad has been asked by the Natal Indian Public Bodies Association whether it is interested in acquiring a woollen textile factory which is to be established in the Union. The concern, it is stated, would employ a staff of about 1,000, of whom 100 would be Europeans. Semi-skilled work would be done by Indians and unskilled work by Natives. The firm wants 20 acres with a railway siding and a minimum of 132,000 gallons of water a day. It will have a capital of £1,000,000 and intends erecting buildings to cost about £400,000. The Kokstad Council has replied that it can offer the factory all the facilities stipulated. Although Indians are not allowed in the Transkeian territories, there is Griqua and coloured labour suitable for semi-skilled work.

NOTES

Natives' Thirst For Knowledge

Orlando (Zulu) school had grown from 11 pupils in 1939 to 740 pupils and 35 qualified Native teachers. Between 1912 and 1947 310 students wrote Junior certificate examinations and 220 passed 15 in the first class. Few other schools could show as good a record. Twenty-six students out of 50 who wrote the Matriculation Examination between 1943 and 1947 passed, two in the first class. Since class-room accommodations for Natives was inadequate and opportunities for study at home limited, this record was remarkable.

The above facts were elicited when Mr. A. M. Lombard, the Transvaal Provincial Secretary, addressed students, teachers and parents of the Orlando High School, last week, at the opening of three new blocks of class-rooms and the commencement of bus service to the school. Mr. Lombard said:

"There has been a phenomenal thirst for knowledge among Natives all over the Transvaal, but it was most difficult to teach educated Natives in the kind of employment they would naturally like. The Department of Education he said, should obtain from the Govern-

ment, the Chambers of Commerce and employers generally an estimate of their requirements, so that students could be selected for suitable employment. "We should also be careful not to produce too many academically qualified people who cannot be absorbed and should rather educate people to fit their environment," said Mr. Lombard. It was better to be a qualified artisan than a poor doctor or lawyer.

If the Natives are talented there is no reason why they should not become brilliant doctors and lawyers. But the real trouble is they will become a menace to the White doctors and the White lawyers.

Mr. Havenga On Lesson Of Election

Mr. N. C. Havenga, leader of the Afrikaner Party, speaking in the Bloemfontein Town Hall, said the lesson of the election had been that if the Afrikaners wished to achieve their rightful place in South Africa they had to stand together. Attempts had been made to frighten the English-speaking South African away from the Nationalist Party, but he could guarantee that the new Government would allow no injustices to any section of the

THE PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER CABINET MINISTERS

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

**DR DANIEL FRANÇOIS
MALAN, M.A., D.D., M.P.**

for Plettersburg, 74 years old, was born at Riebeeck West, C.P., on May 22, 1874. He was educated at Riebeeck West and at Victoria College Stellenbosch, where he obtained his M.A., and at the Utrecht University in Holland, where he obtained his D.D.

On his return to South Africa he was a Dutch Reformed Minister for 10 years at Heidelberg (Transvaal), Montague and Graaff Reinet.

On July 15, 1915, he became chief editor of "Die Burger," a position he held for almost nine years. Also in 1915 he was elected chairman of the newly formed Nationalist Party in the Cape. He was defeated in his first attempt to enter Parliament in a by-election at Victoria West, but in 1918 the Nationalist M.P. for Calvinia resigned in his favour, and he represented the constituency for 20 years until 1938, when he first stood for his present constituency for Plettersburg.

In 1918 he went to Europe as one of the delegates on the Nationalist "Vryheidsdeputasie" to the Paris Peace Conference. In 1924, when the Pact Government took office, he accepted the portfolio of the Interior, Education and Public Health. He remained a Minister for three years - until fusion in 1933.

On the formation of the Hertzog-Smit United Party in 1933 he went into opposition and became the leader of the present Nationalist Party then known as the Purified Nationalist Party, and leader of the Opposition. When war broke out in 1939 the Purified Government split on the war issue, and Dr. Malan was rejected by his old leader, General Hertzog. He stood back and allowed General Hertzog to be leader of the Opposition.

A year later, however, General Hertzog and Mr. N. C. Havenga had left the party and resigned from Parliament, and Dr. Malan was once more leader of the Opposition.

The most important measures introduced by Dr. Malan when he became Minister of the Interior included an amendment to the constitution, recognising the sovereignty of the Afrikaner, the recognition of Afrikaans as an official language, and the introduction of Union nationality and the Union Flag. He also revised the Immigration laws to include a quota system for immigrants from certain countries.

Leader Of Afrikaner Party

Nicolaas Christiaan Havenga, M.P. for Ladybrand, has already had considerable Cabinet experience, having been Minister of Finance for 15 years, firstly in General Hertzog's Cabinet from 1924 to 1933, and later in the United Party Cabinet until the outbreak of war in 1939. His policies were always conservative and he became known as a Minister of surpluses in prosperous periods.

In 1939 he followed General Hertzog into opposition, but resigned his seat in 1941.

Two years later he stood as an Afrikaner Party candidate in the Frankfort constituency, and was knocked out by a Nationalist candidate. After General Hertzog's death he became leader of the Afrikaner Party, and was returned to Parliament as the member for Ladybrand in the recent election.

During his office as Minister of Finance, Mr. Havenga accompanied General Hertzog to two Imperial Conferences. He also headed the Union delegation to the Ottawa Economic Conference, and later at the World Economic Conference in London.

Before entering Parliament Mr. Havenga was a member of the Free State Provincial Council and a member of the Executive Committee from 1910 to 1915.

When he was 17, he joined a Boer Commando in the South African War. He served on General de Wet's staff and was finally Military Secretary to General Hertzog, a combination from which sprang a lifelong friendship. Mr. Havenga was wounded three times, and still suffers from the wounds.

He first came to Parliament in 1915 as the member for Paardeburg, and remained there until 1941, when he resigned.

Minister Of The Interior

Dr. Theophilus Ebenhaezer Donges, M.A., LL.D., K.C., M.P. for Worcester, vice-chairman of the Broedersbond, is a brilliant advocate, of Capetown.

The son of a Minister, he was born at Klerksdorp in 1899 and went to school at Hoopstad and at Robertson. He took an honours B.A. at Stellenbosch in 1918 and gained his M.A. the following year and the Queen Victoria Prize which enabled him to study overseas.

In 1921 he entered the University of London, where he gained his LL.B. with honours and in 1924 his doctor's degree in law.

On his return to the Union he edited the first English publication issued by the Nationalist, "The South African Nation." Shortly afterwards he was appointed assistant Editor-in-Chief of "Die Burger."

In 1927 he began practice as an advocate and in 1929 was appointed legal adviser to the Cape Provincial Administration.

He entered Parliament in 1941 by winning a by-election at Paardeburg and held this seat until the recent General Election, when he contested Worcester.

In Parliament he established a reputation for quiet, logical argument and as a specialist on finance.

For the past 17 years he has served on the Church Council of the Groote Kerk, Cape Town, first as deacon and at present as an elder. He is an executive member of the Reddingsland bond, a vice-chairman of the Federasie van Afrikaner Kerkverenigings, executive member of the Evangelical Institute and member of the South African Bar Council.

He is the co-author of a third work on municipal law.

Minister Of Justice

The political career of Mr. C. M. Swart was interrupted by General Hertzog. In late years, however, General Hertzog and his former private secretary became implacable political enemies.

In their final clash, at the Nationalist Party congress at Bloemfontein in 1910, Mr. Swart triumphed, and the man who once set him on the high road to political fortune was made to pay bitterly for the supreme offence of considering the interests of English-speaking South Africa.

General Hertzog left the Nationalist Party. Mr. Swart took

his place as its leader in the Free State.

After matriculating at the age of 13, Mr. "Blackie" Swart had a brilliant academic career at Grey University College Bloemfontein, where he obtained his B.A., LL.B. degrees.

With the help of General Hertzog he became secretary of the Nationalist Party in the Free State in 1919, and was given the party's nomination for Ladybrand at the death of Mr. C. G. Richards.

He entered Parliament in 1923, but lost his seat in the 1930 General Election. He then joined the Press Gallery of the House of Assembly.

Mr. Swart became M.P. again in 1941, as the representative of the Witburg constituency.

In the House he has always taken a keen interest in matters affecting the Ministry of Justice. Last year he introduced a Bill to abolish the right of appeal to the Privy Council and hurriedly opposed the United Party Government's decision to deport the Germans named in the report of the De Villiers Commission.

With Mr. Strydom and Mr. H. L. Louw, Mr. Swart is one of the extremists of the Nationalist Party, and the ideal he put before the Free State on assuming the leadership of the Nationalist Party in that province was "One people, one language, one flag, one national anthem, one undivided loyalty."

When he was 27, Mr. Swart went to America and England to study social and political conditions. While in Hollywood his abnormal height (6 ft. 7 in.) and the tallest man in Parliament attracted the attention of a film director, and he was given a small part as a "super."

INDIANS AND FRANCHISE

DR T. E. DONGES, Minister of the Interior, announced in Pretoria last week that Chapter Two of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act would be repealed.

This part of the Act had not been proclaimed, and it would not be proclaimed by the new Government.

The Act was introduced in 1946. It is divided into two chapters.

The first imposes restrictions on the acquisition and occupation of fixed property in Natal, and the ownership and occupation of fixed property in the Transvaal. It replaced the temporary Pesting Act.

Chapter two provided for the common representation in Parliament of Natal and Transvaal

Indians and for the representation of Natal Indians in the Natal Provincial Council. This is the chapter which Dr. Donges says will be removed from the statute book.

Under the franchise provisions it was intended that, for the first time, Indians in South Africa would be given a voice in Parliament and in the Natal Provincial Council on the following basis:

In the Senate Natal Transvaal Indians would be represented by two Senators, one elected by the Indians themselves and one nominated by the Governor General on the ground mainly of his thorough acquaintance with their reasonable wants and wishes.

In the House of Assembly they would be represented by three members elected by the Indians

Things In General

Indian Soccer Team To Tour Union

The All India Olympic soccer team will tour South Africa after the Olympic Games in London this year. The South African Indian Football Association Overseas Committee has received letters from the All-India Football Federation stating that they are willing to send the All-India Olympic soccer team to South Africa after the games. The Overseas Committee has agreed to the tour and has sent a cordial reply to the All-India Football Federation.

Late Fee Letters By Air

Facilities for handling in late fee letters at aerodromes have been re-introduced from June 1. The facility is limited to conveyance by air of the South African Airways operating in the Union and South-West Africa. Postage must be paid and, in addition, 3d. worth of stamps must be affixed to letters, which must not exceed 100. Such letters should be handed in at aerodromes by accredited representatives of the South African Airways at least ten minutes before the departure of the aircraft. Late fee letters will not be accepted at post office or by a postal official.

£250,000 Moslem Institute For Mombasa

A new Moslem institute costing £250,000 for Mombasa was announced by the Governor in a King's Birthday broadcast. It has been planned in consultation with Sir Bernard Reilly, a Colonial Office expert on Arab education. It will include an Arab secondary school for which the Kenya Government has already voted £25,000. The Governor said the question was not why the institute was specifically for Moslems. The answer was that much of the money was coming from Moslems. The Aga Khan was contributing £100,000 and the Sultan of Zanzibar, through the Treasury, £50,000. A prominent Arab was leasing 34 acres of land on reasonable terms. The first chance of vacancies will go to Arabs who have lacked education previously. There are 40 population scholarships. The fees are reasonable, with remission in deserving

cases. The emphasis will be on technical and vocational education, including marine and electrical engineering, navigation, seamanship, carpentry, boat building, masonry, medicine, agriculture and forestry.

Charnwood Football Club

The fourth annual general meeting of the Charnwood Football Club was held on Sunday, June 6, at the Verulam Temple. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—President Mr. R. Lalbeharia, manager Mr. Benny Molloy, hon. coach Mr. J. Channon, secretary Mr. G. Moonoodhally, assistant secretary Mr. K. Koppay, treasurer Mr. A. Kozak and H. R. Lalbeharia, captain Mr. G. Moody, vice-captain Mr. S. P. Sam and a committee of seven.

News In Brief

Mahatma Gandhi's murder trial will resume on June 22.

The resignation of Senator H. M. Basser is published in the Government Gazette. Senator Basser was elected under the Representation of Natives Act of 1936 for the Provinces of the Transvaal and the Free State.

The day for granting full university status to the Natal University College has been fixed for March 15, 1949. The Act to grant Natal University College its new status was passed by Parliament last March.

Twenty seven Europeans and 20 non-Europeans were killed and 400 Europeans and 200 non-Europeans were injured in 1947 road vehicle accidents during April, according to figures published by the Office of Census and Statistics in Pretoria.

The Indian Ministry of Health is carrying out a plan of mass vaccination, the cause of 500,000 deaths a year in the East. Vaccination with B.C.G.—an attenuated strain of the tubercle bacillus first used in France in 1921—will be started initially on a limited scale under Government supervision.

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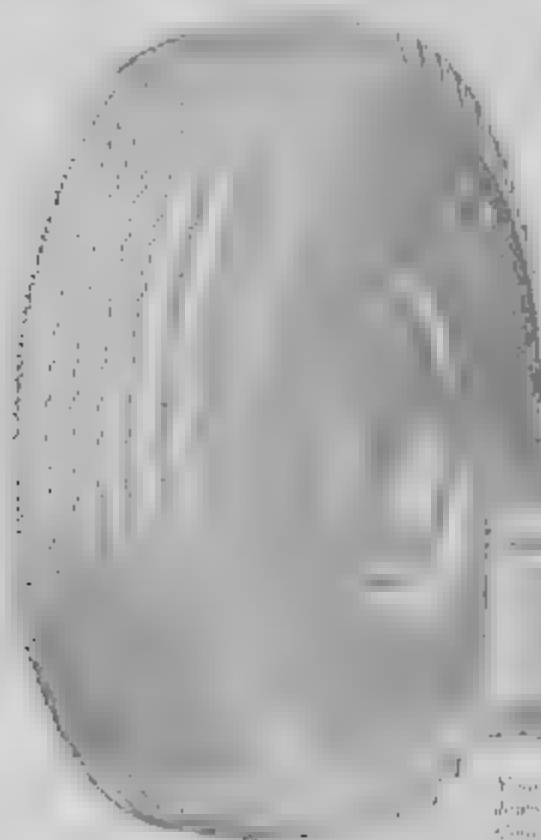
TO SUBSCRIBERS OF 'INDIAN OPINION'

Old files of Indian Opinion of the period during which it was being conducted by Gandhi contain valuable material for his biographers. These are however not easily obtainable. We would, therefore, request the subscribers of Indian Opinion to send us their old files. A file sent to us will be sent to the biographer. All who are interested in this may please address their correspondence to Jivanji D. Desai, Manager, Navjivan Karyalaya, Post Box 105 Ahmedabad, India.

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— દોલસેલ વેપારી —

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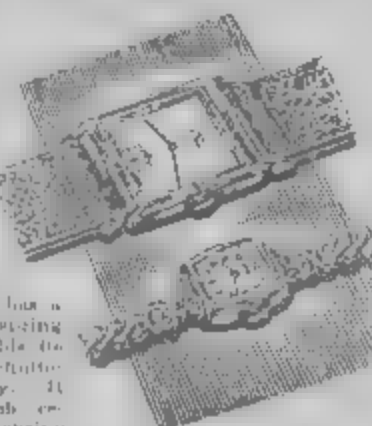
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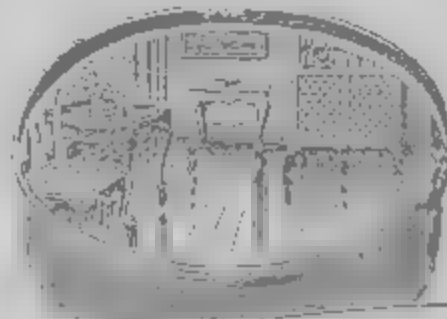
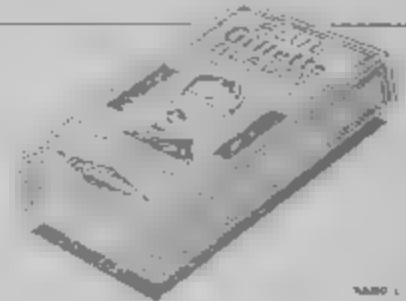
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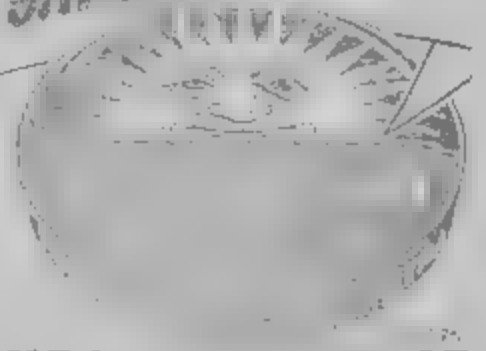
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FRIDAY, 25TH JUNE, 1948

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FRIDAY, 25TH JUNE, 1948

An Illuminating Address

A VERY interesting address was given on Friday last week by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Davis Hurley at the Durban International Club, before a mixed audience of Europeans, Coloured, Africans and Indians. Such gatherings are rare in South Africa because the strong prejudice prevailing among the Europeans against the non-Europeans. In this respect it must be said to the credit of the International Club that it has served a unique purpose. What is required to-day is that words such as those of Bishop Hurley should reach the ears not of hundreds but of thousands and tens of thousands. If they are to be of any value. But unfortunately those who have the power to convey these thoughts to the masses are themselves prejudiced and will not perform the simple duty of conveying them but will, instead, misuse their powers by disseminating things that poison the minds and the souls of the people. The atomic bomb has not yet been put to use but the poison that is being spread through these agencies might bring about the ruination of the world without the need for putting that deadly weapon to use. People are

being fed with things that are pleasing to them not with things that are good for them, for the simple reason that those who have the power to feed them think in terms of their own material gain.

Now to come to the substance of Bishop Hurley's speech. The Bishop has analysed quite correctly the position of both the Europeans and the non-Europeans in South Africa and the remedy he has suggested is also, no doubt, the right one. If the European would have adopted the more reasonable attitude suggested by the Bishop, he would have truly served as a trustee of those whom he found to be inferior to him. But his purpose was not to elevate the inferior and the ignorant but to trade on his inferiority and ignorance. The two great world wars were fought to end Nazism and Fascism. But can it be truly said that they have ended? Far from it. It would rather appear that almost everyone is becoming a Nazi and that very cult has given birth to Communism. If they were all true to themselves they would have brought blessings to the world. But they were

not and therefore they are destined to be destroyed and the world will be destroyed with them, unless these cults are speedily removed by the cult of non-violence.

That was the essence we were able to extract from the illuminating address given by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hurley.

It is quite true that the University plays and has to play a very important role in the social and moral life of a people. The non-European in South Africa, however, has been deprived even of the privileges of the University. The very limited existing facilities are such that it would hurt the sentiments of any self-respecting person to avail himself of them. It would not be amiss to say that the non-European have gained more from the University of experience than they have from the academic and on paper at least can stay the awakening that has already come and is coming. If that awakening is utilised in the wrong direction, and there is every danger of such an eventuality, the fault lies wholly with the system of education. The process suggested by Bishop Hurley is one of cleansing the mind and heart. That process to keep up with the time is going to be a slow one. It should have begun a quarter of a century earlier. But it is never too late to turn and to make amends

If there is much for the Europeans to learn from what Bishop Hurley has said, so is there much for the non-Europeans. The latter need to be conscious of their limitations and should try to run slow. This applies also to our own brethren in South Africa. Let us not judge ourselves as we are so apt to do, by the standard of India. India's achievement is the result of years of untold sufferings and sacrifices. Nothing worth keeping can be achieved without that. We in South Africa are not prepared for such sufferings and sacrifices. We may rightly be proud of what we have done but it is far from sufficient. Let us not see the faults of the oppressor when we are full of them ourselves. Remember that the only weapon we are wedded to to achieve our end is the civilised weapon of non-violence in word and deed. To fight with that weapon means the cultivating of unbounded strength and courage to withstand the hammer of the oppressor without retaliating. If we can cultivate that power which comes only by being clean physically, mentally and spiritually, such power will be life-giving and life-sustaining and not life-destroying, and when it comes no power on earth will be able to deprive us of our human rights and individual liberty.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ASHES

By MANILAL GANDHI

MR. KISHORLAL MASHRU

WALA who since Mahatma Gandhi has been conducting his paper "Hindus" and whom we look to for guidance writes to me in his letter dated June 10, in reply to my telegram to him in connection with Gandhi's ashes. "In a letter written before sailing for England Devadas wrote to me informing me of the decision arrived at not to send ashes to South Africa. He also stated that if you were to have some personally they could be sent. All this has been mentioned in the river Yama. Possibly you are under a misapprehension that Sobhlee has any ashes in his possession. He must have made a statement before the decision was taken. But if that is not so you should have publicly to the effect."

As for the Ashes from the Mr. Rustomjee did not receive the ashes for the purpose of bringing them to South Africa.

I stated last week that I had sent a cable to Mr. Rustomjee regarding that he should not bring the ashes for public demonstration. I received a cable from some one in the Indian Com-

munity in Bombay stating that Mr. Rustomjee had informed them that the ashes were given to him by my brother Ramdas. But that should be my desire that the ashes should not be taken to South Africa they would be glad to take the ashes there and suitably immerse them. To this I sent a reply to Mr. Rustomjee that it was not advisable to give the ashes to anybody as it would amount to favouritism, and I suggested, therefore, that he should bring the ashes here without public demonstration and that we would duly immerse them here privately.

To the above cable I have not received any reply from Mr. Rustomjee and his programme to carry the ashes to various parts of South Africa is being carried out.

In view of these circumstances I do not see how I can take part in the proposed ceremonies. People should know that the fact I cannot participate on such an occasion is to me a matter not of pleasure but of pain. I would, therefore, humbly request them to understand my position and appreciate my feelings in this matter and to kindly refrain from pressing me to alter my decision.

EJECTION ORDER SUSPENDED

AN Indian merchant who was ejected from a Court order in a Durban house before the Minister's reply to his application for permission to occupy it was received was partly successful in his appeal to the Supreme Court against his conviction and sentence on a charge framed under the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representative Act.

The appellant was Mr. Small Mahomed Lockhat Commercial Road, Durban. He had been fined £25 or a month's hard labour for unlawful occupation and had also been ordered by the Magistrate to be ejected from the house.

The Judge-President Mr. Justice Hethers giving judgment said in view of the circumstances Mr. Lockhat's ejection was incongruous.

The Judge-President went on to say that the appeal was brought under a number of grounds, but Mr. Lockhat's counsel had limited the argument to the contention that either the ejection order could not have been made, or

that it should have been suspended pending the decision of the Minister on Mr. Lockhat's application, in terms of the Act, for a permit to occupy the premises.

Mr. Lockhat occupied a house in Eleventh Avenue, Durban, and was carrying out building alterations in it. The house next door, also his property, was occupied by an European, who gave notice to quit. Thereupon Mr. Lockhat moved into the house, and, acting quite openly, made application to the Minister for a permit to occupy the house temporarily. His prosecution followed.

He was not prepared to say that the Magistrate should not have made the ejection order, but he was of the opinion that the ejection should be suspended pending the Minister's decision. The application for a permit was made on January 5, and it seemed incongruous that the appellant might find himself ejected one month and receive a permit the next.

NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA SWORN IN

MR. CHACRAVARTI RAJA-

GOPALACHARI was sworn in on Sunday, June 20, as the first Indian Governor-General of the Dominion of India. He paid a tribute to the work of Earl Mountbatten, the retiring Governor-General, as "a marvellous instance of detachment, devotion and energy on the part of one who, though not belonging to India, worked as one who did belong to her and did his work in the spirit that is laid down in the Scriptures."



Mr. Rajagopalachari

India, said Mr. Rajagopalachari, was unchangeably committed to a policy of making everyone within her borders find pride and joy in citizenship, irrespective of caste, creed or race.

Earl Mountbatten left New Delhi by air on Sunday, June 20. At a public reception 100,000 people gave him and his wife a send-off.

Earl Mountbatten, who spoke in a farewell broadcast of the "unforgettable experience" of his term of office, was also guest of honour of the Indian Cabinet at a dinner at Government House. Lady Mountbatten was with him.

Lord Mountbatten presented 10 pieces of gold plate weighing over 100 pounds, to India on behalf of the King, and Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister, gave Lord and Lady Mountbatten a silver tray whose inscription read "to the Queen of Friendship."

Six thousand guests attended an official reception in the grounds of Government House.

Lord Mountbatten spoke in his farewell broadcast of the "glorious future" awaiting India and said she was destined to fill a high place in the world.

The country's problems were complicated by the fact that India's freedom had been obtained

Lord Mountbatten

in a time of unparalleled world-wide difficulties. He said, but India would find a solution.

One of Lord Mountbatten's last acts before laying down office, it was learned, was to send a personal appeal to the Government of India to settle the dispute over accession to India which, after months of negotiations, reached a conclusion last weekend.

Congratulations From Natal Indian Congress

The Natal Indian Congress has sent a message of congratulations to the new Governor-General of India Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. The message reads: "We join with rest of Motherland in offering you congratulations and extending our sincere good wishes for being first Indian appointed as Governor-General of India. It is ironical but true that while in one portion of Commonwealth Indians can assume more active and distinct responsibility of Government and can then rise to a status of Government in other parts of Commonwealth such as South Africa the rest are considered as even a certain ordinary rights of citizenship. We had your appointment with feelings of pleasure and would

evidence that a history of millions of our brothers and sisters are in the Motherland too elsewhere as in the world. It is in the fatherland are in South Africa and in the world. We are our full give assistance as we will continue to work for Indian and our will remain as sons of daughters. A great future."

GANDHIJI'S MARTYRDOM AND FUTURE OF INDIA

THE death of Gandhiji has spoken to the heart-mind of India several messages. None more potent, however, than this. Religious bigotry and fanaticism are man's worst foes; these are irreligious forces which spring from ignorance and egotism. This is evident today and the living heart of Gandhiji throbs forth the truth through life-death. Whether Indians, especially the Hindus, will make good use of the message, remains to be seen.

The hour is ripe to sound a call for a calm consideration of what should be done to bring correctly to the sacrifice of Gandhiji so that the blood of this Martyr may water the garden of Peace and Unity in the India he loved (and of which India he had a vision)—India, the spiritual Mother and Messenger of the world.

Indians have tolerated the spread of the centuries of communalism since every aspect of their national life, until today the country is cursed with communal organisations and institutions of every kind—clubs, winning parties, hospitals, gymkhana, hostels, refreshment stalls, charities, educational institutions, and what not. Among such institutions are some not directly inimical to India as a whole, but even they, confining their good work to an exclusive communal sphere, threaten the building of a united India.

The failure of the country's two major communities to come to a settlement delayed Indian self-government for years and has resulted in the division of the country into two dominions on unfriendly terms. But even the major disaster of partition, even the ghastly tragedies that followed that raising of a dividing wall—our common dwelling, failed to bring us to our senses. It has taken the supreme sacrifice of Gandhiji's precious life to expose religious creedalism in its true colours as the foment of murder and bloodshed. Today only those blinded by bigotry can fail to see in communalism and caste the abhorrent, evil forces they are.

As long ago as 1908, Gandhiji wrote:

"If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by the Hindus, they are living in a dreamland. The Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis and Christians who have made India their country are fellow-countrymen, and they will have to live in unity if only for their own interest."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru describes the grandeur of every in-

dian for the firm stand that he has taken against the notion of the "Hindu Raj."

Religion is the power which unites man to man; creedalism is only a maker of cliques. In recent months men calling themselves Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, have played the ruffian and the brute, disgracing the religions they profess and bringing shame upon our common Mother.

Years ago Gandhiji wrote: "Religion is dear to me, and my first complaint is that India is becoming irreligious. Here I am not thinking of the Hindu and Mahomedan or the Zoroastrian religion, but of that religion which underlies all religions. . . . I am not pleading for a continuance of religious superstitions. We will certainly fight them tooth and nail, but we can never do so by disregarding religion."

It is not a reaction towards materialism that can cure our ills. It is not religion that has failed; but orthodoxy and whatever label religion must be strengthened and this can only be by weakening the stronghold of creeds.

Universal brotherhood is the aim of religion and the real test of brotherly feeling is what we feel for our neighbours how ever different their views from ours. India is a cradle-land. Hinduism is cradle-ridden. She can not rise to her full stature until the unity between her sons is realized.

The separate communal organisations check the natural instinct of thinking men and women to group themselves fluidly in terms of all their present common interests—political, social, artistic and humanitarian. These natural groupings normally are diverse, changing and overlapping. It is abnormal to make them exclusive by confusing the secular with the religious and making sectarian animosity the test of personal acceptability. There can be no fundamental and lasting division between men of goodwill, seeking truth and mutual understanding. The seekers of the Light are one. The communal grouping is unnatural and unsound and its destruction is the paramount duty of every Indian.

The different communities have more interests in common than they have points of difference. The problems of India are universal problems—poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, preventable disease, illiteracy with the resulting inefficiency and

superstition, inadequate housing, transportation and rising fuel prices, and now the vast problem of refugee relief and rehabilitation. Which of these affects one community and not another? What community would not benefit from their solution? Self-interest demands the pooling of the energies of all for the construction of a better India.

Now when the tragedies of recent months, culminating in the shameful murder of Gandhiji by a fanatic, have aroused the country as nothing else could have done, to the perils that lurk in communal organisations, now is the time to free our country from them and their threat. If this is not done, Gandhiji and all that he stood for, instead of serving as a beacon to our steps, will in no long time fade into the limbo of oblivion.

What specific ways are there to break the communal shackles?

(1) Face and admit the evils that communalism has brought on India. Remove from our own minds and hearts the feelings that create Communalism.

(2) Forget hundreds of years' hatred of other communities.

Let no one ever mention about the past. We have lost someone, so let us bring back the things we hurt. Be forgiving and, and we one people, only then we live apart in differ.

Let us keep our relationship alive within us.

(3) Invite that communal organisations dissolved in common cosmopolitan. Political activity in cosmopolitan basis must be once and for all and in sincerely shared. The fanned segregationists of groups are delusion and illusion. Let all our people be encouraged to meet together for common good.

(4) Do away with communal sports, gymkhana and clubs.

(5) Sectarian and communal education should be completely abolished. Let the children and youth play with the communal virus.

Stop at once State grants to communal educational institutions if any feel. The answer which have to be can be play an education for tolerance and

united India, and we should no longer tolerate Hindu and Muslim "Universities" (the root of the word means "whole").

(6) Histories with a sectarian distortion must be rigorously banned.

(7) Refuse support to exclusively communal charitable institutions in recognition of the claims laid upon us by our common humanity, our shared nationhood transcends the claims of any partial group.

(8) Abolish by law the communal classification of railway refreshment stalls. Boycott restaurants which cater to a single community until their communal label is removed and their doors are opened to all.

(9) Abjure communal considerations in public appointments and private employment, patronage of stores, etc.

(10) Free the Hindi-Urdu language question from its artificial communal implications.

(11) Eliminate reference to the community of the individual in newspapers, in hotel registers etc., and so soon as possible, even in census reports. ("Am an Indian")—and live it.

Gandhiji said on January 12 on the eve of his last hour, to try and bring about true unity among us.

"I yearn for heart friendship between the Hindus Sikhs and Muslims. I understood between them the other day. Today . . . non-existent. It is a state that no Indian is ever worthy of the . . ."

Let us prove worthy of the martyred Gandhiji by repudiating communalism and all its works and by building an India united and regenerated as this is the moment we can erect to him who gave his life for all of us. But all this will follow if the will to do is there and if the responsibility is placed where it belongs—in the hands and responsibilities of every citizen largely as present in the called "rights."

Even a few Indians, who have above divisions of caste and creed uniting together the ideas which ruled Gandhiji's life and work, would be able to take steps for the betterment of the country. In the final analysis it is ideas and not legislation, which rule the world. *Hurqan*

MINISTER OF JUSTICE ON RELEASE OF LEIBBRANDT

MR. C. R. SWART, Minister of Justice, referred to his action of authorising the release of Robey Leibbrandt and four other prisoners in a speech at a conference of Nationalist Senators, Members of Parliament and Provincial Councils at Bloemfontein on Wednesday.

He said the Government believed the four men had already been punished sufficiently, and added: "The unrestrained din and stirring up of emotions over the freeing of the five inmates is really a dishonourable spectacle."

Even up to the eve of the election the Smuts Government was in the process of freeing no fewer than 71 political prisoners after only a small portion of their sentences had been served. About 14 days before the election three men were released, of whom one had served only 2½ years of a sentence of seven years, a second only four years of a 10-year sentence, and the third three years of his sentence of 10 years.

Information from the prison authorities was to the effect that the conduct of Leibbrandt and the other four men was unimpeachable but, Mr. Swart added, we do not associate ourselves with nor do we condone their actions.

Mr. Swart accused the opposition of taking refuge in hysterical outbursts of hate, envy and intimidation which lacked good sense.

"This reprehensible attitude can be taken together with the elation of their joint leader, the Liberal Mr. Hofmeyr, when he said in Pretoria last week that they would not and must not give the Government a chance."

"Never before has a defeated political party in South Africa shown such a lack of dignity. Their Press and leaders invite our English-speaking fellow-citizens not to believe or trust us, even if we do try to take a fair and accommodating attitude towards them."

"With this action they immediately betray their own better judgment that our Government will treat the English-speaking fellow citizen justly and fairly just as they have been narrow-minded in victory and in the exercise of power, so they are now small and petty in the day of their defeat."

"We will not be disturbed in the least by professional tacticians and people who would like to give the Government sporting chance. We will see to it that justice, fairness and honest government triumph and are maintained."

"The Government will continue to carry out its policy of clearing up the Augean stables and working for perpetuation of peace and honourable co-operation between the two White races of our Fatherland."

Things In General

5000 Oppose Government Action

About 5,000 people assembled outside the Durban City Hall at lunch time last Monday, passed a resolution protesting against the recent release of Robey Leibbrandt and four other political offenders. The meeting also called on the Government to resign and seek a decisive mandate for the policy it was now pursuing. Dr. V. L. Sharrer, M.P., presided. The speakers were Mr. J. R. Sullivan, M.P., and Mr. E. R. Browne, M.P.C. The following resolution was passed: "This mass meeting of Durban citizens indignantly deprecates and denounces the action of the Union Government, in granting full pardon to men convicted by the High Courts for grave offences against the State and the people, as unconstitutional, derogatory to the judiciary and as ruthless disregard of the climate of anti-apartheid sentiment of our

people who have suffered grave and irreparable loss as a result of sacrifice in a war of defence against the enemy whom these men now released treacherously and indirectly aided."

"That we will protest with increased determination against further similar action as now contemplated by the Government."

"That, therefore, we call on the Government to resign and seek a decisive mandate from the people for the policy it is now pursuing."

U.S.B.C.

On June 14 a meeting was held of the Working Committee of the University Indian Students Bursary Committee to plan a campaign for the collection of funds in Durban during the week commencing July 15. During this "Durban Week" the following entertainment shall be enjoyed by the public—a bioscope show, plays, a musical programme, an American bur-

les, a dance, a concert, an inter-university debate and most probably a soccer match between Centurion and Natal. The funds collected shall be used for the granting of bursaries to deserving Indian and Malay students who cannot afford university education. Thus far the sum of £1,300 has been collected mainly from the Transvaal. The present bank balance is £800, the sum of £400 having been spent in a bursary awarded to the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Witwatersrand.

India And The British Commonwealth

Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Editor of the 'Hindustan Times' who is presently on a tour of Europe in the course of an interview in Germany last Tuesday said India had not yet decided whether to remain in the British Commonwealth, and the decision would be greatly influenced by events in South Africa.

No Caste Distinction In Government Services

The Government of India have reiterated their policy of doing away with communal and caste distinctions in regard to appointments in Central Services. In a circular addressed to all Ministries, the Government have expressed the opinion that to require any distinction between the sub-sections of the Hindu community would amount to importing a fresh distinction which is not in consonance with the present policy of the Government. They have decided that no caste distinctions should be recognised in the matter of appointments to various services irrespective of whether such distinctions are recognised by Provincial Government or not to areas where caste distinctions have been made. In the case of India, other than the Scheduled Castes will be open without further restriction to all Hindus without distinction of caste. It will be recalled that in August 1947, the Government of India resolved that it was not necessary to retain the system of reservation in respect of vacancies filled by competition, except for Scheduled Castes who need this protection in view of their backwardness. It was also decided that in regard to posts filled from the open market otherwise than by competition, recruitment would be made approximately in proportion to the population of the various communities in the Indian Dominion. The reservations which were fixed for Hindus (other than Scheduled Castes): 50 per-

cent, Scheduled Castes: 15 per cent, Muslims 13½ per cent, others 10 per cent.

Lords Defeat Government On "Citizen" Issue

On Monday night the predominantly Conservative House of Lords carried an amendment to a Bill affecting British nationality, against the wishes of the Government. The opposition objected to the word "citizen" being used in the proposed expression "citizen of the United Kingdom and the Colonies," preferring "British subject of the United Kingdom and the Colonies." The amendment was carried by 75 votes to 23. The Government will now have to reconsider its attitude. The main purpose of the Bill is to provide a new method to give effect to the principle that the people of each self-governing country within the British Commonwealth shall have particular status as citizens of their own country and also common status as members of the wider association of peoples comprising the Commonwealth.

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૨૫માઈના માર્કિંગ: "અરવિન્દ."

૬૪ બોલિંગ.
૪૦૯, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રિચાર્ડ
ફોન ૬૪ પો. બો. મોકલ ૧૦૮.
૨૫માઈના માર્કિંગ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—: ફોલ્લોલ વેપારી ::—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩. માર્કેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

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સરેલા બાવે આકર્ષક અને કળામય સાડીઓ પા. રી. ૫

| | | |
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| કાપડો જોરજોર ટરગ પનો | રી. ૮-૧૧ વાર | |
| સીલકની ભરત ભરતી સાડીઓ નવીન ડિઝાઇન | | ૫ ૨૦ ૦ |
| કાપડો જોરજોરની સાડીઓ | | ૪ ૨૦ ૦ |
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| સીલક મલકીત. બે રંગી રાડીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડિઝાઇન | | ૧૧ ૦ ૦ |

કાપડો વેપસ, સાડી માટે પડો પનો. આ કપડે રંગીમાં, રી. ૬ વાર. ભરત ભરત રંગમ, સાડી અને કસ્ટોમ માટે ટુપો પનો રી. ૧૨-૬. મલક તથા કોલમમાં માટે નીલક મલક, પાથળમાં, કોલક, રંગમ વીગેરેના બા રંગમાં બાલ લાલકા કપો છે. પલેન જોરજોર ટરગ પનો રી. ૮-૧૧ વાર

કોલકમાંના
સીલકના નેટ-
નું રી. ૬૨૬
સીલકમાં મળશે.
નું રી. ૧૨/૬

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Edited by
MAHATMA GANDHI
1919

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 2ND JULY 1948

Bapu's Ashes

BAPU'S ashes have been brought to South Africa. We do not propose to enter into a discussion here as to how and why they have come. We might be taken severely to task for even questioning such a thing. And yet we venture to do so because we deem it to be too sacred a thing to be handled the way it has been handled. But the fact is that the ashes are on these shores. Thousands of people will and, indeed, they should pay homage to the sacred ashes, and finally they will be immersed in the South African waters. What next? Shall we continue with our daily routine of violating the great ideals for which Bapu lived and at the altar of which he laid his life? His spirit is, however, ever watching us and will continue to do so with loving care. But have we really been faithful to him? We include here all, from the Government downwards, whom he served so devotedly during the previous twenty years of his life he spent in South Africa. True that the idea of Satyagrah was conceived and first practised by him successfully in this land. But if we examine our lives during the thirty-four years since Bapu departed from these shores there is hardly anything to fill us with pride that we have been loyal to him. On

the contrary there is every thing to feel ashamed of that we were unfit to have him here. There is, however, yet a chance for South African Indians to prove their worth. They have a God-given field here to live up to those great ideals which he preached and practised. If they do so they will bring happiness not only to all the oppressed people of the world but will set a noble example to the world which is so badly in need of a practical lesson in love and non-violence. If we can provide that by our deeds, even to a small degree, we shall have proved worthy of him and of his sacred ashes having been brought to South Africa.

It will not be out of place here to quote the following words of Acharya Vinoba Bhave from one of his addresses at public meetings. Bapu had left a large estate for them (his children). Usually, some fought for obtaining a share in the estate but the kind of estate which Bapu had left was such that few could have had the courage to claim a right to it. His estate required of the heir a duty to qualify himself for possessing it. They—Bapu's children—could not now afford

to lead a life of ease and light-heartedness, as perhaps they could while he was alive. Bapu's life had been played out before their eyes. His estate consisted of his ideas. Everybody could take them but taking them meant working out those ideas in one's own life.

Drs. Dadoo And Naicker

BOTH Drs. Dadoo and Naicker, who were released last week, came on TV on Friday last. It reaches the hands of the readers. Drs. Dadoo and Naicker will be released from the Maritzburg prison after having completed their long sentence of six months during the period of outlawry they got for "good conduct". They were both punished for organising and leading their countrymen to disobey a law which forbids Indians to exercise the freedom of movement from one Province to another—the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1933. They violated this law as being one of the unjust laws of this country. It is not only unjust but also undemocratic because those who were affected by it had no say in the making of it. It is important because their statement and their protest against passing it were flouted, which is a violation of one of the fundamental principles of

which religion is based, namely to respect human freedom and human dignity. But this was not all. They violated this law not for its intrinsic demerits but to protest against another law—the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 very rightly termed the "Ghetto Act". That law is much worse in character, for it is a law which affects the Asiatic people as defined in the Act and as such it is an insult to that nation. If it is allowed to work the law will cause the economic ruin and the moral and spiritual degradation of the people of the island and thus will kill their very manhood. All the qualities of Apartheid in the present Nationalist Government derive its sustenance from that Act. We do not wish to exaggerate or indulge in extreme language but on some points we venture to suggest, or deny that the Act is as bad as it is described. It was for protesting against this grave act of man's injustice to man that Drs. Dadoo and Naicker were unjustly punished.

We take this opportunity of very heartily congratulating them and with them all the other brave men and Dr. Gomon who was released last week and with her all the other brave women for the sufferings they have undergone and the sacrifices they have

made in fighting for the cause of our community and for the national honour of India. The community, we have no doubt, will meet them fittingly. But the matter does not end there, does it? We cannot boast of having risen adequately to the occasion. If we really feel as we should feel the humiliation the Caste Act seeks to inflict upon us, we shall have to be prepared for much greater sufferings and sacrifices. We shall have to think and to fight for our lives on lines higher than material. The path we have chosen to traverse is a thorny one but it is the only one that will ultimately lead to happiness. If we seek immediate happiness and are not concerned about the future, then we should not deceive ourselves and the world.

The struggle has been which suspended in view of the changed Government. We do not know where we stand with it officially. Things that are spoken unofficially by responsible Ministers do not agree well for the future. We would, however, plead for the exercise of patience and moderation. For in what huggers will not help the community and will not be in the interests of our cause. The responsible leaders of the Indian community should concentrate on leading their own community which is so much in need of true leadership. They should not seek to lead the rest of the non-European people who cannot succeed in their struggle unless they produce leaders among themselves. To quote an example, the Congress in India was not able to fight for the cause of the States' people until the latter were able to produce their own leaders and were prepared to fight their own battle. Communist methods of bringing about

chaos in the country must be shunned by all those who wish to see progress. Some way of settlement on a more honourable basis to both parties—the Government and the people—must be found. The only way that could be done is that suggested by the United Nations General Assembly, of negotiations between the representatives of the Govern-

ments concerned which, according to the Prime Minister, is a better way than conflict with the policy of the present Government. Every possible effort should be made to achieve this and the first essential to it is to avoid all irresponsible and immoderate talks from public platforms and the Press.

NOTES

India's Choice

The 'Star' (Johannesburg) under the above caption, writes:

The Constituent Assembly of India, at its session next month, is due to discuss one of the cardinal questions in its task of designing a constitution, namely, whether India shall remain in the Commonwealth. A news report from New Delhi stated that the Cabinet was considering whether this debate should be postponed until after Pandit Nehru's visit to London in October. This report suggests that Pandit Nehru may intend to seek a final clarification of ideas about where the Commonwealth stands, or where it is going, in a world whose political horizon at the moment seems filled by the United States, Russia and the United Nations. Mr. Menzies, a former Prime Minister of Australia, and now Leader of the Opposition, has undertaken an official mission to London to uncover exactly that information. The question, however, is not one for Britain alone to answer. She pertinently may ask where each Dominion is going. If they are following divergent paths, she must claim the same freedom for herself. From a candid discussion, and the more candid the better, there should come anew the realisation that in the free association of nations called the Commonwealth there is a unique deposit of political wisdom, which alone may prevent the world's retrogressing to a political barbarism. This might engulf Britain and each Dominion separately, but cannot engulf them if they stand together. Yet obvious as this seems, it will require some adjustments of present ideas, and in this task thinking people everywhere in the Commonwealth are called to a grave responsibility.

If we might be permitted to add, a graver responsibility, in this respect, lies on South Africa.

Case Against Messrs. Naicker And Reddi Adjourned

The case against Mr. M. P. Naicker and Mr. S. V. Reddi in which they were charged with aiding and abetting under the Immigrants Regulations Act, 1914, came before Mr. Van Lingen in the Durban Magistrate's Court on Thursday, July 1. The case was adjourned to August 9 in view of the fact that the Passive Resistance struggle was suspended and negotiations between the Government and the Congress were taking place. The Magistrate remarked that he did not want to do anything which might precipitate action. He wished the Congress success in their representations with the Government. The matter was of a far-reaching nature, he said, and hoped that an amicable settlement will be arrived at.

Apartheid in Cape Trains

Mr. Paul Sauer, Minister of Transport, said in an interview in Capetown last Monday that the question of applying apartheid in the suburban lines in the Cape Peninsula was being investigated. He hoped that he would be able to make a decision on the matter during the coming session of Parliament.

Future Of The Native

Professor A. C. Cilliers of the University of Stellenbosch, at a meeting in Capetown said that Natives and Europeans could not live together in a country in which the population was growing faster than its ability to produce food. The urbanised Native developed the white man's tastes in food, clothing and luxuries. He present policies continued the Natives would govern in 25 to 30 years' time. Because the Europeans had managed for the last 300 years, that did not mean that they would still be all right for another 300 years. The task of the white people in South Africa—the maintenance of the last bulwark of Western

civilisation in Africa—was greater than that which the Voortrekkers faced. It would persist for 100 or 150 years. In reply to a question, Professor Cilliers said that any claim that the white man was inherently superior to the Native could not be proved. Invariably the race with the larger numbers asserted itself—domination by a minority could not last.

South Africa To Fight Communism

Mr. F. C. Erasmus, Minister of Defence, said at a Nationalist Party meeting during last weekend in Pretoria that in the event of a clash with Communism, South Africa's sympathy would be with the Western Powers. He would not remain neutral. To be strong externally, however, South Africa would be strong internally. As far as possible the Defence Force would be modernised. Neglect of the U.D.F. was not the Government's policy. He said: "We pray for a period of peace but unluckily it looks as if the armed world cannot help itself and is in an unfavourable position for peace. We cannot close our eyes to the situation and therefore it will be the Government's task to guard peace." Referring to non-Europeans in the Defence Force, Mr. Erasmus said the Native Military Corps would be disbanded immediately. Natives and Coloureds would not carry weapons under the National Administration. There would be apartheid, and no military training for Natives and Coloureds. That was the tradition of the country.

"Communism Sprang From The East"

—Mr. Attlee

"Communists have vested interest in chaos," the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, told a rally of 25,000 agricultural workers at Skipton, Lancashire, last Sunday. He was attacking those who said that the United States wanted to control Europe. "Communists do not want to see Europe restored. They want Europe weak and disturbed because they think that the more wretched people are the more chance there is for Communism." Communism sprang from the East and the people of Britain would not accept it. It was oriental in concept and did not belong to the main stream of democratic thought. "We have a much higher standard in regard to human rights," he said.

BAPOO'S DISILLUSIONMENT

By. L. W. RITCH

FOUR days before his death or, I believe, translation to a larger life, Gandhiji is reported to have remarked apropos some of the more sinister first fruits of independence (black-marketing, profiteering, corruption, etc.) that "now we have known it, we are disillusioned. Whether you are disillusioned or not I am disillusioned."

Speaking at Madras in April last, (vide "Indian Opinion" of May 21) Prof. Radhakrishnan said: "Disillusion entered my heart before the great light entered his body. He was pierced to the quick and was leading a tortured kind of life, unable to find out what it was all due to; whether his method had not failed; whether political independence which he regarded as the beginning of an unfinished revolution was not being corrupted by selfishness, individual and collective."

Now, when a great soul such as our Bapoo speaks of "disillusionment," those who cherished his light and leading are naturally concerned to learn what was the illusion he had harboured and how at last perceived?

I approach the question hesitantly, and briefly conclude that I may be but another fool mistaking a shadow for a substance. Bapoo's life was how? It was a life of such value as to oblige us to ask: what shall I think, he well-advised as we are, and understand it in all its depth and implications of only because of the pain it confronted him with, and which he set himself to conquer? Are fundamentally the same as those which we in the West and Africa are faced with? No, they are world problems.

Bapoo's last unquestionable achievement India's political independence through his method of peaceful conquest. He demonstrated the impossibility of enforcing an unacceptable rule upon a people prepared passively to submit to the death. He proved the practical value of endurance and patience as weapons with which to counter the compulsions of brute force. His obvious sincerity, calmly self-surrendering the faith unshakable that inspired him, his contempt for what was ordinarily prize money all contributed to raise his leadership above the plane of mere political action and to invest it with the sanctity of a religious crusade. He adopted for his motto "There is no Religion higher than Truth" and identified Truth with God. Like Moses, the Liberator of the Children of Israel, he cherishes

and visions of a Promised Land, one flowing with the milk of human kindness and the honey of strength, used wisely and well. Like Moses, he strove to inspire his people with spiritual ideals and by example and precept to lead them out of the darkness of superstitions and misunderstandings in which he found them, to the light of right knowledge translated into noble endeavour.

What, then, miscarried? Where, firstly, did we look for explanation of the crop of rank and evil growths that sprang from the soil upon which our Bapoo poured the pure sunlight of his life and love? How account for the things that rendered him a disappointed and heart-stricken man? That verily, from deep the cry of "Disillusioned" just as he left us?

Shall we conclude that his methods were wrong? If so we must agree that he erred in very glorious and exalted company, that in the Word Saviours. Shall we say that his methods have failed? That they have not yet fruited perhaps, but perhaps the fruit of a life of loving service rendered him a dedication to God as he was relative of his mission.

It may seem to some that his method of non-violence, that promotes the growth of the good things of earth does not always activate the potentia weed seeds in the soil. This is true in the old and new they have been eradicated, that is regards human beings. The course of redemption of reformations of conversion in accordance to the Karma of the individual is a very lengthy one and perhaps most significant of all, that a life lived in "truth" produces an end of what may be termed some every helpful to mankind which is a, a counter of the dark or a force of a person.

Yet another factor to be considered is the understanding and understanding of the difference between spiritual and intellectual capacity obtaining among even the same peoples. We know the importance of the "guru" and the "guru" play in the make up of the individual and the role enacted by him that the "dharma" of the one is not necessarily the same as the "dharma" of another. We observe that while some are capable of responding to stimuli of the outer and bodily kind and to see the first step of a of the mind and body, others find themselves "up high" for them.

and for the present continue their development on lowlier but more familiar levels. As "The Gita" puts it: "What is mid-day brightness to the enlightened, is mid-midnight gloom to the unenlightened."

Finally, it may be helpful for us to recall that even in our time has been witnessed the spectacle of followers exhibiting all the qualities of heroism under the example and stimulus of a great leader, slumping back to mediocrity once that leader's presence and inspiration were withdrawn. "Beings follow Nature." They are conditioned by their "qualities."

And so what? Bapoo's disappointment, the torture that great heart shared with his tortured brothers and sisters, his readiness to blame himself for the unexpected tragedies he was helpless to prevent, are, knowing him as we did, understandable enough, but it still leaves our question unanswered. Let us then reconsider.

Bapoo evidently regarded political independence as but a beginning, an introduction to a revolution of the nature and proportions of a spiritual renaissance, the outcome of which would be brotherly co-operation in place of selfish exploitation, tolerance in

stead of the present attitude of bigotry and blind prejudice. He aimed to establish true harmony, that of unity amid diversity.

Bapoo was wiser in the lore of soul. He knew that conversion is a condition precedent to reformation; that forms are but an outer expression of the informing life and, generally, express its character. Nor was he so naive as not to recognise that the cloak of patriotism is not infrequently used to conceal a lust for self-aggrandisement and self-enrichment.

The conclusion to which I finally arrive then is this. Bapoo's own honesty and sincerity, his vast and all embracing love and charity forbade his seeing evil where there was a possibility of goodness. He would excuse and forgive even to seventy times seven rather than condemn. His own humility made him shrink from passing judgment on others. He believed implicitly in the power of love to redeem and the ultimate triumph of the divine in man.

His faith shall yet be justified, though that and his optimism may have led him to overestimate the speed at which the Mill of God were grinding.

TREATMENT OF RESISTERS IN PRISON

IN a Press statement Mr. R. A. Pillay, a member of the Natal Passive Resistance Council Executive, who has been recently released after serving a term of 1 month hard labour as a Passive Resister in the Newcastle jail, describes the conditions in jail as "a disgrace to modern society."

"I have served two terms of imprisonment in jail—three months at the Kopsi jail in 1946 and 1 month at Newcastle. My treatment on both these occasions varied very little. This shows that the treatment which prisoners were subjected to two years ago still exists" says Mr. Pillay.

"Perhaps the most shocking treatment is the manner in which prisoners are subjected to undignified searches. The Prison regulation with regard to the searching of prisoners reads thus: 'The searching of a convict shall be conducted with due regard to decency and self-respect and in as unobtrusive a manner as is consistent with the necessity of discovering any concealed article on or in any part of his body, or clothing,

'The undignified searching of prisoners—irrespective of whether they are passive resisters or otherwise—appear to me as a deliberate violation of the above rule, and are intended to humiliate the prisoners.'

Describing the way in which prisoners are being searched, Mr. Pillay says, "prisoners must strip naked twice a day, hand their clothing (one article at a time) to an African warder, who examines them and throws them on the ground behind him. They must then open their mouths, push their tongues out, stretch their fingers (one hand at a time) above their heads, jump with their legs stretched, apart, turn their backs to the warden, bend down and reveal their naked anus to him who glances to see nothing is concealed there. The prisoners then pick up their clothing and run to dress. Even prisoners who come from hospital with bandages on their limbs are compelled to undo the bandages. This practice continues in spite of repeated protests."

LAW ADVISER ON UNION'S CASE BEFORE UNITED NATIONS POLICY OF RACE DISCRIMINATION

In an address delivered to the Legal Society at the Pretoria University recently, Dr. L. C. Steyn, the senior law adviser to the Government, who last year and the year before attended the United Nations meetings as adviser to the Ministers representing South Africa, gave his impression of South Africa's position and her many problems before the United Nations. Mr. Steyn gave the history of the debate on the Indian question and the subsequent recommendation, by a two-thirds majority, that the two Governments should hold conferences to arrange their differences in accordance with their treaty obligations and their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

Dr. Steyn said the General Assembly of the United Nations could not give binding orders or make laws, as it was not a super-State, nor was it an international legislative body. The recommendation was not carried out and consequently India again brought the question to the fore at the United Nations and more or less the same ground was covered as in the previous year, but the result was more favourable for South Africa this time and no resolution was taken.

In addition to this indictment, there was, of course, the South-West Africa question.

Dr. Steyn said that, according to Article 77 (2) of the United Nations Constitution, which reads: "It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms," there was no legal obligation to bring South-West Africa under the trusteeship system.

A majority of States nevertheless put forward the view that

there was such an obligation. Fortunately a two-thirds majority was not obtained but the General Assembly adopted a resolution, for the second time expressing the hope that the Union Government would lay before it a trusteeship agreement.

Minority Rule

Thus then was the indictment which South Africa had to meet before the United Nations and the results of the hearing.

"This matter did not end there and we will probably have to appear again before this jury representing the States," said Dr. Steyn. He then discussed the nations which comprise this body, and stated that there were about 2,000 million people in the world, of whom one-third were Europeans. This minority group of Europeans had for many centuries exercised a dominating influence in the world.

Even to-day there were about 300 million non-Europeans who were ruled by European nations.

There was a reaction against this among the non-European races all over the world. They had made important advances. Examples of this were India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, who had recently become independent. It could be said that this move for independence was part of the reaction against European domination of subject non-European peoples.

The reaction contributed to a considerable extent to the difficulties which South Africa had to overcome during the two years at the United Nations. It was the Union's race discrimination to which most objection was raised, and although her case, legally, was clear, there were many who were against her, because she made distinctions between the races. The fact that the Union had race discrimination and made this a part of her policy was enough and more than enough for many of the members of the U.N.

Domestic Matter

Some countries, Argentina,

Brazil, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Paraguay, did support South Africa. Other countries, Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and the Dominican Republic, abstained from voting but not because they approved of the Union's race discrimination.

They supported South Africa or abstained from voting, partly because for a long time they had carefully guarded their own domestic jurisdiction and realised that the Indian question was a domestic matter in which the United Nations should not intervene, and partly because they considered that there were other nations who could also be indicted on this charge, and with more reason, perhaps, than the Union.

There was reason to think that India herself might not be without guilt in this respect, as regards the fundamental right of freedom of religion. Another instance would be Liberia, where Europeans could not acquire rights of citizenship.

Human Rights

It was therefore not to be wondered at that there were some who hesitated to single out the Union for condemnation, particularly now that it was becoming more known that her policy was not one of active suppression, and that the Natives, not to mention the Indians, had, under European rule, made good progress in all spheres, and in many ways were better off than large communities in other countries.

It must not be concluded that this reaction against race discrimination is purely and simply a reaction against the Western rule of non-European races. This reaction against the Union is part of a general reaction against the modern concept of human rights in general.

The Law of Europe, for instance, have literally not been left any room for existence. There is reason to believe that they have been completely destroyed. It is estimated that about 25 million of them have disappeared. With the Polish nation it did not go much better.

In the concentration camps of Europe there are still several millions of displaced persons who can go nowhere, and do not want to return to the countries of their origin because of the uncertainties as regards liberties, which in this country would be regarded as the most elementary of liberties.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION CASE



A view of the procession about Noon on Red Fort Day (1-4-48) with, three of the accused. Proceeding from nearest to the camera: (1) Vishnu Ramkrishna Karkara (2) Narayan Dattaraj and (3) Nathuram Vinayak Godse.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations received a continuous stream of complaints from minority groups in many countries complaining of injustice and oppression.

"These happenings have raised the conviction that something should be done to ensure the elementary rights and freedoms of human beings. This idealism is now one of the realities of the present world. It was one of the most important tendencies on the part of some of the members of the jury.

The crux of the matter in regard to the Indian question and the South-West Africa question was the discrimination between races which existed in the Union.

It could, therefore, be understood why it was so difficult for the Union to convince the United Nations of the justice of her cause. Even the United States and Britain, who were just as much exposed to accusations as the Union Government in this respect, did not attempt to justify race discrimination before that jury.

South Africa's best efforts could not get a favourable judgement. All that she could do was to avoid the two-thirds majority for an unfavourable judgement.

THE UNION'S POPULATION

ECONOMIST'S BELIEF THAT UNION WILL HAVE 2,500,000 EUROPEANS BY 1950

THE European Population of the Union will be at least 2,500,000 by 1950, assuming no net gain or loss through migration. This is the conclusion reached by an economist, Mr. J. L. Sadie, in a paper published in the latest issue of the South African Journal of Economics. Mr. Sadie, who graduated in economics at Stellenbosch, is now taking his graduate diploma at Cambridge University.

"Perhaps of more importance than the absolute growth in European population is the racial differential fertility," he says.

The Coloured races are definitely more fertile than the whites, but because of higher infant mortality their effective fertility or reproduction rate is just slightly higher than that of Europeans. As a result, Europeans have lost some ground since 1921. They constituted 31.6 per cent. of the total population in that year, 20.9 in 1936 and 20.8 in 1946.

"The most probable future course of events appears to be that the mortality rates of the Coloured people, especially the Natives, will decline faster than their fertility. Among the Europeans, however, the possibility of a higher natural increase as the result of lower death rates is very limited. The results will be a diminishing majority whose relative size is ever

Lawyers' Task

"Even that does not signify any permanent progress," said Dr. Steyn. "The world and also the States who were our friends expect us to do something to restore friendly relations with India. If this expectation is not fulfilled—and it is not for me to say whether it should be fulfilled or not—and if we are again indicted, there is little reason to suppose that the judgement will not be unfavourable."

"The movement against the rule of the Western Powers is becoming stronger. It is being better organised and in international organisation it is manifesting itself more clearly and with increasing vigour."

It was the task of the lawyers from time to time, said Dr. Steyn, to adjust the legal system to racial developments in such a manner that the relationship between the races would, just like the relationship between individuals, conform to the fundamental maxim that everyone should use his own right of existence in such a way as not to violate the rights of others.

"It is your task, the work of the lawyers—no one else can do it. You owe it to yourselves and to the country in which you live not to leave this work undone."

"The Star" (Johannesburg.)

was some 1,800 less than the increase during the previous inter-census period, but greater than that of any previous similar period.

Migration (emigration less immigration) resulted in a loss of population of 13,000 over the period 1941 to 1946. Over the period of 35 years since Union, South Africa did not gain more than 2,000 citizens a year through immigration.

Internal migration (the movement between rural and urban

communities) has been stimulated and accelerated. While about 35 per cent of the European population lived in country districts in 1935, the similar figure for 1941 was under 31 per cent. It is suggested that there may be not less than 660,000 Europeans living in country areas to-day.

Mr. Sadie shows that South Africans are a "young people"; the average age of the European population is probably not more than 29 years.

Things In General

New Book On Union's Native Policy

A demand for "aggressive liberalism" in South Africa is made by Mr. Oliver Walker, the South African journalist, in a new book called "Kaffirs are Lively." This book strongly condemns the Union's treatment of its Native population. Besides outlining the historical development in the Union's Native policy the book exhaustively discusses administration and conditions of Natives on mines and farms and in reserves and locations. The writer claims that no understanding of South African labour and race problems is possible without a firm grasp of "the first tenet of the creed of the mines—thou shalt employ only cheap migrant labour," and adds that the gold mining industry and the Government have conspired in making labour reservoirs of Native reserves. In a detailed review of conditions in the reserves, he gives a picture of steady deterioration. Criticising General Smuts, in one chapter Mr. Walker says that the only real test in Africa of a man calling himself a statesman is the way he measures up to the adjustment and advancement of white and black relations. This statesman has spent more time warning his people against conditions he has steadily existed in creating. The book is dedicated to "Kaffirboeties, liberals and other Christian gentlemen of Africa in whose applied humanity lies the only hope for the peaceful progress of a great continent." In a footnote he defines Kaffirboetie as "a term of contempt for any white South African who acts as if Christianity meant something else to him besides going to church on Sundays."

Apartheid Of Hospitals

The principle of separating Native hospitals entirely from

European hospitals throughout the country should be adopted, according to one of the resolutions which the Newcastle Farmers' Association is sending forward to the Natal Agricultural Union Congress due to be held in Pietermaritzburg in September.

Death Of Bishop Of Capetown

The Archbishop of Capetown, the Rt. Rev. Dr. J. H. Darbyshire, Rector reports from London, was found dead on Wednesday morning in a vicarage in Britain where he was staying as a guest. He had come to Britain to attend the Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Church. Dr. Darbyshire took a keen interest in all South African affairs and paid special attention to the Native problem. He was President of the Christian Council of South Africa from 1913 to 1945.

S.A.I.C. Executive

The Executive of the South African Indian Congress will be held, it is announced by the President, on the 17th and 18th of July in Capetown. The agenda contains: (1) Minutes and (2) Conference.

Inanda Indian Welfare Society

Under the auspices of the Inanda Indian Welfare Society a Seva Samaj (Service League) has been instituted. This Seva Samaj will answer any call to duty, subject to convenient arrangements. Screens, Colman lamps, tumbler, Paddal, pots, etc., can also be obtained for occasions. All particulars can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, c/o Mr. S. Rajagohil, P.O. Phoenix, Port of

shrinking.

Mr. Sadie draws attention to a very significant fall in infant mortality.

During the period 1921 to 1925 73 babies in every 1,000 died before they were a year old. This figure dropped to 53 deaths in every 1,000 for the period from 1936 to 1940; 46 for 1941 to 1945; and in 1946 the figure reached the low number of 36.

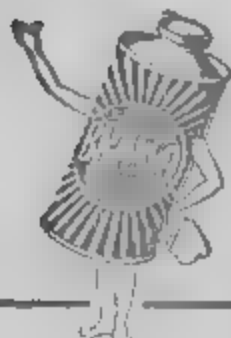
Commenting on the increased life expectancy shown by the 1940-41 life table, Mr. Sadie says that in spite of this the Union still compares unfavourably with New Zealand. Mortality rates in South Africa are, however, somewhat lower than in the United Kingdom. A new life table based on statistics of 1945-47 will, in Mr. Sadie's opinion, possibly show another 1 or 2 per cent decrease in the "correct" death rate.

Mr. Sadie also comments on the "boom in babies" during the war which was followed by an unexpected post-war boom. The figure for 1946 surpassed any rate in any one year since 1922.

Some of the other conclusions reached by Mr. Sadie may be summarised as follows:

Between the two census dates, May 1941, and May 1946, the European population of South Africa increased by 140,000, which

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Transvaal Indian Congress GERMISTON BRANCH

A meeting of the Germiston Branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress will be held in Germiston on Sunday, July 18 at 2 p.m. Agenda: Election of officials

G. GORHAM,
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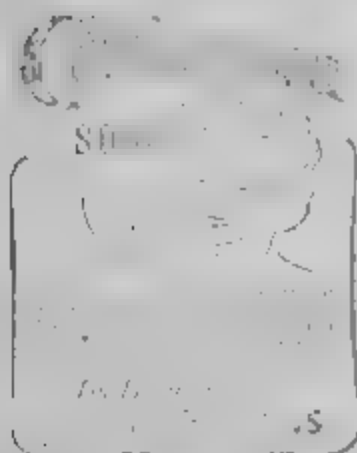
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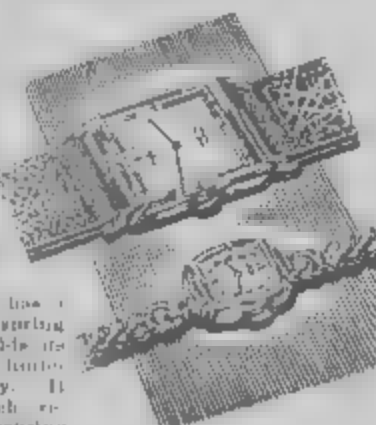
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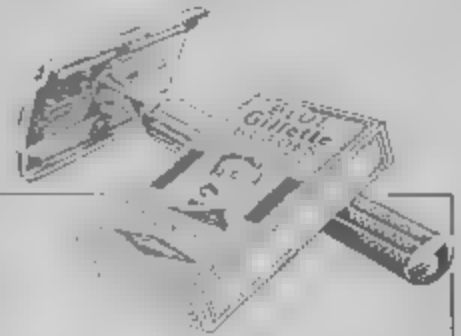
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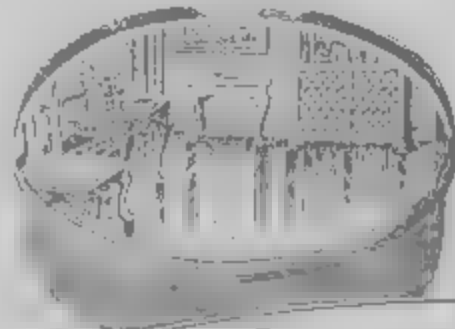
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GANDHI MURDER TRIAL

WHEN the trial of Nathuram Vinayak Godse, alleged assassin of Mahatma Gandhi, and seven others began in the Special Court of Mr. Anna Chavan in the Red Fort on June 22, the Judge read out the charges against all the accused and announced that Diganubhai Hanarimandas Badge, the much accused, had been given the King's pardon.

The charges included conspiracy to commit the murder of Mahatma Gandhi; transporting without a licence to Delhi of arms and ammunition, namely, two revolvers with cartridges, in contravention of the provisions of the Indian Arms Act and having in their possession explosive substances, namely, two gun-cotton slabs and five hand-grenades with detonators and wicks, with intent to endanger life. Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte were charged with having brought without a licence from Calcutta to Delhi an automatic pistol with cartridges. Nathuram Godse was also charged with having in his possession in Delhi an automatic pistol with cartridges, as also two gun-cotton slabs and five hand-grenades with detonators and wicks.

The charge sheet added that in pursuance of the conspiracy, on January 30, at Birla House, Delhi, Nathuram Godse intentionally and knowingly caused the death of Mahatma Gandhi, and that the others abetted him in the commission of this offence.

Only eight of the nine persons originally accused were present in the court, Badge having been granted a pardon.

After the charges had been read out by the Judge in English, they were interpreted for the benefit of Karkare and Shankar Kistayya in Marathi and Telugu respectively. Mr. Navalkar, interpreter at the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, interpreted in Marathi, and Miss Kamalamma, from Bellary, interpreted in Telugu.

After the charges had been read out, the Judge asked all the eight accused individually whether they had understood the charges against them, and whether they pleaded guilty to the charges or claimed to be tried. All the eight accused claimed to be tried.

Mr. C. K. Daphtary, Chief Prosecution Counsel, opening the case, dealt in a general way with the charges against the accused persons, their history and past record and finally led up to the murder of Mahatma Gandhi on January 30.

Though it was the land of the first accused that actually killed Mahatma Gandhi by means of three shots fired from a pistol, Apte and Karkare were also present in or about Birla House when the murder took place. That was not mere coincidence but part of a plan.

Referring to accused number one, Nathuram Godse, Mr. Daphtary said that from Mar. 6, 1944, he was the editor of a Marathi daily called 'Apron' published at Poona. It was started by him together with Apte, who was sort of general manager of the paper. The views expressed in that journal were contrary to the policy of non-violence and brotherhood advocated by Gandhi.

In that, Mr. Daphtary said, lay the motive for the deed that was committed. During the anxious and troublous time that preceded partition and the even greater troubles that followed later and the bloodshed which took place between the two leading communities, Gandhi had throughout advocated that so far as India was concerned they should observe towards the Muslim community an attitude of peace, not withstanding the very strong provocation that there might have been for retaliation or counter measures. This was an attitude which he took long before, as would be evident from his visit to Noakhali and subsequently to Bihar.

Nathuram Godse was entirely antagonistic to this view, and the articles in his paper stood for violence, for retaliation and, in fact, for everything else which was contrary to what Gandhiji had preached. He thought the policy of peace was appeasement and ultimately his antipathy became so bitter that he lost the balance of mind which kept people from going to the extreme, and he came to the very foolish conclusion that the only way to

achieve his end was to eliminate the individual who not only preached peace and non-violence, but to whom millions of people listened. Had he not lost that balance he would have realised that by doing away with a preacher he did not do away with the ideas he preached.

The first three accused maintained the closest connection among themselves. The fourth accused, Madanlal Paliwa, was a refugee from the Punjab.

V. D. Savarkar, the Counsel said, had been the leader of a particular line of thought and President of the Hindu Mahasabha. His policy and views were well known and for a long time past he had had great influence upon the minds of the accused. There was no doubt, he said, to prove not only that he had knowledge of what was going to be done, but that it could not have been done except with his complicity.

It would not be possible for the prosecution to say definitely when the idea originated and with whom, and who was the next man to join in, but there would be no doubt, Mr. Daphtary stated, that Nathuram Godse, Apte and Karkare had conspired to kill Mahatma Gandhi some time in the last week of December, or at the latest in the beginning of January.

Mr. Daphtary referred to Savarkar and said the establishment of the Hindu Rashtra Dal was done with his approval. His books, which were numerous and vigorous, were text books for persons of a certain line of thought in the country and these books had been initiated by Godse, Apte and Parthure and publicised by them.

Savarkar had very close contact with Godse, Apte and Karkare and whenever he travelled out of Bombay, either Apte or Godse used to accompany him or at any rate stay with him. Nathuram Godse and Apte for the last time visited Savarkar on January 15, at his place in Dadar. They left Bombay four days later.

"It is our case that this visit will be of the utmost significance," Mr. Daphtary added.

"Somewhere about the end of December, 1947, on the first two

days of January, 1948, the idea which resulted in this conspiracy was born," Mr. Daphtary proceeded.

Karkare and Madanlal had gone to Poona on January 3. Madanlal was there introduced to Nathuram Godse and Apte. Then Karkare and Madanlal were directed to Badge's shop. Shankar Kistayya, Badge's servant was also there. In the shop they inspected some hand-grenades and slabs of gun cotton. On January 10, Karkare and Badge came to Bombay and went to the residence of Mr. Savarkar. Also on January 10, Karkare and Madanlal visited Prof. Jaimi and as had been pointed out earlier. It was on January 12 that Prof. Jaimi was told of the object for which they were going to Delhi.

At the moment, what happened on January 13 could not be mentioned except that on that day Nathuram Godse nominated Apte's wife as being entitled to receive benefits under a life insurance policy of Rs. 2,000. This was done with the knowledge of Apte.

On January 14, Godse and Apte came to Bombay and went to Dadar to the house of Savarkar. They registered at a hotel but subsequently went to one Mr. Joshi at Thana. Madanlal, Badge and Shankar were also in Bombay. Badge had with him some explosives in a bag containing five hand-grenades and two gun-cotton slabs. They were left in a particular place to be picked up later. On that day, Nathuram Godse nominated the wife of his brother, Gopal Godse, as the assignee on a policy of Rs. 3,000. This too was done with the knowledge of Apte.

On January 14, Gopal Godse who was working as a civil store keeper, sent in an application to his superior for seven days leave from January 15. This leave was sanctioned from January 17 to 23.

On January 15, Nathuram Godse, Apte, Karkare and Madanlal went to the place where the bag containing the grenades and gun-cotton slabs had been kept. Evidence would be produced as to what happened when that bag was opened and what things were said and done in regard to the

grenades and the gun-cotton slabs. Then they moved about from place to place that day.

Madanlal went to one Mrs. Modak and informed her that he was on the verge of leaving for Delhi for some purpose and he hinted to her that she might look for something bad to happen there. On that day Karkare and Madanlal left Bombay by the Peshawar Express for Delhi. On the same day, two tickets were booked for Delhi on the plane scheduled to leave Bombay on January 17. These tickets were purchased in the name of Karmakar and S. Marathe, but were in reality for Nathuram Godse and Apte. As evidence would show, these people frequently used to change their names as they moved about from place to place. Nathuram Godse and Apte left Bombay on January 17 and reached Delhi the same day. Badge and Shankar left for Delhi on January 17. Karkare and Madanlal reached Delhi on January 17. They stayed in a hotel. Karkare going under the name Vyas on this occasion Madanlal used his own name. Nathuram Godse and Apte reached Delhi about mid-day on January 17 and they stayed in a hotel in the name of Deshpande and S. Deshpande. On January 18 Nathuram Godse, Apte, Karkare and Madanlal were all in Delhi. Badge and Shankar arrived on January 19. Gopal Godse also arrived in Delhi on the same night.

On January 20, Apte, Shankar and Badge visited Birla House in the morning. Apte showing them round the place where the prayer meetings were held. The idea apparently was, that some explosives would be dropped through a small bit of treble work there immediately behind where Gandhi would sit.

The accused had in all with them two guns; five hand grenades, two gun-cotton slabs, detonators and wire. Before January 20, they had met together and the explosive were distributed to a particular manner among the various people and it would be possible, later on by evidence to trace each of the things to its ultimate end excepting detonator which exploded.

The arms and explosives were distributed apparently on the afternoon of January 20 one hand-grenade and two gun-cotton slabs to Madanlal, one hand-grenade to Shankar, one gun and hand-grenade to Badge. Nathuram Godse and Karkare had one hand-grenade each.

The plan was that Madanlal would cause the gun-cotton to explode, it being anticipated that this would cause some confusion when the others would throw their grenades and in the confusion the pistols would be fired. Actually, what happened was that the gun-

cotton slab was fired, but for some reason or other the rest of the plan did not come off. It might be that some of them at any rate found that the confusion was not sufficient or that the atmosphere was not otherwise right for carrying out their plan.

Karkare left Birla House first, and Apte, Nathuram Godse, Shankar Badge and Gopal Godse left by taxi a little later. All these persons Mr. Daphitary stated were present at Birla House on January 20. Madanlal was absent and taken into custody.

After the explosion, Badge and Shankar left Delhi the same night but before leaving, the hat and one gun-cotton slab and some ammunition were buried in a place beyond the Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan and were subsequently recovered. Nathuram Godse and Apte left Delhi on the same night first going to Calcutta and then to Kalyan and Thana, in Bombay. Karkare stayed at a hotel and on January 21 he and Gopal Godse left the hotel, the former going to Mittra and then coming to Bombay.

In Bombay Nathuram Godse, Apte, Karkare and Gopal Godse met at about 10 in the house of a friend. On January 27, Nathuram Godse and Apte left for Delhi by plane in the morning, reaching Delhi again in the middle of the day. They left the next afternoon for Gwalior reaching there at night. They went to the house of Dr. Parekh and the deal in regard to the pistol (mentioned earlier) took place. On January 28 they were still at Gwalior, but

they returned to Delhi on January 29.

Meanwhile Karkare had reached Delhi on January 28. They then tried out the pistol which they had got from Gwalior and apparently found it satisfactory.

On January 30 they all left together and went to the prayer ground. What happened there was very brief. Mahatma Gandhi came walking from his room to the prayer place. After he had climbed two or three steps up to the dais where he used to sit, accused number one, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, approached Mahatma Gandhi apparently to shake a gesture of reverence. This placed him within one and half or two feet of Mahatma Gandhi. He then pulled out the pistol and shot at Mahatma in three places. The pistol had seven rounds in which three were fired. Two passed through the body, but one remained embedded inside. The two bullets which passed through and the three empty cartridge cases were duly recovered.

Nathuram Godse was arrested on the spot. One employee of Birla House in his indignation assaulted Godse, hitting him on the head and caused him injury. That injury was duly treated and Godse was kept in custody.

Apte and Karkare came away from Birla House and leaving Delhi on the same day on February 1. They changed their hotel at Gwalior and Karkare was arrested on February 14. Shankar was arrested on February 6. Gopal Godse at Poona on February 9. Savarkar was detained under the

Public Security Measures Act on February 6. Dr. Parekh was arrested at Gwalior on February 5.

Mr. Daphitary pointed out that he had not dealt in full with the details of the movements of Savarkar and Parekh, but said they were moving about from place to place their primary object being to collect funds. The Prosecution Counsel then quoted exhaustively from the paper "Agram" articles emphatically condemning the activities of Mahatma Gandhi and his policies.

Mr. Daphitary said that as full as possible evidence would be given in regard to the movements of the various accused during the specified periods. The second and the third accused stayed at the various places under assumed names. Notwithstanding this, their movements were watched. The Counsel also dealt with the charge, first briefly and suggested that the court might visit Birla House and inspect the spot.

The Judge wanted to know if any of the accused wanted to visit the place. Mr. Daphitary pointed out that the visit of the accused would involve elaborate police precautions and other troubles but their counsels could be present.

However, four of the accused, namely, Apte, Karkare, Madanlal and Gopal Godse wanted to be present and give any instructions they deserved to their counsels, if necessary. The Judge agreed and it was decided to visit the spot where the bomb explosion occurred in Birla House compound at 10 a.m. on June 21.

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who will be released from Maritzburg Prison to-morrow.

DR. Y. M. DADOO

PANDIT NEHRU'S speech, delivered at Delhi on the 6th, gave a review of the latest events in India. India is ready to face all possible dangers, external and internal, and the Government's supreme executive, the Prime Minister, is not only conscious of the problems before it, but is also aware of what its citizens, the people, want of it, said Pandit Nehru. Deprecating the talk of India marching into Hyderabad State, he said: "For the sake of peace the Government of India, though completely ready from the military point of view, have decided to explore a solution without any clash. Hyderabad, however, is a part of India, and no power in the world can take it away. Its geographical position is such that it can exist only as an integral part of India. Secondly, for its own defence, India cannot allow Hyderabad to be independent. An alien State cannot be permitted to exist in the heart of the country where it may be plotting with outside Powers. Thirdly, Hyderabad is the only place in the entire country without responsible government. The people of the State cannot continue to remain in serfdom, nor can feudalism withstand the historical forces which have revolutionised the rest of Princely India."

Kashmir

Referring to Kashmir, the Prime Minister said: "The Indian armed forces in Kashmir have done a marvellous job of work. Their exploits have added to the reputation of the country. They will continue their campaign, for India will not retrace its steps in Kashmir. The Pakistan Government, which has overtly been helping the invaders, has now come into the open. The Government of India have clear proof that Pakistan has put its regular armed forces against India—a most improper move, full of dangers. The future of Kashmir is in the hands of the people of the State."

India And The World

Many big Powers were preparing for another war, said Pandit Nehru. India did not want to be dragged into any conflict, but could escape only if she was strong not only militarily but economically too. Unity and peace were necessary to make India capable of standing on her own feet. For this reason, too, the people should make it a point to prevent internal troubles. India had accepted Pakistan and wanted to avoid all friction with it. Even if for certain reasons close friendship with Pakistan was not possible, they would have friendly relations for the sake of

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Baroda, June 12.

PREMIER REVIEWS EVENTS

Governor-General

Paying a tribute to Lord and Lady Mountbatten, whom he described as "friends of India," Pandit Nehru said: "They have always extended to us their sincere co-operation, and the good of the country has always been uppermost in their minds." Lord Mountbatten, he said, had kept India's interests in his mind as much as an Indian and fully lived up to the hopes with which he had been asked to stay on as Governor-General. Lady Mountbatten's tireless work for the refugees was known to those who lived in camps. He and the country, the Prime Minister said, would sincerely regret their departure. Referring to Shri C. Rajagopalachari he said that, although in the new set-up the Governor-General did not have any powers, they would take the full benefit of his advice, as he was one of their experienced leaders with great wisdom.

India And Britain

"It is not for any foreign State or any party interested in that foreign State to intimidate us into separation from Britain," said Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal and Governor-General Designate of India, speaking at a farewell function organised in his honour at Calcutta. He added: "It is for India to decide and she will decide not at the dictation of others or to please others but in her own interests and when it suits her. India will exercise her judgment freely and wisely and will not be hurried into any decision by outsiders."

"Independence is not worth much if we have no independence of thinking. Big men as well as small men, governments as well as citizens, should think independently and come to conclusions. They should not be hurried into decisions through fear of ridicule or to please anybody on earth."

"There are people trying to mislead young men that the Union Jack will be hoisted on King's birthday as part of a conspiracy to keep India in the British Commonwealth. Conspiracies are not so easy as all that. If on His Majesty's birthday on June 10 a gesture of courtesy is shown by us by flying the British flag in free India along with our own State flag, it is not a conspiracy but just courtesy. I want young men not to be

trade etc. This did not mean that India was not prepared to face any possible threat. But in the interests of maintaining economic activity, it was not necessary that there should be full co-operation between the two countries.

Poison Of Communalism

The seeds of communalism sowed by those who were now in Pakistan had left their poison behind, Pandit Nehru added. The result was that at the time of the withdrawal of the British, groups of people began to dream of power for themselves. They did not want to use constitutional means, but hoped to get away with coercion and use of force. Even now there were people who talked in terms of communities and wanted rights for them exclusively. This was a profitless mentality. In the first place, they would not get such rights, and even if they did, they would only be isolating themselves and barring their progress, while at the same time presenting an unnecessary problem to the rest of the country.

Curse Of Provincialism

Another danger which he pointed out was that of provincialism. Some people belonging to different provinces, he said, talked as if they belonged to different countries. When India was one, it was meaningless to talk about provincial boundaries and make claims on territories. The Bengal-Bihar dispute was entirely futile. The sooner people began to think of themselves as Indians, the better it would be for the country. It was only a consolidated and united country which would maintain its independence.

Government Machinery

The problem of corruption, affecting as it did Government servants as well as railway employees, had become a major issue, said Pandit Nehru. In the case of cloth, for instance, while prices were soaring in India owing to shortages, it was being smuggled into Pakistan in large quantities. While judging the Government, he pleaded, they must have a proper perspective, and they must keep in view the complexity of the problems facing those whom they had put into power.

misled by such nonsense. As I said before, when we separate from Britain, we shall do so by deliberate decision and not because someone laughs or someone frightens us. It is India's interests and India's dignity that must decide.

"In spite of our present great difficulties I hope we will get over them all and will have time to think of improving the standard of life in our country. Merely making rich people poor will not help India or increase the average income of the people. Average incomes have been calculated taking into account the income of the rich people. If therefore, we desire to raise the average national income, we must produce wealth and wealth cannot be produced without work. We should not try to deceive one another, but everyone should work in his own line and produce more. This is the only way to increase national wealth and the only way to raise the standard of life."

"I appeal to business men to co-operate with the Government of India more genuinely and wholeheartedly. I ask for your good wishes and prayers, and if good men offer their prayers for me, I may achieve something. When I hear friends cheering me up I feel encouraged."

Referring to a statement at the function that he was the first Indian Governor-General to function in free India he said: "Probably I shall be the last Governor-General and I shall have to shake hands with Warren Hastings across the ages saying: 'You were the first and I am the last in your noble line.'"

Death In Kimberley

Our correspondent from Kimberley states that the death took place on June 24, of Mr. Kesha Vilebbh. Deceased was an old and well-known resident of Kimberley and took an active interest in public work.



Cuticura
ANTISEPTIC
OINTMENT

FOR
SAFETY'S SAKE

FOR CUTS AND SCRATCHES

આદિપીળી નાંચર # કરકરે રાણીય મેવર
 અંખો સખ દર્શા. તેણે કલકલમારણી
 રૂપમારણી ૧૬૬૮-૬૯ માં બામ લીધા
 બનો. તે કાંઈ અદામરણી સખ દર્શા
 ૧૬૬૧ માં તે આરણી બીકટ ક્રાંતિ
 માં અપાયે હતો તે પાનપીળી ની
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 ની. ગજાવાસ મદામરણી મેલેમરણી
 માંકે કોમરણી રૂટી હતી પાન પાન
 તેણે મદદ કરી હતી, ૧૬૬૮ માં પાન
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 પાંચ કાંપીયારે પાંચ.

આ ઓરીસથી મળતાં પુસ્તકોનું સુચિપત્ર

વી. પી. ના આરકેડેન ગ્રાંથકુલ ખાતે દેવામાં મળેલા આથી આરકેડે ગ્રાંથકુલમાં આરકેડે ગ્રાંથકુલ ખાતે મળેલા પુસ્તકોનું સુચિપત્ર.

મુંબઈ, ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન

પુસ્તકો મળવાનું ક્રોડિક્ષ:- INDIAN OPINION, Phoenix, Natal.

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ડી. કે. પટેલ

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સાઉથ આફ્રિકન કેનેડીયન એપલ્સના રેપેરીયલ્લીસ
મેસમમાં કેપ ફ્રુટ પણ રાખીએ છીએ.
તેમજ પ્રિન્સિપલ ગ્રાસરી લોલસેસ બાયબી બગથો.
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Local doors made of imported timber 2'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 3'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 4'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 6'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2".

Windows made of imported timber, 6'0" x 12", 12" x 8" x 10", 11" x 7" x 10", 10" x 12", 12" x 8" x 10", 11" x 7" x 10".

4 Lights, 10' x 12" x 10", 8' x 10" x 10", 10' x 12" x 10", 8' x 10" x 10".
2 Lights, 10' x 12" x 10", 8' x 10" x 10", 10' x 12" x 10", 8' x 10" x 10".
Tramway timber for 10' x 10" x 10", 10' x 12" x 10", 10' x 12" x 10", 10' x 12" x 10".
Timber and hardware boards, roof timber, iron plate, and Buffalo brand paint, imported paint brushes, Laybold, plywood, furniture fittings, hardware and earthenware, etc., etc.

નંધુ ટાભા

બનરક ટીમ્બર એન્ડ હાર્ડવેર મરચાન્ડ એન્ડ ડાયરેક્ટ ઇમ્પોર્ટર
પ્રખેરે ડોર બનાવવા માટે 6'0" x 6'0" x 1", 6'0" x 6'0" x 1 1/2", 15 1/2".
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ફોન ૬૪ પો. બો. નંબર ૧૦૬.

ટેલિગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—કોલસેસ વેપારી—

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૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

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| | | |
|--|--------------|---------|
| કાપડો જોડાનીસ ૪૨" પનો | શી. ૮-૧૧ વાર | |
| સીલકની કાપડો કાપડી સાડીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન | | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| કાપડી જોડાનીસ સાડીઓ | | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીલક મજલીનની કાપડો કાપડી સાડીઓ | | ૮ ૮ ૦ |
| જરી કાપડો સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ | | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી કાપડો જોડાનીસ સાડીઓ | | ૧૫ ૦ ૦ |
| સીલક રંગ. જો રંગી સાડીઓ. રંગીન નવીન ડીઝાઇન | | ૧૨ ૦ ૦ |

કાપડો વાવણ, સાડી મારે ૫૦" પનો. આકર્ષક રંગોમાં, શી. ૧ વાર. કાપડો કાપડી રંગોમાં, સાડી અને જાડાઈ મારે ૪૫" પનો શી. ૧૨-૬. મરઠા તથા જોડાનીસ મારે સીલક રંગ, પાવણમા, સોલક, રંગો પીગેરના બાવમાં આકર્ષક રંગો કપો છે. પસેન જોડાનીસ ૪૨" પનો શી. ૭-૧૧ વાર

જોડાનીસના સીલકના રંગો કાપડો, કાપડો સાપડોમાં મળશે. નં. શી. ૧૨/૧

સુક્ષ્મીન બાવણો મારે જરી કાપડો મળે. જોડાનીસ અને કાપડો જોડાનીસ અને કાપડો સીલક જોડાનીસ કાપડો જરી કાપડો મળે. પાવણ, મળણ પાવણ, રંગો, રંગો, રંગો, રંગો રંગો રંગોમાં મળશે. આકર્ષક રંગોમાં મળશે. જાન પા. ૧૧-૧૦-૦ સેટ.

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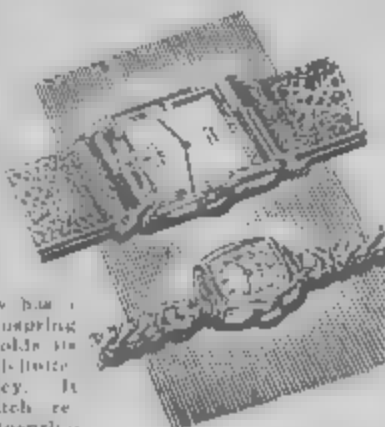
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૩૬ " " " પા. ૧૪-૨-૦.

જુલુકાઇન વીરી: પા. ૪-૫-૦, રેપરવલ પા. ૧૦-૧૫-૦,

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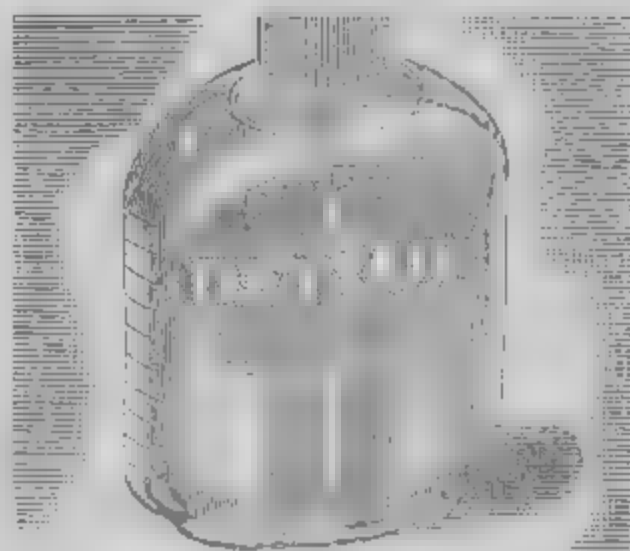
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INDIAN OPINION

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FRIDAY, 16TH JULY, 1948

Mr. Boyd's Advice To African Teachers

WE do not know in what light the African Teachers Union will take the advice given them by Mr. L. L. Boyd, the Mayor of Durban, on segregation. We are sure it will not be very favourably accepted by the intelligent section of the Bantu people, nor will it be received with any favour by the Indian people who in this respect are sailing in the same boat. Mr. Boyd would have us believe that behind the attitude of the European people in regard to segregation was "a tremendous amount of goodwill towards the non-Europeans." We must confess we are at a loss to know how this can be swallowed. The very idea of segregation has arisen from a strong feeling of race prejudice and the white man's sense of superiority. The non-European, who is segregated at present under the existing laws, feels no sense of pride in the fact. He feels, on the contrary, a strong feeling of humiliation. The more enlightened he becomes the stronger the feeling of humiliation grows. That is why it has become a burning question, and the more insistent the demand for it will be made by the European the more burning the question will become and it must eventually end in conflagration. Any segregation based on compulsion is to-day entirely

out of date. The sooner the European people realise this the better it will be for them and for the country as a whole. This we say not in the least degree by way of a threat but with the best of motives and all the goodwill we can muster. Voluntary segregation can work up to a certain extent but not for all times. Voluntary segregation is not imposed by anyone upon another but is imposed upon one's self. But it is an unnatural process and must be eliminated from all civilised societies. A society which nurtures it cannot be called a civilised for it is based on false pride and arrogance. If European society wishes to maintain the civilisation it talks of so much and to retain the respect for that civilisation of people to whom it wishes to impose it must learn to shed all false pride, all sense of superiority and arrogance and cultivate tolerance and humility.

Mrs. A. W. Huerfale, in an address to the winter school of the South African Institute of Race Relations, quite truly said, "The idea of white domination must go. It is simply not true that all white men are better than all the non-white men."

The best way to protect Western civilisation and to develop it was to make it a common civilisation of all men in South Africa—to continue assim-

ilation as a policy. This does not mean that there is no room for variations, but that the fundamental principles of our civilisation will guide our behaviour to all men. This

This surely does not allow of the type of segregation envisaged by Mr. Boyd. The ideal thing would be to work towards establishing a common brotherhood in which all men are children of one God irrespective of what colour, class or creed they may belong to. This we understand to be the true teachings of Christianity.

We agree with Mr. Lloyd that teachers have a great responsibility upon their shoulders. You, as teachers, will have a considerable influence on thought in the future and so it is necessary for you to decide upon your attitude, said Mr. Lloyd. We cannot speak with authority about the African teachers, but in so far as Indian teachers are concerned they seem to have fallen a victim to the evil system prevailing in this country and their influence upon the growing generation under their care is anything but salutary. Our teachers are not able to think and to act independently. Their material interests have made them sell their souls. They are forbidden to take part in what is known as politics and yet in that may be involved the very vital question of their own self-respect and that of the children under their care. If learning consists only of literary knowledge, as the school of

our's national self-respect and to fight for safeguard that is to be interpreted as taking part in politics. Such knowledge is not worth having. Slave teachers can only produce a slave people.

NOTES

Apartheid Not Practical

Policy

Speaking at a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, Senator E. H. Brookes said: "There are many honest men who believe in apartheid. Some of them are professors, and they say that, if it is necessary, a third or half the land of the Union must be given to the Natives. No practical politician, however, will go so far as that." After explaining the difficulties of obtaining land for the Natives, particularly in Natal and the Cape Province, Senator Brookes said it was not in the bounds of practical politics to practical geography to implement the policy of apartheid, and that the grand scheme would never happen. "Every nation," he pointed out, "is entitled to emotional disturbances expressed politically. But apartheid is to be more than that—if it is to be a practical policy—then we must have a map which will show how it can be carried out. Unfortunately, however, geography and map-drawing are not mixed upon as qualifications among those who support apartheid." As a political policy apartheid might be interpreted as "divided we stand, united we fall." "If that is our conception of apartheid you are entitled to say that it is not a good policy and oppose it," he concluded.

Union's Obligation To Her Dependent Groups

"It is incumbent upon South Africa as a member of the United Nations to promote the welfare of her dependent groups to the utmost," said Dr. H. Fielding, secretary of the Johannesburg branch of the United Nations Association of Southern Africa. This does not mean that she must allow these groups to run before they can walk, said Dr. Fielding. "Nevertheless South Africa has a responsibility to them and to us

world. If she refuses to accept this responsibility, South Africa may escape from the United Nations, which will be tantamount to entering on a policy of isolationism." ■ South Africa defied the full intent and implications expressed in the United Nations Charter she might forgo her status as a democracy, he said. But a State going against world public opinion and against the new concept of civilisation could only maintain itself in its isolation by force. The average European in South Africa was smug. Smugness encouraged cynicism, apathy and self-complacency and that tended to make people isolationist. Isolationism however was not an escape and might well lead to disaster as a State, which wanted to isolate herself began to heap up untold additional problems from "an international aspect. A policy for South Africa must allow the Native to develop side by side and in good relation with the European population.

New Government's Policy Towards Jews

The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, told a deputation from the South African Jewish Board of Deputies that both he and his Government stood for a policy of non-discrimination against any section of the European population in South Africa, says a statement issued to Sapa by the board on the recent

interview in Pretoria with the Prime Minister. Dr. Malan said he looked forward to the time when there would be no further talk regarding the so-called Jewish question in the life and politics of this country. The deputation, consisting of Mr. B. A. Fittinger, K.C., (president), Mr. S. M. Kuper, K.C. (Chairman), and Mr. G. Saron (general secretary), called on Dr. Malan on July 1 at his offices at the Union Buildings. The board's spokesman told the Prime Minister that in various quarters there existed a measure of disquiet or uncertainty regarding the policy of the Government towards the Jewish community, and that they, therefore, felt it was desirable that the attitude of the Government should be made clearly known.

Archbishop On "White Australia" Policy

Speaking at a United Nations Association luncheon, Dr. James Duhig, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane is reported to have said that Australia should consider modifying her "white Australia" policy. "If we ever come to hand-grips with the coloured nations of the Pacific they will remember us for it," he said. The "White Australia" policy had retarded hundreds of millions of Asiatics who wanted to be friendly. They resented the brand of inferiority put upon them.

homage.

It was proposed to convey the ashes to the Cape to afford the people in that Province a pay homage and to finally bring them back to Phoenix by Sunday which

will be the last day of prayers which are being daily held at 5.30 p.m. from the day the ashes were brought to Phoenix. The ashes will be interred at dawn on Monday, July 19.

'WHITE DOMINATION MUST GO,' MRS. HOERNLE TELLS RACE INSTITUTE

MRS. A. W. HOERNLE in an address to the winter school of the South African Institute of Race Relations pleaded for the integration of all races in the Union into a South African State. "The idea of White domination of the Herrenvolk—must go. It is simply not true that all White men are better than all non-White men, but the White man, the chief bearer of Western civilisation, has a right to protect the civilisation and has a right to insist upon differential access to control of the process of that civilisation," he said.

and steps will be taken to make the most of the the opportunity which is ours to expand our industries and to make the best of the whole of the manpower which is at our disposal, in the best way possible.

"Socially, it recognises a wide use of parallel institutions and separate areas of residence, in the interests of the protection of racial integrity, which we have recognised as not incompatible with Western European ideals and indeed not with Christian principles.

"This parallelism, however,

GENERAL SMUTS'S TRIBUTE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

THE following message was received by Mr. B.L.E. Sigatony from General Smuts on the occasion of the homage ceremony to Gandhi's Ashes which were brought from India by Sorabjee Rustumjee. I should not like to let the opportunity pass without paying my modest tribute to the memory of a very great man.

I have already, in a volume in praise and honour of Mr. Gandhi published some years ago, expressed my opinion of his unique position among the great men of our time, and it is not necessary to repeat what I said there. Since then he continued with unabated ardour and devotion, and in spite of illness and advancing years, to serve his country and the world. And at last he paid the supreme penalty in what surely is one of the greatest tragedies of history.

Greatness of service and tragedy usually go together, and the highest service is often crowned with the supreme sacrifice. Such also was Gandhi's fate. Perhaps it is a fitting conclusion to his unique record. Perhaps only thus could his message be stamped on men's minds with indelible effect, and as it were by fire. Assassination produces little other effect on the course of history.

His work for India was done, his message of goodwill remains. His heroic struggle for the uplift of the humblest class of his fellowmen will await its full achievement. But there too did more than any other man did or would do.

Gandhi passes. We salute a great soul. May his soul become the soul of his people, and lead it forward on the path of the future in his own gentle spirit. In spite of differences may we sever with the record of the India which produced a Gandhi.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ASHES

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ashes which were to be interred at dawn on Monday, July 12 have not been interred. After deep thought and prayer it was felt by Mr and Mrs. Manilal Gandhi that since all parts of Africa had had the opportunity of paying homage to the ashes, and Rhodesia too had been given a portion of the ashes by Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee it would be unfair to deprive the people of the Transvaal which was the centre of Mahatma Gandhi's activities during his twenty years' stay in this country of that opportunity. ■ It was therefore decided to keep the ashes for another seven days and to send a portion of the ashes to Johannesburg. Since Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee expressed his willingness to take the ashes there, Mr. Manilal Gandhi was prepared for the sake of the people of the Transvaal to compromise the stand he had hitherto taken as regard to the ashes and was prepared to take the ashes himself and Mr. Rustumjee had expressed his willingness to accompany him.

Mr. Manilal Gandhi could not however spare himself to leave on Tuesday as it was proposed to do but had arranged to leave on Saturday, July 17. Meanwhile he was in communication with

the leaders in the Transvaal and it was decided to send someone to Durban to take the ashes so that they could be in Johannesburg on Wednesday as all arrangements for their reception had already been made, and Mr. P. S. Joshi was sent to Durban for the purpose by air. A portion of the ashes were sent in a private car with Mr. Joshi who was accompanied by Mr. Shantilal Gandhi, Mr. Suresh Gandhi and Mr. Jayantilal Desai, all of whom were relations of Gandhi and the car was driven by Mr. Heeralal, a student of the Sauri College and a personal assistant of Mr. Gandhi. The car left Durban at 7.30 p.m. and reached Johannesburg safely at 11.30 a.m. the following morning. Among those who received the ashes were Mr. J. M. Melid, Advocate D. L. Barry, Mr. Nathoohlal Mistry and Messrs. Master Shoa, and other men and women. The ashes were taken to Ram Mandir on the terrace of Master Bros' buildings and were later conveyed to the Gandhi Hall, where Dr. Y. M. Datta, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, in paying homage to the ashes, said a few words of tribute to Mahatma Gandhi. Thousands of Indians and Europeans went to the Hall to pay

tribute to the ashes. The best way to protect Western civilisation and develop it was to make it a common civilisation open to all races in South Africa. ■ The Transvaal Government policy. It has been going on unheeded, she said. "But it should be deliberately fostered."

"This does not mean that there is no room for variations, but that the fundamental principles of our civilisation will guide our behaviour as all men alike."

"Economically, it means that the process which is developing of integrating the non-Whites into industry and generally into our economic life will be encouraged

must be strictly on the basis of being separate, but equal. It is an expensive way we have chosen for ourselves and it is by no means a 100 per cent possible way with our domestic and faraway arrangements, but it is capable of considerable use on the basis of mutual respect and common justice."

Mrs. Hoernle said she had always maintained that the White man had a justifiable right to ask for guarantees from men of different cultures whom he admitted to full citizenship of the State.

The barrier could be made high—the non-Europeans were per-

fectly prepared for it to be high—but they claimed that the aspiration to full citizenship could not be permanently withheld.

Full participation in the processes of government would have to be provided, because nothing else, in the long run, would satisfy the non-whites, or the Whites who

were imbued with the fundamental ideals of our civilisation.

"This way alone guarantees the security and maintenance of our civilisation in the Union and offers the best and indeed the only real prospect for the preservation of the White race which brought it here," she said —

HIS FINAL RESTING PLACE

The following article by Mr. Pyarelal, who had served Mahatma Gandhi as his private secretary for many years and up to the time of his death, is reproduced from 'Harijan' dated February 22 for the information of our people in South Africa.—Ed. I.O.

WHAT remained of the mortal remains of Bapu was consigned to the sacred waters of the Triveni according to the Hindu rites. The decision was taken not without much deliberation, heart-searching and consultation with revered friends, who by virtue of their position in matters religious and spiritual, devotion to Bapu

and his ideals and above all by their saintly lives and character had a right to speak on the matter with authority. In doing so we knew we would be doing justice to the most cherished sentiments of many. We realised too that no individual, by virtue of blood or any other personal tie, had any special right over him. He had long since ceased to belong to his family. Home he had none, or rather, one might say the whole world was his home and mankind his family. No one had a special claim upon him or was the disinherited one. He was the oppressed, the lowliest and

the lost. What could one be bound with even unto this last? He held of little account and not worth having. He would not have liked his ashes to lie under costly mausoleums. If at all, he would have liked them to rest in the hut of some poor, unnamed, pure-hearted Harijan disdained by the world but loved of Rama. His [Bapu's] Rama who always dwells among those whom the world rejects, but whom He rejects not when they turn to Him. Such a one, it was clear, could not be found by searching. And it was as well. For, Bapu hated making a fetish of the perishable body whether dead or alive.

When, therefore, suggestions and requests began to pour in for the preservation of Bapu's ashes, some of us felt ourselves in a great dilemma. Among those who made the suggestions were some whom we revered next only to Bapu, whom Bapu himself would have liked to deny nothing and whose word is almost law to us. The sole question that we set before ourselves was: what would Bapu himself have us say if he were there? And the reply came emphatic and clear. He belonged to no particular class or

community or even country. He belonged to the whole world and we know he aspired to serve and identify himself with God's creation. The only custodian of his last physical remains, therefore, could be the elements. And what place could serve better as his final resting place than the immaculate bottom of the great sacred rivers of India? So, sacred Triveni, was chosen, among other places, where rest too Kasturba's remains and remains of the countless, voiceless millions whose joys and sorrows he had made his own and to whose service his life was dedicated.

The immersion was made total, no portion whatever being kept. We have the habit of seeking an easy, soothing bath for our conscience by erecting temples to the memory of those whom we deny in our daily lives. Let not that be Bapu's fate. Those who are anxious to have a portion in him have now to have it on equal terms with the millions by adopting his way of life and by identifying themselves with the cause of *Dardranasyana* of which he became a living symbol.

DURBAN MAYOR'S HOMILY TO AFRICAN TEACHERS

MR. L. L. BOYD M.P.C. Mayor of Durban

work at the 30th annual conference of the Natal African Teachers' Union, that it would be wiser for the Bantu people to fight against segregation, but to realise that the interests of the European people was a tremendous responsibility towards the non-Europeans.

"I do not fight shy of talking about segregation," he said, "because it is one of the burning issues in South Africa. You hear much talk of segregation, and there are many of you who have a fear and dislike of that word."

"You, as teachers, will have a considerable influence on thought in the future and so it is necessary for you to decide upon your own attitude. You have seen in the past how the Bantu people in Natal fighting vigorously against segregation. But you know, as well as I know, that the interests of the European people in South Africa are in two directions."

"What I want you to realise is that segregation places certain responsibilities on the European people. It means parallel development in the fullest sense. There is an obligation on the European to see that opportunities for the full development of the Bantu in his own sphere are provided. I suggest to you that we can have peace and good will in this country even if we have segregation."

"You must prepare your people for the responsibilities they must take on, and develop in them that self-reliance that the Bantu, as a very proud race, should show. You do not want to depend on other people for your progress, you can progress by yourselves, and the European will be glad to help."

"Much of the credit for the good will towards the Bantu must go to the Bantu themselves, for their willingness to co-operate with their traditional friendliness, at the same time as they maintain the dignity of their race."

"There will be many extremists who will as to lead you along false paths, but you are leaders and should guide and a friend to your growing nation."

RELEASE OF DR. NAICKER AND DR. DADOO

DR. G. M. NAICKER, president of the Natal Indian Congress and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress who were sentenced to six months' imprisonment for aiding and abetting Indians to enter the Transvaal in violation of the Immigration Act, were released from jail in Maritzburg on Saturday morning, July 18. Many cars from Natal and Transvaal were lined up outside the prison gates anxiously awaiting the release of the two leaders. But the police were apparently not desirous to see any demonstration outside the jail and had released the prisoners early at 7 o'clock instead of at 9-30 or 9 o'clock. Drs. Dadoo and Naicker were taken by friends to a nearby refreshment room and were brought at the correct time of their release before the prison gates and were given a rousing welcome received by the large crowd present. Among those present were the officials of the Maritzburg Branch of the Natal Indian Congress, officials of the headquarters of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, and many others.

After being embraced and garlanded the leaders were taken for breakfast and were then driven to Durban. Immediately on their arrival in Durban both Dr. Naicker and Dr. Dadoo moved to Phoenix to pay homage to Mahatma Gandhi's ashes.

Dr. Dadoo left by train at 4-30 p.m. the same day for Johannesburg.

Public meetings were held in their honour on Sunday in Durban and in Johannesburg under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Both the Doctors had lost about twenty lbs in weight but looked quite cheerful.

ANNOUNCING the break-down of the protracted negotiations which have been going on for the last several months, Pandit Nehru said at a press conference in Delhi on the 15th: "The position at present is that if a later agreement has not been accepted by the Hyderabad Government or the Nizam." Explaining the Government of India's basic attitude towards Hyderabad he said: "Hyderabad, situated as it is, cannot conceivably be independent, and India can never agree to it whatever happens and whatever may be the consequences. This is for highly practical reasons of geography and other reasons which will lead to incessant conflict." "It was not," he said, "a question of any kind of suppression of Hyderabad or a Hindu-Muslim question. It was a partnership with equal rights. If they left out independence and if there was no accession, the alternative was only paramountcy. Paramountcy meant practically for the Indian Union as such to have all the rights which accession would confer on it without that free partnership of Hyderabad State in the Indian Union which gives Hyderabad a big share in shaping its own as well as India's destiny. So the alternative was only accession or paramountcy. It was against India's policy to bring about accession by compulsion. Government stopped the flow of arms and warlike materials into Hyderabad for obvious reasons, the biggest reason being from all accounts Government had received, that the Hyderabad Government was trying its utmost to increase its arms, regular and irregular, arm it, and to get as much warlike material as possible from the four quarters of the globe. The Prime Minister asked why all these frantic efforts to increase the army and what was it going to fight? Obviously the only opponent could be the Indian Union. . . . But these kinds of pressure were not used for accession, but it was simply because Government could not afford to see large armies grow up and harm the people of the Indian Union."

Smashing of the Nizams, whom he described as a wing of the Nizam's Government. Pandit Nehru referred to a recent speech of Nizam Razvi who was reported to have said that Razakars would march to Delhi and capture the Red Fort. He was further reported to have said that, if Indian troops went there, he would wave across all the Hindus. Such speeches had not

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Baroda, June 19.

FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS

only had a bad effect within Hyderabad but all over India.

Honour As Well As Peace

Pandit Nehru said the Government of India would certainly have been justified by all canons of national or international law to take action when this kind of military preparation and border attacks and speeches were made without any check or hindrance. "We held our hand because we hoped to come to a peaceful settlement. We do not look at Hyderabad State, in spite of what they say, as anything but a part of India. We do not think of Hindus and Muslims of Hyderabad State as anything else but Indians. We do not want to do anything which will bring sorrow and misery to the people in Hyderabad as well as outside." He emphatically added: "I want to tell clearly and plainly to the Indian people that the Government will of course stand up for the honour of India and the Indian people, but it will also stand for peace to the utmost because not only they think it is the right policy but because we have some memory of what our departed leader stood for."

Uttermost Limit

"So far as we are concerned, these terms are the uttermost limit to which we can go. No change in them is possible or permissible. If the Hyderabad Government is prepared to accept them, it can accept them still. These terms are not going to be varied. I have the satisfaction that we have done our utmost. We are not going to discuss with the representatives of Hyderabad any more, but if they wish to sign on the dotted line they are welcome to do so. There is no question of further protracted negotiations." Pandit Nehru paid a tribute to the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, for his efforts to bring about peace.

Responsible Government

"It was highly important," said Pandit Nehru, "that the principle of responsible government should be accepted and given effect to. The Government of India could not come to an agreement with any State except on the basis of democratic freedom as that State. It was inconceivable that, when the whole of India, the States and the Provinces, had adopted full

responsible government, Hyderabad alone should remain alone in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The only question was whether the change-over should come peacefully, co-operatively, or by trouble on a big scale. The Government of India did not wish to impose their will even in this matter, but they insisted that ultimately it must be the people of Hyderabad who should decide the democratic form of government for them."

What Now?

Asked what was to be the Government of India's policy now, the Prime Minister said, "apart from trying to achieve the present agreement, there was an economic blockade to some extent, there was the tightening up of the border, and instructions to the Indian military to pursue the raiders even across the border to punish them. What other steps they would take must depend upon circumstance. But at the same time Government would try to avoid, as much as possible, a big-scale conflict."

Appeal To People

In conclusion he appealed to the people of Hyderabad, specially the non-Muslims, not to leave Hyderabad. He was sorry that some of them showed a tendency to walk out of Hyderabad. They should remain there, for it just did no good to them or anybody else. By walking out of Hyderabad they would be just playing into the hands of those who wished them ill.

Terms "Generous"

Commenting on the break-down the 'Times of India' says the terms offered by the Government of India are, in any reasonable and practical assessment of the circumstances, conspicuously generous. It adds: "The Government of H.E.H. the Nizam have obviously exhausted the patience, not only of the Indian Union, but of anxious well-wishers like Lord Mountbatten, of their own adviser, Sir Walter Mordaunt, and even, to all appearances, of their own Prime Minister. Relations between the State and the Indian Union have come to a complete standstill. Undoubtedly India will suffer, but even in her current travail her difficulties will be little consequence compared to the effects

on Hyderabad. The Nizam's Government are embarking on a course which can take them nowhere, and have failed to take advantage of a moment when distinguished persons, palpably anxious to help them, are on the spot. An opportunity is being missed which will not recur: and if those in despotic power in Hyderabad fondly imagine that external help may be forthcoming, they are doomed to disastrous disillusion. Even should the worst happen which nothing yet suggests—to the solidarity of the Indian Union, nothing can save Hyderabad, except an early return to common sense, from complete liquidation."

'Only Au Revoir'

The last week in India has been a historic one. Most touching scenes of farewell to Lord and Lady Mountbatten have been witnessed at Delhi. Speeches full of emotion, usually absent in official farewells, have been made by Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India and Lord and Lady Mountbatten who endorsed themselves to the Indian people who have made them a variety of gifts, the most precious being their affection which they have showered on the outgoing Governor-General and his wife. In the course of a farewell message broadcast from AIR, New Delhi on the 17th, Lady Mountbatten, speaking in a voice choked with emotion, said: "Although in a physical sense my husband, Pamela and I will be leaving India so soon, we shall always be with you in spirit, and I think you know that you will have our affection, our gratitude and our prayers at all times. The close links of comradeship that have been forged between us are such that can never be broken, and I know it is inevitable that I shall return. So this is not farewell but au revoir."

India's Greatest Asset

Broadcasting next day from the AIR, Lord Mountbatten said that India's difficulties had been magnified by the fact that "this freedom has been attained at a time of unparalleled world-wide difficulties and in a country that contains nearly one-sixth of the human race. But I know that she will solve these problems, and that her difficulties will be surmounted. India is destined to fill a high place in the world, and to play a high part in the world's affairs." He concluded by saying: "Wherever we may go in the future, both of us will remember with a sense of pride and of real humility the wonderful kindness and comradeship we have received on all sides. We shall continue to love India and

to take the deepest personal interest in her future welfare."

Message From Cabinet

In a message from the Cabinet conveyed by Pandit Nehru to Lord Mountbatten it was said: "His period of office has been memorable in the history of India, and he will be remembered by the people of India with affection as one who co-operated in the great task of building a free India and who applied his great abilities and energy to this end. The Cabinet also wish to record their deep gratitude to Lady Mountbatten for her magnificent work in the cause of suffering humanity in India. The Cabinet trust that the bonds of friendship and co-operation in common tasks which have been forged will not weaken even after the departure of Lord and Lady Mountbatten."

G. in G.'s Reply

In his reply Lord Mountbatten said, "I never thought that the day would come when I would be emotionally moved by any Cabinet resolution, but this is exactly what your resolution has done to me. I particularly appreciate the kind terms in which the tribute to my wife has been paid. We will keep this copy among the most treasured possessions in the family archives."

To The People Of Delhi

At the public meeting in Delhi attended by over a lakh of people, where an address and a small statue of Mahatma Gandhi were presented to Lord Mountbatten, the latter, first speaking a few sentences in Hindustani, said: "Muen aur meri Shrimati bahut bahut kush hai ke is same per itai hain parsi jama hai hai. Ham dono ap se wida hone aye hain is judai se ham dono ko barr hai. Lekin ap ki dosti aur prem hamara hamare dil mein rehaga. Mein aur Shrimati ap ka dhanyavand karte hain. Ishwar ap ki aakhira kare." Speaking in English he said: "All of you have been so kind and friendly to us during our fifteen months' stay that it would not have been possible for us to have done any thing but to give of our best in return."

Nehru's Tribute

The most moving speeches were, however, made at a banquet given to their Excellencies by the Cabinet on the night of the 15th. Pandit Nehru referred to them as "very dear and intimate friends of ours." Speaking of that evening's meeting at Delhi, Pandit Nehru said: "I wondered how it was that an Englishman and an English-

woman could become so popular in India during this brief period of time, and that brief period being a period certainly of achievement and success in some measure, but also a period of sorrow and disaster. The people of India, realising that Lord and Lady Mountbatten undoubtedly were friendly to India and the Indian people, undoubtedly were serving them, gave you their affection and love. They could not give very much else. You have many gifts and presents, but there is nothing more rare or precious than the love and affection of the people."

The Right Test

Pandit Nehru went on to say: "You came here, Sir, with a high reputation, but many a reputation has been foundered in India. You lived here during a period of great difficulty and crisis, and your reputation has not foundered. That is a remarkable feat. Many of us who came in contact with you day to day in these days of crisis learnt much from you, we gathered confidence when sometimes we were rather shaken, and I have no doubt that the many lessons we have learnt from you will endure and will help us in our work in the future."

To Lady Mountbatten

Addressing Lady Mountbatten Pandit Nehru said: "The gods or some fairy gave you beauty and high intelligence, and grace and charm and vitality, great gifts, and she who possesses them is a great lady wherever she goes. But unto those that have even more shall be given, and they gave you something which was even rarer than those gifts, the human touch, the love of humanity, the urge to serve those who suffer and who are in distress, and this amazing mixture of qualities resulted in a radiant personality and in the healer's touch." Of Lady Pamela Mountbatten their daughter he said: "She came here straight from school, and possessing all the charm she does, she did a grown-up person's work in this troubled scene of India." While we say goodbye to you," he added, "we do not look upon this as a goodbye and farewell. The bonds that tie the Mountbattens to us are too strong to be broken, and we hope to meet here or elsewhere from time to time, and whether we meet you or not, we shall remember you always."

An Experience I Shall Never Forget

In the course of his reply Lord Mountbatten said: "It is hard to pick out individually all one's

friends, particularly as so many have become such close ones; our hostess, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur that dear sweet person who covers up her business-like efficiency and competence under a cloak of charm; my successor, Mr. Rajagopalachari, the wise and older statesman of India, who is eminently fitted in every way to be the first Indian to hold this high office. He has such a delightful sense of humour, even in the letters that we have been writing to each other on business.

"I was warned before I came to India that I should meet my match in a very tough guy, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel; but when we met I came to the conclusion that he could not be quite as tough as the act that he put on. He is so very apparently hard and firm and unyielding, and I think he is like that because he does not want the world to know what a very warm heart beats behind that rugged exterior, and I regard him as one of the greatest friends I have made here, and I am sad that I cannot be with us tonight.

"About the Prime Minister, it is difficult to speak, for the exact reasons that he has mentioned. He has become such a friend of the whole Mountbatten family that we shall be lonely when we leave India and are without him; but I share entirely the view he has already expressed that the friendship that has counted the most during our time out here has been the friendship of the ordinary men and women in the street, and in the field. It is almost inexplicable to us why they should have taken so kindly to us except that we felt a tremendous reciprocal feeling of friendship towards them. The most touching and quite unbelievable things have happened. Refugees have collected together their pies and their annas in order that one of their number might travel, sometimes a journey of 24 hours or even 48 hours, to bring up some of the gifts they have made as a token to my wife that they were pleased with what she had done. And the people in the streets today were so very friendly—an experience I shall never forget as long as I live."

Shri Rajagopalachari's Speech

In his speech after the swearing ceremony His Excellency said:—"Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen: I am very grateful to you all for your participation in this ceremony. Your presence has lifted the occasion from the plane of a mere ceremony to

that of human fellowship and co-operation.

"Speaking objectively, the occasion is undoubtedly historic, for this is the first time that one who belongs to the soil has, in accordance with the wishes of the Prime Minister of India and his Cabinet been entrusted with the honour and duties of the head of the State in India. I owe a debt of gratitude which I cannot hope to repay for the signal honour implied in this my installation. I hope I shall act, on every occasion and in every matter, in a manner worthy of the trust reposed in me.

"The work of my predecessor during his memorable term of office was a marvellous instance of detachment, devotion and energy on the part of one who, though he did not belong to India, worked as one belonging to her and did his work in the spirit that is laid down in our scriptures with regard to the task that falls to anyone. I come after him, but I hope I shall be judged by standards suitable to one who is so experienced either in arms or in diplomacy, unlike my illustrious predecessor.

"Our problems have multiplied beyond all expectations, and are such as may perturb the most adventurous spirits among us. The only remaining interest in life which moves my colleagues who have been entrusted with charge of the affairs of India is the happiness of our people and the good name of our country. This is the passion that binds them together. They have experience and nobility of character. May God enable them to achieve the purpose so dear to their hearts. I shall be proud to render them all such assistance as I can in this position.

"India is unchangeably committed to the policy of making everyone within her borders find pride and joy in citizenship irrespective of caste, creed or race. No one will suffer any disability by reason of the community to which he or she belongs.

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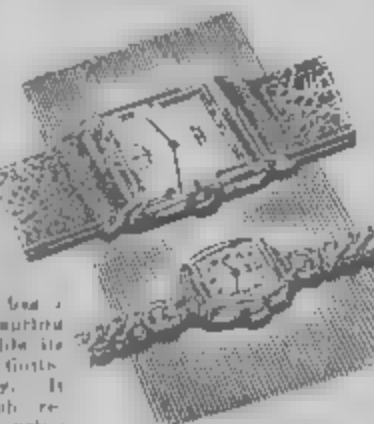
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FRIDAY, 23RD JULY, 1948.

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 23RD JULY, 1948

India At U.N.O.

INDIA has once again decided to submit the question of the treatment of Indians in the Union before the next session of U.N.O. which is to meet in Paris in September. It was expected that India would be quiet before a finality was reached on this vexed question. It is moreover not a question which affects India alone. It affects Asia. The Union Government, neither the past nor the present, has so far shown any inclination to change its attitude. The recommendation of U.N.O. to take steps to amicably settle the dispute between the two countries, has not been complied with. The Government of India had made a friendly gesture in this respect but the Smuts Government spurned it. The present Government has, up to now to our knowledge, made no move to deal with the matter. It has, on the contrary, shown an inclination to take up a more reactionary attitude. India's permanent representative to the United Nations has rightly pointed out that the present Government stands committed to a policy of racial segregation and domination of all non-white peoples by the Europeans. The Government has proclaimed its intention of taking away whatever res-

ticted political rights are presently possessed by Indians and of extending the policy of residential and commercial segregation in the Cape Province—which has so far been comparatively free of racial segregation and political discrimination.

One thing at least has been realised both by the Smuts Government and by the present Government, that the Indian question in the Union is no longer a local but an international question of great importance. The Union of South Africa will now have to decide whether it will remain a member of the United Nations or choose to remain out of it. If it decides to do the former it must carry out the responsibilities attached to it. If it chooses the latter course it will have to be prepared for the consequences which will be grave not for South Africa alone but for the world. World peace will be dependent upon the attitude the Union will adopt on the colour question.

In the past we have published two points of view on the Union's attitude on the Indian question, one expressed by the 'Native Mercury' and the other by the 'Native Witness'. We must say that the one expressed by the 'Native Witness' is the sounder.

It should be clearly un-

derstood that South Africa has been the oppressor and India has acted in defence. India has a responsibility to her nationals who have emigrated to other countries, meaning as they are not citizens of a self-dedicated country of their countries. The United Nations organisation has a responsibility to all the peoples who are denied human rights. South Africa will certainly have to stand before the face of the civilised world for its own fault and for the fault of anybody else. If the Government thinks the Indians in South Africa will not be able to prolong their struggle for long and will in due course be compelled to accept the terms dictated by it, and that things will automatically come right, such an attitude we would suggest is a very short-sighted one. It will not bring about peace and contentment. The seeds of discontent will continue to germinate. The struggle of the Indian people in South Africa will have its ebb and tide. It will not die. It may give birth to many forces which will be incapable of being suppressed. It is folly to believe that suppression and oppression will bring about the desired peace in the country. The question is whether the thoughtless reactionary forces are to be allowed to have sway over the country or whether sane forces are to govern the country. On it depends the peace of South Africa and peace of the world. Let South Africa put on its thinking cap when it is going into

No Use Raking The Past

THERE has been a great deal of controversy over the sacred ashes of Mahatma Gandhi. Both Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee and Mr. Manilal Gandhi have been subjected to un-called-for criticism in your quarters over the ashes. This was really a matter which concerned Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee and Mr. Manilal Gandhi personally and both acted respectfully, looking to their own light and in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience. It will serve no useful purpose to discuss the merits or demerits of the controversy or the criticism. The ashes came to Africa. The people of South Africa devoted to Mahatma Gandhi and to the principles he stood for were in their hearts thankful to Mr. Rustumjee for being instrumental in affording them the unique opportunity of paying homage to the sacred ashes of one whom they loved and revered. Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Gandhi and the inmates of Phoenix Settlement felt the living presence of Mahatma Gandhi during the fifteen days the ash remained with them. It was a God-send to them. Indian authorities in the Union were pleased that they were able to pay homage to the ash. It would be wise now not to think of how or why the thing was done. It was done and full satisfaction from the fact was derived by all concerned. Let not the

just be asked up. Let us think only of the advantage derived and let us all be thankful to God, to the departed soul and to Mr. Sorabjee for what we have gained and let us all forgive and forget and

pray that our beloved Bapu who came to us in the form of ashes will inspire us to be good and to do good and to give us all strength and wisdom to serve humanity and through a God even as he did.

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AFTER fifteen days' prayers at the Phoenix Settlement, which was the soul of Mahatma Gandhi, during his stay in South Africa, his sacred ashes were finally immersed at dawn on Monday, July 19, at the spot where the Umgeni River meets the Indian Ocean.

At 4 a.m. Mr and Mrs. Manilal Gandhi and members of their family and a few friends left Phoenix in two cars, arriving at the Point Jetty at 5 o'clock. There they were met by over a hundred other friends including a large number of ladies. The cars were placed in a hand-spun and hand-woven cloth belonging to the late Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi and the cloth was placed in a metal bowl made in India and kept in the glass cabinet brought by Mr. Sorabjee Rastamjee from India. The party with the ashes went aboard a large motor launch and headed for the open sea. The launch came to rest a few hundred yards from the mouth of the Umgeni River. The usual morning prayers which Mahatma Gandhi always conducted and which contained selected verses from the Upadesha, the Koran and the Zend Avesta were chanted; the twelfth discourse of the Bhagavad Gita was read; a hymn in Hindi was sung from the book of sacred songs selected by Mahatma Gandhi. That was followed by Mahatma Gandhi's most favourite hymn "Lead Kindly Light" and ended with "Rama Ram," chanting of the name of Rama, to which the whole crowd participated. Finally all, one by one, made their last obeisance to the ashes and in the end Mr. Manilal Gandhi solemnly made his last bow to the ashes with the following words from Rabindranath Tagore's "Gitanjali":

"Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure, knowing that thy living touch is upon all my limbs. I shall ever try to keep my mind untroubled out of my thoughts, knowing that thou art that truth which has kindled the light of reason in my mind."

"I shall ever try to drive all evils away from my heart and keep my love in flower, know-

ing that thou hast thy seat in the inmost shrine of my heart. And it shall be my endeavour to reveal thee in my actions, knowing that thy power gives me strength to act."

Then amidst the most touching scenes when almost all were moved to tears, Mr. Manilal Gandhi took Mr. Sorabjee Rastamjee by his hand and aided by him knelt down carrying the bowl of ashes as low down near the waters as possible and reverently scattered the ashes on the surface of the sea.

The whole atmosphere was calm and serene and a few moments after the ashes were immersed the sun in all its glory peeped out of the horizon.

A portion of the ashes which had been carried to Johannesburg and Pretoria and thence to Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London by Mr. P. S. Jassi and Mr. S. B. Mehl and Mr. Jaganath Nana were brought back to Phoenix on Sunday which was the last day of prayers before the ashes were immersed. Mr. B. D. Chavda, of the Cape United Hindu Association, and visitors from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Portuguese East Africa and Transvaal were present at the prayers.

S.A. INDIANS TO MEET IN SEPTEMBER

IN view of the urgent problems facing the Indian community, a conference of the South African Indian Congress will be held in Durban on September 18 and 19. This was decided by the Executive of the Congress which met in Durban, says a statement issued by Dr. C. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, and Dr. Y. M. Easoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. The Executive decided to give full powers to the Natal Indian Congress for the convening of the conference.

INDIA ASKS UN TO TACKLE S.A. INDIAN QUESTION AFRESH

THE Indian Government has called upon the United Nations for a fresh and urgent consideration of the treatment of Indians in South Africa. It has asked that the matter be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly to meet in Paris in September.

In a letter to Mr. Trygve Lie, the United Nations Secretary-General, published on Saturday, July 17, Mr. P. Pillai, permanent representative of India to the United Nations, alleged that the treatment of Indians in South Africa "constitutes to be a serious violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter on which the United Nations is founded."

He asked that the General Assembly which debated the question exhaustively both in 1946 and 1947 should "take appropriate action" under Articles 10 and 14 of the Charter.

(Article 10 permits the General Assembly to make recommendations to members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any question within the scope of the Charter, and Article 14 says: "The General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from the violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the purposes and principles of the United Nations.")

Mr. Pillai's letter included an attack on the present South African Government.

It said that the South African Government "stands committed to a policy of 'apartheid' or racial discrimination, and domination by all non-White peoples by Europeans."

The letter continued: "The Government of the Union of South Africa has made no change whatever either in its discriminatory laws or in the practice of discrimination on racial grounds alone against its nationals of Indian origin."

"For example, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act 1946, enacted by the South African Government, which introduced a most severe measure of residential and economic segregation against Asiatics, still remains on the statute book."

The continuation by the South African Government of the policy of racial discrimination against Asiatics and other non-Whites is clearly the result of an assumption by the Government that the failure of the United

Nations Assembly last year to adopt an effective resolution on this subject constitutes tacit approval by the United Nations of that policy.

"This Government has proclaimed its intention of taking away whatever restricted political rights are at present enjoyed by Indians and other Asiatics, and of extending the policy of residential and commercial segregation to the Cape Province—the only part of the Union of South Africa which has been comparatively free of racial segregation and political discrimination."

"The Government of India is of the opinion that the situation of Indians in South Africa calls for fresh and urgent consideration by the United Nations in order to uphold the basic moral principles of its Charter, and prevent further deterioration in the already strained relations between India and the Union."

"If the belief that there is to be one standard of treatment for White races and another for non-White continues to gain strength, the future for solidarity among members of the United Nations, and consequently for world peace, will indeed be dark," continued the letter.—Sapa-Reuters

State-Aided Indian Schools

Government Aided Indian schools were poorly equipped and badly staffed, said Miss Logambal Chetty, vice-chairman of the Maritzburg Indian Technical Students' Society, at the Students' Parliament in Maritzburg. Miss Chetty was moving that all Government-aided Indian schools be State-controlled. The schools were the responsibility of the Natal Education Department rather than of the State, she said. The Department was to blame for shirking its responsibilities and failing to fulfil its obligations. The Natal Teachers' Society has approved of the acceptance of Coloured and Indian teachers as contributors to the Natal Teachers' Pension Fund. Acceptance was conditional upon membership being made compulsory to all new entrants to the Coloured and Indian teaching profession. Life membership of the Natal Teachers' Society was conferred on Mr. T. A. Blakeley, a former president, at the annual conference.

It has been decided to build an Indian teachers' training school and hostel and a primary and secondary school at Clairwood at a cost of £150,000.

PERPETUATING GANDHIJI

BY J. C. KUMARAPPA IN 'HARIJAN'

WE are all members of a society living in groups as in a big family where the family lasts for all time while the individual members may be living for a while and then passing away. Not interfered by the death of individuals the family continues. So what we do for the well-being of the whole family is more lasting than what we do for a mere living individual.

Gandhiji passed away on the 30th of January last. His body has gone away from us but the permanent part of his life and work we want to perpetuate. For this purpose the Gandhi National Memorial Fund has been started. The purpose of this fund is to collect money only to perpetuate the ideals for which Gandhiji had been working.

The work that Gandhiji has done is not merely for the poor people of India but also for the down-trodden of the whole world. Hence whatever feeble effort we may make in our own little corner, we must remember that it is a part of the work that is going on not only at our place but all over world. Because of that every Hindu would want to do not only what they are doing by themselves but also would want to associate themselves with the work that others are undertaking.

One way of doing this is through a common organisation through which we may contribute our services, thoughts and money. The Gandhi Memorial Fund is started for this purpose of facilitating many people to associate themselves in bringing about a social order of human families of the type that Gandhiji envisaged. This work can be undertaken in three ways.

In the first place we give our whole attention and time to the work representing as it were Gandhian ideals in our day to day life and propagating them to others.

In the second we mainly lead a life of our own and do what little we can in our personal activities religiously and strictly, never going against the Gandhian ideals.

In the third form we ourselves may not be able to do very much but we contribute towards it in money and in kind, as necessary, so that others may be able to do that work.

A word of explanation may be given on each of these three methods of contribution. Then we can choose what way we can contribute in any of the three ways, all of them or separately.

The first thing that Gandhiji had been working for is propa-

gation of the ideal of truth and non-violence. This comes in in all our ways of living and in everyday dealings that we have with our fellow beings. For instance, in the Garm Udyog Sangh our work is mainly to see that truth and non-violence are brought into the economic life. For example, if you go and buy toddy and drink it, then you are probably bringing in great distress to your family and therefore toddy drinking is against this principle. It is easily understood that a drunkard cannot violence so wants his family. But people do not understand that the same type of violence is committed by us when we go to the rice mills or to the flour mill. Paddy as it comes from the earth has got many nutritive elements in it, but when it is passed through a mill and polished all the nutritive elements are removed and only the chaff is left out for our consumption. Therefore by using milled rice we are harming the health of our children. Similarly we have less nutritive food as our children if we feed them on m. flour rice and to that extent we are doing violence to our children, in the same way. Similarly sugar cane juice is good for us but when we make sugar out of it everything else is removed except the heat giving part.

That is why gin crushing, paddy husking and flour-grinding are given the first place in the Udyog Bhavan, because of their importance in our economic life in bringing non-violence and truth into our lives.

Now you will see that in the drunkard there is only the nutritive element of food, but the rest is removed. In the same way, when we give up our work for a year, we deprive the family of all the nutritive elements of food for something that satisfies the palate of a misguided aesthete.

So it is that our Sangh also is working towards non-violence and when we propagate the ideal of self-sufficiency which also goes to propagate Gandhiji's ideal of *ahimsa*.

Then again we say we must not use foreign goods and mill-made goods. The mill gathers the riches from the poor and enriches the capitalist. That is one reason why we should insist on wearing *khadi*. When we spin and make our own *khadi*, our resources remain with us and in the case of mill cloth we give our resources to the mill owner just as the drunkard gives away his resources. So we see how how many ways we are supporting violence. If we do

not want to support violence, we must not buy foreign articles or the mill-made goods. That is the way in which we can bring about Gandhian ideals into our every day life. Everybody can work to bring the Gandhian ideals of *ahimsa* and *satya* in our everyday life.

These are not mere mere physical subjects for meditation and contemplation but realities facing us every day.

In the first method those of us who are giving their whole life to propagate this mode of life with all their strength, intelligence, and other resources are contributing their life to perpetuate Gandhiji's memory.

Some of us may not be in a position to give our whole life and thought for this work, but we may be able to do that partially, that is, in our own personal life. At least at home we follow these principles. So far as we are doing this we also, to a certain extent, are propagating non-violence and truth.

While we are doing this we would also have a share in the first part of the work, in the work that is being done by people who have dedicated their lives wholly for this purpose. People who have dedicated their lives for the work have to be supported by a portion of our earnings. For this purpose the Gandhi National Memorial Fund is formed, to collect money from those people who would like to contribute something to propagate Gandhian ideals.

They have suggested that each person should contribute at least ten days' income in the year to this fund. Those who want to contribute themselves to a greater extent can do, but that is the limit.

Ordinarily when a big person passes away, a memorial, generally a material memorial, is built for such a person. For Gandhiji we want to put up a memorial which will be propagating the principles for which he stood.

By contributing to the fund we are not giving charity but are helping to build up a world of non-violence and truth. In this noble venture our money will be used. We hope our readers would want to co-operate in this just as zealously and eagerly as they would want to remove the evil from the family of a drunkard and with the same eagerness do some meritorious work not only for India but for the world as a whole.

And some of us may not be having incomes out of which we can give the money. Then we may contribute in self-spun yarn. For this purpose 70 looms can be

set up at a time. If you do not want to have an appeal on your money resources, this is the alternative. Such yarn will be exchanged to them for money by the Charkha Sangh.

These are the three ways of contributing to this memorial and as it is much more important that ourselves bring the great principles of Gandhiji in our everyday life and set up an example to our neighbours. In doing so we shall all be helping us ushering in a society based on non-violence and truth. Thus is a noble enough ideal to deserve our all our effort.

MR. E. H. LOUW

WILL LEAD DELEGATION TO UNO

THE Union Government has decided that the Minister of Mines and Economic Affairs, Mr. E. H. Louw, will lead the Union delegation to the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly, which is expected to open in Paris on September 21, says an announcement from the Prime Minister's Office.

Commenting on the new move to have the Indian question in South Africa discussed again by the United Nations Organisation, Dr. G. M. Naleker, president of the Natal Indian Congress, and Dr. Y. M. Dasoo, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, issued the following statement in Cape Town on the news of the steps being taken by the Government of India to raise again the South African Indian question before the United Nations Assembly in September.

"South Africa can ill afford to incur the hostility of two great countries like India and Pakistan; on the other hand friendly relations with them can be a great boon to the economic welfare and progress of this country."

"The Indian people of South Africa hope that the Union Government will act in terms of the United Nations Assembly's resolution and bring about an honourable solution of the Indian question, failing which they hope that the United Nations will act with dispatch on the recommendation proposed by the Government of India in the interests of relations between the Union of South Africa and the Government of India and Pakistan and in the interests of world peace."

S. A. PRESS COMMENTS ON INDIA'S APPLICATION TO U.N.O.

COMMENTING on India's intention to bring up again this year the question of the treatment of Indians in the Union before U.N.O., the 'Natal Mercury' dated July 20, after blaming the Indians for the representation part of the Asiatic Act of 1946, not being implemented by the United Party Government, goes on to say, "The recent General Election showed that South Africa is in no mood to be dictated to by that body (the U.N.O.), and the Nationalists in particular are not likely to be taken by the type of debate that characterised the last two meetings of the U.N.O. The Indians spurned what the United Party at grave risk offered. And no Party in existing circumstances could make it offer again and hope to win an election."

There will, of course, be international reactions and the South African Indian question is already on the new U.N.O. agenda. What steps U.N.O. will take remain to be seen and the Nationalists will have to deal with that aspect of the matter as best they can—and they are still in power. Yet, whatever the theoretical rights and wrongs may be, there is no doubt that in taking the line they are the Government have the support of a country which has won political right of centre.

The 'Natal Witness'

The "Natal Witness" dated July 20 writes, "Whatever the original right and wrongs of this, we may have been what ever the legal reasons for rejecting India's claim, it is clear that the colour policy of the Government places South Africa morally in the wrong, and is going to be extremely difficult to justify to the world."

Intention has yet to be implemented through action, and hard fact may prove some of the Government's hopes impracticable, but its general lines and its policy are plain for all to see, and its contentions will as far as possible be applied. Already it has been declared that, while the restrictions of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act are to remain, the political concessions are to be withdrawn. In the past some of the measures applied have owed their origin to conditions peculiar to South Africa and have had their justification, but there can be no room for blatant racism, for restrictions based on prejudices and not on practicalities.

the South Africa
responsibility which

tends far beyond her own borders. Whether she likes it or not, her decisions on her colour policy will reverberate right round the world. It can create complications for the Commonwealth, and can do much to endanger relations between East and West, particularly at a time when the nations of Asia are highly conscious of their new independence.

But South Africa carries another responsibility as heavy. Her attitude to the United Nations. Should that organisation blunder, or, while exercising discretion in any decision, manifest hostility to Union policy, the temptation to break away may be strong. The present Government has never

been very happy about U.N.O. in any disagreement it would have behind it the emotional outcry of a great many South Africans, and there would be the strong pull of traditional isolationism.

Yet rash secession would be sheer folly. Though U.N.O. has made many mistakes, it will remain the basis for effective international co-operation. Particularly while its future is so uncertain, the resignation of any one nation—and it is worth noting that, in spite of many vicissitudes, no state has yet stampeded—could do great harm, setting an example which, if followed, would have consequences similar to the gradual disintegration of the old League of Nations. It is highly necessary that U.N.O. should not blunder, it is essential that South Africa should keep a sense of proportion.

INDIA'S PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

SARDAR PANIKKAR'S ADDRESS TO NANKING ALUMNI

"THE ancient land of India is throbbing with fresh vitality and a new India more vigorous, more vital and fully capable of taking her place again among the leading nations, is being shaped before our eyes," said H. E. Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Ambassador of India in China, addressing the alumni of the National Central University at Nanking recently.

Dr Panikkar added, "The vision of a new India which the great leaders of my country have before their eyes is not one which seeks material advancement at the cost of a neglect of moral and spiritual values. To them the welfare of the common man, his all round development and the betterment of the conditions of his life are matters of supreme importance. It is in this light of improving the conditions of the common man that we have to view the great schemes of industrial and agricultural development which are being put through. We have no desire to grow strong merely for the sake of strength. Our object, the ideal of the new India that we are working to achieve, is to seek true moral and material greatness through the elevation of all our people."

"So comprehensive were the changes taking place in India," Dr Panikkar said, "that it could well be claimed that India had effected a peaceful revolution and that her ancient society had reached a rejuvenation of spirit which is truly remarkable."

Referring to geographical unification as the first major feature of the New India, Dr Panikkar said, "On the 15th August 1947

on the eve of India's independence nearly half the territory of the Indian Union was divided up in the hands of sovereign Princes who, by the withdrawal of British authority, could have legally refused to come into the Indian Union. But on the 15th, a great and historic event took place, the full significance of which is only now being realised. All the Princely States of India, with the single exception of Hyderabad signed an agreement with the Union by which they surrendered to the new Government their rights in the matter of Foreign Affairs, Communications and Defence. On the memorial 15th August what came into being was merely an India independent of Britain, but an India integrated in a manner which few people had thought possible. The National Government which was installed on the 15th spoke not merely for what was British India before that day, but for the whole of the area of the sub-continent of India excluding Hyderabad and the territories which had seceded to form Pakistan. Thus has come into existence for the first time in India a unified State with the complete paraphernalia of modern administration, which in area exceeds the former British territory in India, has a larger population and a more integrated political system."

"A no less revolutionary change had been brought about in the social structure. Untouchability one of the great blots on the otherwise humane civilization of India—was being removed. All civil and social disabilities of the

untouchable castes had been abolished by law. Dr. Panikkar said, and the practice of untouchability had been made a penal offence. Moreover, special provision had been made for the education and economic uplift of the untouchables."

The codification of Hindu law, and the changed position of women in Indian society were other notable features of our changing social life. "The significant fact," Dr. Panikkar commented, "is not that there are many women of acknowledged ability and achievement in Indian national life, but that Indian womanhood is now awake to their social and political rights and play their part in the shaping of New India."

Dr. Panikkar then referred to the far-reaching changes in the economic life of India. He pointed out that India "had at all times been a major industrial country," and that the national Government was now addressing itself to the tasks of industrial development.

After alluding to India's achievements in the field of pure science, and the chain of national laboratories that is being set up under the auspices of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Dr. Panikkar admitted that the results of this basic activity would not be evident all at once. "But," he added, "the programme which has already been undertaken is such that within a few years India can hope not merely to show positive advances in pure science, but will certainly produce scientifically trained personnel at all levels sufficient to shoulder the responsibility for an immense industrial expansion."

Dr. Panikkar also dealt briefly with India's food problem and spoke of "land reclamation on a vast scale, mechanisation of agriculture and the introduction of chemical fertilisers, and above all new irrigation schemes" as the means now being actively pursued by the Government to increase food production. "It is impossible to foresee, at the present time how tremendously the economic structure and the material set up of Indian life will be changed when the effect of these schemes come to be felt," he said.

A welcome reception under the auspices of the Aodhra Vaha Sabha of South Africa will be accorded to Mr. Narain Reddi and his wife, Mrs. L. Krishna Venk Reddi, M. A., I.C.S., (formerly lecturer at Lady Hope Women's College, Guwahati, India) at the Surat Hindu Association Hall, Victoria Street, Durban, on Sunday, July 25 at 3 p.m.

HOW IT'S DONE

We reproduce below a leading article appearing in the 'Rand Daily Mail' dated July 20, which is both interesting and informative of the policy pursued by the Government in dealing with its colour problem.

THE technique has an engaging simplicity, though no one can call it new.

Every few years South Africa sets out to solve the Native problem, or the Indian problem, or some other problem arising out of the country's complex racial make-up. It is, of course, generally agreed that this can be best done by taking away from the Natives, or from whatever other subject group is concerned, some right or privilege that they have hitherto enjoyed. That, it is felt, tends to make them considerably less of a problem.

So, after prolonged thought, the Government of the day thinks out a plan. Being in a position of responsibility and knowing that the rest of the world is a little touchy about these matters, it does not wish to be too harsh. Therefore it introduces what may be described as a "double measure" which, while taking away the privilege gives something in exchange for it. Thus, when in 1936 the vote was withdrawn from certain groups of Natives, the Native population received compensation in the form of the right to elect three European representatives to the House of Assembly and four to the Senate. And when, in 1946, it was decided to restrict the transfer of land to Indians, the Act provided that they too should have some representation in both Houses of Parliament.

This is the first stage, and is always carried out in the midst of extremely heated discussion, a large part of the European population being enthusiastic about the restrictive proposals but intensely disliking the compensation. The whole measure is nevertheless passed.

Some time later comes the second stage. The restrictive parts of the Acts are working, and are established as integral features of the life of the Union. The compensatory parts may or may not be working. As regards the Natives, the complete Act has been in operation for a number of years, with what from a purely objective point of view must be described as admirable results. The Natives' Representatives are among the most able in the House. On the other hand no representative of the Indians has been elected.

But in either case the outcome is the same. It is felt that whatever privilege was given to the

non-Europeans in exchange for their earlier rights is making them more of a problem than ever, and that it must therefore be abolished. This does not mean that the country would then revert to the original position. The restrictions are to be retained; it is only the other side of the coin bargain which has to disappear. For example, the movement to abolish the Natives' Representatives in the House of Assembly is not accompanied by a proposal to restore the common vote to the Natives who were deprived of it in 1936; nor is it contemplated that, when Chapter 2 of the Indian Land Tenure and Representation Act is repealed, Indians will be allowed once again to purchase land as they were before the passage of the Act. In fact, the procedure is strictly a one-way affair.

It has, however, many advantages from the European point of view. In the first place, the original measure does not look as severe as a plain Act depriving a group of one of its rights would do. In the second place, the final result is the same. No wonder then, that the method has been repeatedly employed and is still highly popular.

Admittedly, there are people in other countries who might criticise or even condemn it, but to them there is a self-evident reply, which has indeed been given on other occasions when they have had the temerity to attack the Union's policies. They simply do not understand conditions in South Africa. If they did they would obviously support everything the Europeans in this country do. Those who doubt this have only to look at the success with which the Union has solved its Native problem—and, moreover, keeps on solving it.

ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA

AT a recent meeting at Brita (Transvaal) Mr. J. E. Potgieter, the local Nationalist M.P., and other speakers are reported to have said that the European and Native must be taught to boycott Indians "until they are black white."

If the Indians were reduced to "black poverty" by this means, it was said they would be glad to emigrate to India with the Government's assistance.

At a meeting held recently at Koster by Mr. Deacon, chief secretary of the South African Protection Movement, and Mr. Greyling, organizer of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings in Natal, the audience

was asked not to buy from Indians.

The meeting undertook to ask the Minister of the Interior to stop the granting of trading licences to Indians.

Now that the Nationalist Party is in power, states the Political correspondent of the 'Rand Daily Mail' it has realised that it must adopt a realistic and Christian attitude to the Indian problem, and this will involve a repudiation of its former approval of the boycott of Indian traders.

A directive along these lines is expected to be circulated by the Nationalist Party to its members as a result of Cabinet discussions on the subject.

Anti-Indian Move By Natives

The African National Congress Youth League in Johannesburg at a recent meeting, decided to ask Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donaghy to take drastic action in segregating the Indian community from Natives. "There could never be mutual understanding between the two races," said the resolution. Crimes committed by Natives would not stop until they were segregated from Indians.

Dr. Xuma Repudiates Report

The report that the African National Congress Youth League had passed a resolution asking the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donaghy to take drastic action to segregate Indians from Natives was repudiated in a statement by Dr. Xuma, the president of the African National Congress. The sponsors of the meeting which had passed the resolution cannot speak in the name of the African National Congress, he said. The Congress is pledged to work co-operation with the national executives of all representative non-European national organisations in the Union on matters of common interest. It is therefore bound by the terms of its pledge, Dr. Xuma added.

AL HAJ PILGRIMAGE TARIFF

The following information has been published by the Government of India with regard to Haj Pilgrimage:—"The charges are the same as last year, with two minor alterations."

(a) It is possible the new pier at Jeddah is nearly completed by the end of Ramadhan, pilgrims arriving on post-Ramadhan, pilgrim ships may be able to land direct from ship to shore. However, even if this is possible, it is not to be expected that any corresponding reduction in the consolidated Quarantine, Ent-

rance Tax and Boat hire charge will be made.

(b) The customary payment of Riyals one per night for lodging in Jeddah above two nights has been included in the Tariff, with the proviso that not more than Riyals four are to be paid whatever the length of stay.

(c) The Saudi Arabian Government are assuming that Governments which have in the past precollected dues will continue to do so. They are also pressing for the Governments of India and Pakistan to do like likewise, either directly or through the Shipping Agencies.

(d) It is understood that Pilgrims from countries which do not precollect will, as in previous years, be required to pay dues in the currency of their country of origin (on embarkation) immediately on arrival. Quarantine dues etc., are to be collected by the Shipping or Air Line Companies."

The Government of India have allowed pilgrims leaving for the Haj to export currency notes this year as under:—

Pre-Ramadan Rs. 4,255/- Cabin class, Rs. 2,650/- Deck class.

Post-Ramadan Rs. 3,000/- Cabin class, Rs. 2,200/- Deck class.

In addition to the above amounts, remittances up to Rs. 7,500/- per adult and Rs. 4,000/- per child may be made through normal banking channels.

INANDA WEDDING

Inanda was the scene of a picturesque wedding when over 1,500 friends and relatives assembled to witness the matrimonial ceremony of Mr. and Mrs. Deepnarayan Dookran on Sunday, July 11. Mr. D. Dookran is the youngest son of the late Mr. and Mrs. C. Goodram (Dookran) and brother of Mr. M. Dookran of Springfield and Mrs. D. Dookran (nee Phoolmalie Ramdharie) is the second daughter of Mrs. and the late Mr. S. Ramdharie and niece of Mr. and Mrs. S. Ramdharie of Inanda. The wedding, that took place at the residence of Mrs. Ramdharie, was solemnised by Pandits Dwarika Maharaj and Sewpersadh Maharaj. Those who congratulated the married couple on entering a bond of matrimony were Pandit Dwarika Maharaj, Messrs. D. Juddhagundhan, president of Nagari Pracharini Sabha, K. Bauchoo, secretary of Springfield Hindu Sabha, S. R. Maharaj, principal of Springfield Hindu Government Aided Indian School, M. Dookran, and S. Ramgobin. Mr. Sewpersadh Maharaj acted as the M.C. and musical entertainment was provided by the Arya Bhujang Mandal. The bride and bridegroom were the recipients of many presents and congratulatory messages.—Con. tributed

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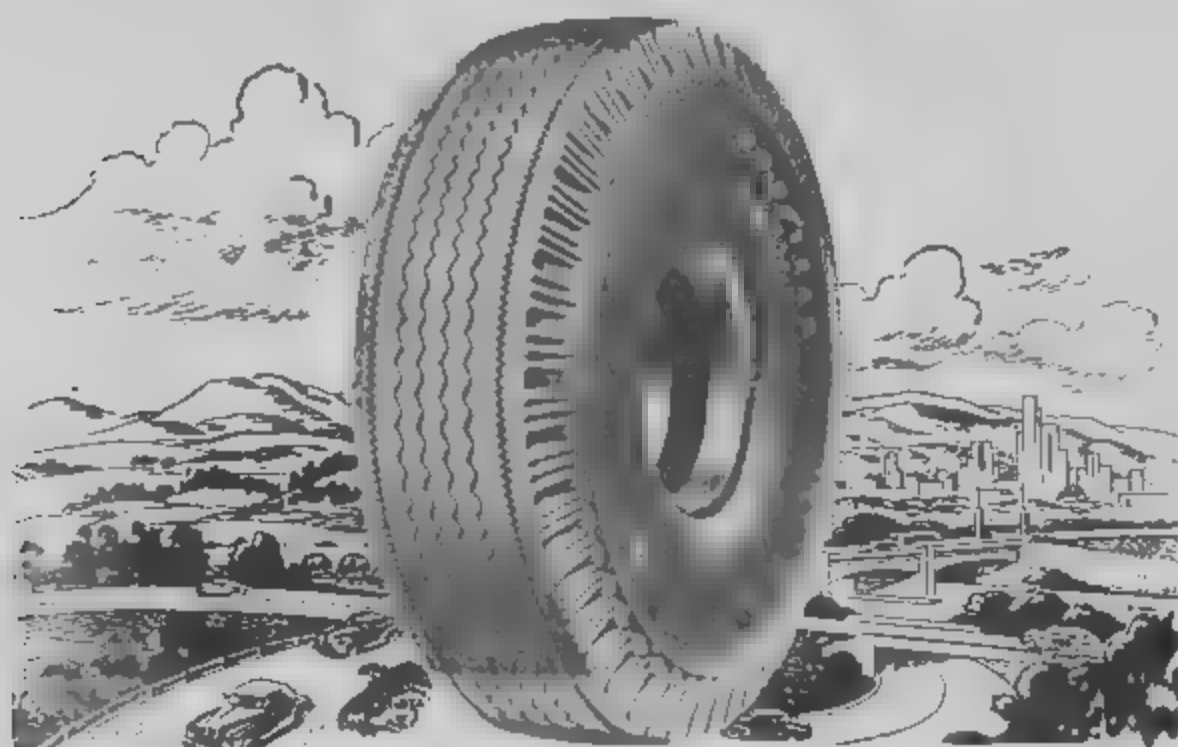
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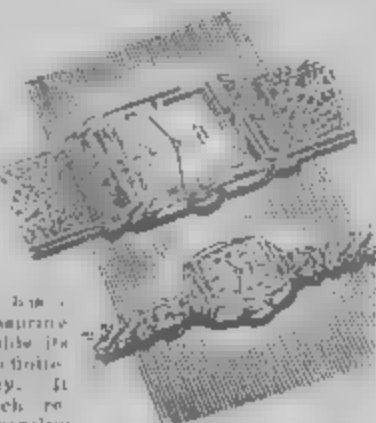
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FRIDAY, 20TH JULY, 1948.

Flouting Democracy

THE Minister of the Interior's letter to the Natal Indian Organisation which has been given wide publicity goes to show that while the Government is not prepared to deal with the Congress it is prepared to recognise the Natal Indian Organisation as an acceptable channel through which to approach it on any discussion of any matter affecting the Indian community. We do not think this is a proper thing for any responsible Government to do, though in this instance it must unfortunately be admitted that the present Government is following in the footsteps of its predecessor. But two wrongs do not make a right. Congress is the democratically formed national organisation of the Indian community and is the only body that is entitled to speak in the name of the community. It is more democratic in character than is the present Government. Congress may have its faults. There are many, among whom we include ourselves, who have vital differences in regard to the methods of the present leaders, but one should not lose sight of the fact that it is the only popular organisation of the Indian community and whether one likes it or not one has to officially deal with that and no other body. It stands out in par-

with the present Nationalist Government.

There is a vast majority in the country that is not favourably disposed towards the present Government and yet it has to recognise it and to deal with it. Even its erstwhile enemy, the United Party, has no other alternative but to deal with it. That is the democratic way. Besides Congress has earned the right to represent the community by the great sacrifices it has made in sponsoring the cause of the community, while the Organisation has not done it. It is through the efforts and sacrifices of the Congress that the Indian question of South Africa has been on the present international plane.

The Natal Indian Organisation has not yet shown that it commands the confidence of the Indian people and it is sheer audacity on its part to claim to speak in the name of the community. It is highly improper for it to go behind the back of Congress to approach the Government. If this attitude is allowed to be taken up, the time has come when Congress must either accept its defeat and renounce its claim to represent the community or it must prove to the Government in unmistakable terms its representative character. The Government has put the Congress in the

test. Let it not be found wanting.

"Merits" Of The Organisation

We shall now examine the contents of the Minister of the Interior's letter. The merits which make the Natal Indian Organisation an acceptable channel through which the Indian community may make its representations to the Government are stated to be

1. that it is neither communitarian in its orientation nor leadership;
2. that it is not associated with any organised flouting of the laws of the country;
3. that it is not looking to the political aid of another country while claiming to be composed of Union citizens.

With regard to the first, what of the country's race are ruled to-day by the Communists? What would prevent South Africa being ruled by Communists if it has not prevented it being ruled by the Nationalists, whose declared policy is much worse than that of Communists? With regard to the second, what constitutes organised flouting of the laws of the country? In releasing Leibbrandt and others the Government has sanctioned the most atrocious crimes of disloyalty to the State committed in this country and have thus flagrantly flouted the authority of the Courts of Justice. And here are people who have had no voice in the making of laws affecting them, which aim at ruining them politically, economically, socially, morally and spiritually. The only way in which these people have protested

against such unjust and immoral laws is by most respectfully and humbly refusing to abide by them and quietly and peacefully accepting any penalty that may be inflicted. Would this be called organised flouting of the laws of the country or would it be rather be considered the most civilised manner of dealing on the part of any self-respecting human being? Will the Natal Indian Organisation, who should be ashamed of playing the role of a puppet body of the Government, dare to say that this was an organised flouting of the laws of the country? Let it do so in public. While engaged in such an assumed defiance to be Union citizens. But are they really so? They have been claiming all these years the right to be treated as Union citizens but they have not yet acquired that right. Not only so, but they are treated worse than slaves, worse even than Nazis, so they are really be placed in the category of slaves. And slaves can but pray for outside aid for their emancipation.

Round Table Conference

Lastly the question of the Round Table Conference is referred to in the letter, which gives the lie to the possibility of such a conference being held. We entirely appreciate that this is a matter to be settled by the Governments concerned. We can only express our views on the subject. Nobody we are sure would be more pleased than Congress to see normal diplomatic relations

restored between the countries concerned and Congress cannot be accused of having done anything to obstruct in that being materialised. It has been clamouring for a round table conference on honourable terms to both sides. If it has not come about Congress is not to blame. Nor should the Government of India be blamed for forwarding her complaint to U.N.O. about the treatment of her nationals in the Union. While fully appreciating the generous attitude of the Minister of the Interior in not being influenced in his views on the question of holding such a conference by the action of the Government of India, we respectfully refuse to believe that the action on the part of that Government was ill-advised and ill-timed. The Nationalist Party's declared policy on the Indian question and the present Government's declared intention to amend the Asiatic Act which has been the bone of contention, seems to make it still more imperative fully justified the Government of India taking the action it has taken.

It should be remembered that for any round table conference to take place, only the atmosphere is not going to be as favourable as it was in 1927 and 1932. On both those occasions the legislation proposed to be passed was suspended while the round table talks were proceeding whereas in the present case the objectionable law is already in the statute book.

A Ray Of Hope

But there is a ray of hope in the otherwise very dark cloud both in the more conciliatory attitude shown by the Minister of the Interior which has, no doubt, the sanction of the

Government, and the appointment of Mr. Water as Ambassador Extraordinary-at-large. We very heartily welcome both these as boding well for a brighter future. In view of the very strained relations between India and the Union, Mr. Water's first duty we should think would be to visit India. If that were done, and a more friendly approach made to solve the vexed question neither India nor Indians in South Africa are over-anxious to drag South Africa to U.N.O. merely for the sake of humiliating her.

We must not here with painful surprise the lack of appreciation on the part of the Government the fact that in order not to embarrass and not to take any precipitate step without knowing what the future policy of the Government is going to be in dealing with the Indian question, Congress took the step of suspending the Passive Resistance struggle. That gesture, however, Congress should have been sufficient proof of its recognition of its responsibility as the national organisation of the Indian community and of its desire not to act in an irresponsible manner. Hence it did not merit to be disregarded by the Government in the manner it appears to have been.

NOTES

Sir Feroze Khan Noon's Advice To Indians In S.A.

INDIANS in South Africa must consider themselves South Africans and have a South African outlook, said Sir Feroze Khan Noon, a former High Commissioner in London, speaking in London on Tuesday. "As long as they have a feeling of double loyalty they will be unhappy. I do not think any Indian living in South Africa will want to go back

to India or Pakistan, nor will offers of a free passage induce them to leave their homes and property. There were problems of social injustice in more than one country of the world. There were people suffering more than Indians suffered in South Africa.

Indians in South Africa have never considered themselves other than South Africans. They have been loyal to South Africa as best they can. The trouble is that they are not treated as South Africans but as worse than aliens. They have been clamouring all these years to be treated as Union nationals but the Government has deliberately refused to recognise them as such. The Asiatic Land Tenure Act is a glaring example of that. Indians in South Africa are not unconscious of the fact that there are people elsewhere who are suffering more than they are suffering in South Africa. But that surely does not justify Indians in South Africa being ill-treated. In fighting against injustices directed against them they are really fighting the cause of all the oppressed people.

U.S. KASHMIR COMMISSION

U.S.A. Kashmir Commission will be leaving for Kashmir on July 31. The members of the Commission before leaving New Delhi proceeded to Rajghat to pay their homage to Mahatma Gandhi. They stood on the platform bareheaded and barefooted and paid their homage by putting jasmine flowers on the place the Mahatma was cremated. The president of the Commission, Dr. Egbert, paying his homage, said, "We have come to-day to pay our homage to the Mahatma. He was a great man. His death has caused us to love him and respect him more than ever. Even though he was faced with difficulties in his life, he worked steadfastly and peacefully. Many went to him and asked him to solve their difficulties. If he were alive to-day, we too would have taken our difficulties to him and asked him to solve them. It is hard to believe that he is no more."

The U.S.A. too wants to settle matters peacefully and to bring peace and love into this troubled world. Mahatma Gandhi died for that. Even though his body is destroyed, his soul is with us and he will live amongst us for ever.

MINISTER OF INTERIOR'S LETTER TO N.I.O.

IN a letter to the Natal Indian Organisation, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges has agreed to meet a deputation from the N.I.O. on a date to be fixed. Beforehand, however, he wants to know what subjects the Organisation would like to discuss. The letter from Dr. Donges's private secretary says:

"My Minister is at all times prepared to discuss with Indians in South Africa in a friendly and co-operative spirit any matter affecting the interests of Indians here. Your organisations are, so far as my Minister is aware, neither Communist in their orientation or leadership, nor associated with any organised flouting of the laws of the country and not looking to the political aid of another country while claiming to be composed of Union citizens."

They are regarded by my Minister as an acceptable channel through which the Indian population may approach the Government for the discussion of any matter affecting its interests."

Referring to the possibility of a round-table conference, the letter continues: "It will, of course, be appreciated that that is a matter to be settled between the Government and the Government concerned. However, my Minister is not unaware of your organisation's solicitude to have normal diplomatic relations re-

stored between the Union and India and Pakistan, and your mediatory steps in that direction."

"The possibility of holding such a conference would depend entirely on the agenda proposed for discussion. It is obvious that any matters of domestic concern, in the ordinary acceptance of that term, could be discussed with the Government of another country. On the other hand, there seems to be no objection to such a conference if it is held on the basis, subject to the restrictions, and with the objective of the prior conferences of 1927 and 1932."

The letter continues: "It is felt that the recent action of the Government of India in lodging with the United Nations further charges against the Union of South Africa is not calculated to improve the atmosphere in which such a conference should take place."

"However, my Minister feels that he should not be influenced in his views on the question of holding such a conference by the Government of India's ill-advised and ill-timed action. For that reason he adheres to the view taken by him prior to the publication of the Government of India's intention."

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

THE examination of the prosecution witnesses of Nathuram Vinayak Godse and seven others, charged with conspiracy and assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was resumed before Mr. Atma Charan Special Judge, at the Red Fort, on June 24.

The Judge, Counsel for the Crown and the defence and four of the accused had paid a visit to Birla House earlier, and had inspected the spot where the murder had been committed.

The trial then commenced. The first witness to depose was Ishwardin Mulchand, head constable of the Gwalior C.I.D. He said he knew three of the accused, who had absconded. They were wanted by the police in connection with the Gwalior Public Maintenance Order. Witness was asked to search for them, but he was unsuccessful. He also knew that Delhi, Poona and Bombay police were also searching for them. When questioned by Mr. Inamdar, counsel for D. S. Parchure, as to how long the witness had known the accused, he replied that the accused had been a medical practitioner at Gwalior for the last seven years.

Ram Lal Dutt, manager of the Sharif Hindu Hotel, Delhi, who was the second witness to be called, deposed that on January 17, 1948, three persons came and registered at his hotel. They had given their names as B. M. Vyas, Madanlal and Amchekar. He recognised Karkare, Madanlal Pahlwa and Amchekar, when Mr. Daphitary produced them before the court. He also recognised Karkare as the man who had registered under the name of Vyas.

Witness said that these three stayed in the hotel from January 17 to January 20, and he had recognised Gopal V. Godse as the person who had come to meet the accused at the hotel.

The Court was then adjourned.

The trial was resumed on June 25, Ram Lal Dutt continued his evidence. Questioned by Mr. Maniatar, counsel for Gopal Godse, witness said that on January 19, accused Gopal Godse came to see Madanlal at the hotel, about noon, and witness sent a bearer with him to show Madanlal's room. Witness denied a suggestion that his deposition regarding Gopal Godse having called at his hotel to see Madanlal was false.

Shanti Prakash, partner of the Sharif Hindu Hotel, who was the next witness, identified Karkare in the prisoner's dock as the man who had stayed at the hotel as K. M. Vyas and Gopal Godse as the man who had accompanied Vyas.

Cross-examined by Mr. Dange, witness said that he was with Vyas for about half an hour on the day on which the accused came to his hotel. Accused had signed his name in the visitors' book in Hindi as K. M. Vyas. He wanted the name to be signed either in Urdu or in English. This was subsequently done by Madanlal. The accused conversed with him in broken Hindustani.

The next witness, Ram Singh, a servant of the Sharif Hindu Hotel, identified accused Karkare and Madanlal as having stayed in the hotel this year. He also identified another person, Shantaram Amaram Angchekar who was also put up in the same room in the hotel.

The next witness, Shantaram Amaram Angchekar, who was recognised by the manager of the Sharif Hindu Hotel as the third man who stayed with Vyas and Madanlal in his hotel. Angchekar identified Karkare and Madanlal as having travelled with him in the same compartment from Bombay on January 14. He got acquainted with Karkare as the train when he found him talking in Marathi to some other passenger.

When the witness was cross-examined by Mr. Daphitary, the prosecution counsel, as to whom he found in his room after returning from some work in the city, witness said that he found Karkare, Madanlal and another person. When asked if he had any conversation with them, witness said that he was told by Madanlal and Karkare that they were going to vacate the room as they were going to Jullundur in connection with the marriage. Madanlal. Witness was in his native village till January 22 and then he reached Delhi with Madanlal. He was summoned by the police. They stayed with Madanlal's uncle and in the evening they went to a house on the opposite side where the girl whom Madanlal wanted to marry resided. They were entertained to tea and many ladies came to see Madanlal.

The Court was adjourned.

Court again met after lunch and Mr. Daphitary said that Court should issue orders for bringing Digamber Bage, as he would have to be identified by a witness.

Thereafter the next prosecution witness Hirchandani was called. He was a Sindhi clerk in the Transfer Bureau at the Ministry of Home Affairs. Witness said his office received applications from refugees for transfer of their services to the Indian Dominion. After an application

was shown, witness said that this application must have been handed over to him personally. Witness said the application bearing No. 5286 was filled in by one Mr. Shantaram Angchekar. He further said that a register maintained for the purpose also bore the same number.

The seventh prosecution witness Ram Chandra said he was a receptionist clerk in Marina Hotel, New Delhi.

When questioned by Mr. Daphitary, prosecution counsel, witness said that on January 17 last two persons came and they entered their names as S. Deshpande and M. Deshpande. Witness identified Nathuram Godse and D. Apte as the two persons who stayed in his hotel.

Mr. Daphitary then asked witness if anyone was brought to the hotel on January 20 by the police. Witness replied in the affirmative, saying that a certain individual covered with something like a blanket, was brought to the hotel on January 20 at 11 p.m. Witness was then on duty. Witness said that the manager Mr. Pacheco was in at the time and that he accompanied the police and the person brought, and went upstairs. Witness said that he was called upstairs to room No. 40. There the police searched the room and found some typed paper which they took. Witness identified the paper. Witness said that one Kish Ram, the bearer of the room, had left some clothes which he said, belonged to the occupants of the room. These were taken away by the police.

Witness was then cross-examined by the defence counsel as to how the accused were dressed and who were the occupants of the room on either side of room No. 40.

The next prosecution witness was the head bearer of Marina Hotel, Narain Singh. His duty was to supervise the work of other bearers and sometimes to serve tea in the absence of room bearers. Witness pointed towards accused Karkare and accused Shantaram and said that he saw them taking tea in Room No. 40.

Mr. Mehta, counsel for Shantaram, then cross-examined witness. Replying to a question, witness said that he saw Shanker and Karkare for about 15 minutes in Room No. 40 on that day. He had seen them earlier once or twice in the hotel.

Court was then adjourned till 10 a.m. the next morning.

Further evidence was recorded when the Special Court resumed hearings on June 29. The ninth prosecution witness Mehar Singh,

was called to give evidence. Mehar Singh, who was a forest guard, said that he saw four persons behind the Hindu Maharabha building and Birla Mandir. He challenged them.

Witness identified Gopal Godse, Apte, Shanker and Digamber Budge in the dock as being the persons loitering behind Birla Mandir.

Mr. Pacheco, manager of the Marina Hotel, was the next witness, but as there was no Bible available, to swear in a Christian witness, the next witness was summoned.

Kale Ram, bearer in Marina Hotel, stated that when the explosion occurred at Birla House, he was attending to room No. 40, 41, 42 and 45. He also remembered the persons staying in Room No. 40 then, and he had personally attended them. He identified N. V. Godse and Narain Apte as the two persons who had occupied Room No. 40.

The next witness, Govind Ram also a bearer in Marina Hotel, said that he remembered the day the bomb explosion occurred. He identified N. V. Godse, Karkare, G. Godse, and Budge and said that he had seen them in Room 40, three days before the incident. He had served one peg of whisky on the first day and two pegs the next day. He pointed out Karkare as the person who took the drinks on both occasions.

Mr. Pacheco, manager of Marina Hotel was the next witness when the court reassembled after lunch.

Witness said he remembered two persons who occupied rooms in his hotel and who signed their names as "Deshpandes". They had arrived on January 17, and left on January 30.

Witness remembered the day of the explosion and he said it was on January 20 at 11 p.m. the police had come to his hotel. There was a man with handcuffs. This man on being asked to show the room where his friends were staying led them to room No. 40.

Witness then pointed out towards Madanlal and said he was the person in handcuffs. He also identified Nathuram Godse and Apte as the two "Deshpandes".

Marin Thaddeus a receptionist clerk in Marina Hotel who was the next witness testified a copy of the bill from January 20 to January 20 for room No. 40 and said he had signed the bill. Witness pointed to N. V. Godse and said that he had come to him at about 6 p.m. on January 20 and asked him to prepare the bill. He pointed towards Karkare as the man who had come to see Godse.

Court was then adjourned till the morning.

Before the Court trying N. V. Godse and others commenced proceedings this morning, the judge asked some of the accused and the Prosecution and Defence Counsel inspected the car in which some of the accused are alleged to have gone to Birla House on January 30. Three of the accused, N. V. Godse, V. D. Savarkar and Parchure, remained in the dock.

Gurji Singh, a taxi driver was the first witness on June 30.

Witness said that on January 30 he had taken his car to Birla House with some passengers, whom he picked up near the Regal Cinema taxi stand. They were in all four, who had got in his car about 4 p.m. The passengers wanted to be taken to Birla Mandir first then Birla House and then Connaught Place. Witness pointed out Apté as the man who fixed up the fare and other details.

Witness identified Badge as the man who sat beside him in the front seat and Gopal Godse, Apté and Shanker Kistayya as the three others who sat behind. Witness took four to Birla Mandir first, where they got down and went somewhere. After about 15 minutes he took them to Birla House. Here he was directed by Apté to take the car to the back.

The passengers entered Birla House by the servants' quarters. Witness went to the prayer ground, but the loud peevish beating and order he could not hear anything. He returned to the car. Soon after his passengers came back in place of Badge another man came. Witness identified N. V. Godse as this person.

Witness was cross-examined by Mr. Mehta, counsel for Shanker Kistayya. He asked witness why he remembered this particular day and why not any other incident. Witness replied that the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and the bomb explosion was very much talked about. Witness said that he had heard the bomb explosion but at that time he did not know it was a bomb and later when he did discover that it was a bomb explosion, he did not report, because he did not suspect his passengers.

Court was then adjourned till the next morning.

On July 1, Mrs. Sulochana Devi living near Birla House, was the next witness to be examined. Witness remembered the loud explosion. She said she knew the place where the bomb exploded. It was about 150 paces away from her place of residence. She was about 13 paces from the place of explosion. When asked why she was there at that time, witness replied that her child had wandered off there and she had gone to fetch the child. The child was playing in a circular patch near

the servant's quarters. Witness said that as she reached this place she saw a light green car pull up near the circular patch and four passengers got out from behind the car and met two or three other persons. They then entered the gate leading into Birla House. When asked whether she knew any servants from the Birla House, witness said she knew Choturam and Bhushingh. One of the persons who had got out of the car talked to Choturam.

Witness said she saw the explosion. When cross-examined by Mr. Daphtry, witness said she saw a man coming, she was not sure whether he came from the car. Then she saw him placing a bomb there and then light a match. She was still standing there when the person put the match in the bomb. Witness then said that, that person then went towards her quarters. She then took her child forcibly and went 13 or 14 paces from the spot. She saw a string of wire attached to this thing and saw some sparks come out from the bomb. When it exploded she saw the person who applied the match to the bomb standing five or six paces from where she was standing.

Witness, when asked, as to what happened, said that a lot of people came up from the prayer meeting. Three persons came jumping over the wall, these persons were military men and they asked her what had happened. Witness told them that that person (pointing towards the man) had placed the bomb and fired it. He was then caught hold of.

On being asked whether witness could identify the person, Mrs. Sulochana Devi walked into the prisoner's dock and pointing towards Madanlal K. Pahlwa, said he was the person. Witness also identified Badge, N. V. Godse and Apté as the three persons who came in the car and who were talking to "Madan".

Chhotu Kabi was the next witness. He is a driver in Birla House. He had been working here for the last eleven years.

On the day of the explosion the witness was sitting on a plank about 2 feet away from his quarters. The chowkdar was also standing nearby. Witness saw the car being stopped. Four persons got down from the car, getting down they met three or four persons. Three of the passengers stood at the gate of the house and one came towards witness. He asked witness to take a photograph of Mahatma Gandhi through the lattice work as the Mahatma used to sit there for prayers. A no camera was visible. Witness asked him

where his camera was. He had only a bag which seemed to contain something heavy. The man looked disappointed and did not produce any camera. He, however, told witness that he would get a camera from his car. He then went to the outer gate where three other men were standing. One of them went to the place where the bomb exploded. Witness heard the explosion three or four minutes later.

The chowkdar, a constable, and a military man came to the place where the bomb exploded by jumping over the wall. Witness also hurried to the place when the bomb exploded, the persons who were standing at the gate hurried to the car. A woman, Sulochana devi, pointed out to

towards a man and told witness that the man had put something and set fire to it. The chowkdar Shur Singh had caught hold of the man who was taken to the police tent in Birla House. Witness also went there. A sub-inspector, made a search of the arrested person and recovered a live bomb from him.

Witness pointed towards accused Madanlal Pahlwa and said, that he was the person who was alleged to have exploded the bomb. Witness also pointed towards Karkare and said that he was the person who asked him to allow him to take a photograph.

Witness pointed towards N. V. Godse, and Narain Apté and said that they were the persons whom he had seen walking along with others near his quarters.

(To be Continued)

UNION'S AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY

DR. MALAN announced last week that Mr. Charles to Water is to be appointed Ambassador Extraordinary accredited to all Governments which the Union Government feels should be enlightened about its true aims. The following statement was issued by the Prime Minister.

"The Union Government to day is faced with a complex and, indeed, a dangerous world situation. Its efforts to meet the many problems that flow from that situation are made more difficult by the misconceptions which otherwise friendly nations and their Governments have about the domestic problems of the Union."

"Unfortunately there have also been deliberate and often malicious misrepresentations of the policies of the Union Government, and these have sometimes found their way into the Chancelleries of the world."

"Where social and economic crises are threatening the nations South Africa cannot hope to escape their effects, but must play its part in the councils that seek a solution."

"In order to meet the situation that gave rise to so many misconceptions and misinterpretations that are damaging to the good name, fame, and the financial stability of the Union, it appears highly desirable that the Union's representation abroad should be strengthened."

"The Government has accordingly decided to appoint an Ambassador Extraordinary-at-Large with more comprehensive duties than those attaching at present to Ministers in our diplomatic service abroad."

"Part of the functions of the special Ambassador will be to make direct contact with the Governments of the countries which he will visit while he may

be accredited and with their economic and monetary authorities."

"He may be called upon to conduct special conversations on behalf of the Union Government with such Governments and authorities, and to enlighten them whenever and wherever this is deemed desirable."

"I will probably also be the Ambassador's duty to participate with Union Ministers and representatives in the work of the United Nations and of those other bodies which have their origin or have been brought into relationship with that organisation."

"His Majesty the King's approval for the creation of such a post is being sought."

With the appointment of Mr. Charles to Water as Ambassador Extraordinary-at-Large and Mr. Eric Louw, named as head of the delegation which will represent South Africa at U.N.O. next September, they will make a strong team to argue the Union's case abroad. For ten years before the War Mr. to Water was High Commissioner in London and during that period represented the Union at the League of Nations. In 1933 he was elected President of the League Assembly.

WANTED TEACHERS

The Gajra School managed by the Sural Hindoo Educational Society, has a vacancy for three Teachers with following qualifications: (1) Gujarat Senior Matriculate, (2) Five years teaching experience. Salary will be £15 plus £4 C.O.L. allowance with an increment of £2 per month per year.

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APARTHEID WOULD RETARD DEVELOPMENT OF S.A.

"APARTHEID is a policy which South Africa, from an economical point of view, simply cannot afford. It is an attitude of life, the practical manifestation of superiority of one race over another," Mr. René de Villiers, Editor of 'The Forum' is reported to have said in an address to the Springs (Transvaal) Rotary Club at its luncheon in the Clarendon Hotel.

The fact that there were 62,000 Native families in South Africa without houses was a lasting reproach to the white man who shut his eyes to it because it did not affect him directly.

The per capita income in South Africa was £62 a year thus putting this country in the same class as India or China. The average income of a native family in Johannesburg was £3 a month short of the 'bread line' requirement, said Mr. De Villiers.

Another aspect of South Africa's poverty which would have an effect in the near future was the unfavourable trade balance of £100,000,000 a year.

More gold could be exported but more could not be produced because of the higher cost of production.

There was only one other way to avoid bringing down the standard of living. The skill and productivity of Native workers must be increased. Nothing was to be gained by producing finished goods unless there was a market for them. The obvious market for South African manufactured goods was the Native population.

Apartheid, whether practical or not, means the complete reversal of this whole economic process. It would stop the flow of labour from country to town and keep the Native unskilled and poor, thus nullifying the country's growth. Apartheid also meant the creation of large Native states impinging on white states, thus constituting potential enemies. It meant the stagnation and ultimate ruin of the country.

The best way to protect and develop western civilisation in South Africa was to make it the common civilisation of all men not the privilege of a chosen minority.

The primary task was to bring about a change in the hertenvolk mentality and to fight for freedom from that prejudice for which they were paying so heavy a price.

WHY THE NAME 'HARIJAN' SHOULD BE RETAINED

[The question as to whether and why the name 'Harijan' of the paper founded by Mahatma Gandhi in India should be retained was recently discussed in that paper. In this connection Mr. Donald C. Townsend from Switzerland writes the following very interesting letter to this paper:—

SUMMARY is the delay in mail from India that our copy of the 'Harijan' dated 2nd May reached us only today. It may not be too late, however, to add a word of commendation and praise to your editorial, *The name of This Paper*.

The name 'Harijan' should and must be retained for several reasons—

1. The name has gained a definite *mantra* force through its adoption by Gandhi as the *vaṇam*—vehicle of his voice. That force would be lacking in any other name. To many of us, the 'Harijan' means not only the Voice of Gandhi, but his philosophy, his life—finally, his sacrifice.

2. Do those who contend that the 'Harijan' can serve no longer as such a *vaṇam* for Gandhi's voice imply that Gandhi has been silenced by the world? Is that

Do they believe that because Gandhi's spirit has been driven away from his body, it has therefore been driven out of India? Where is their philosophy?

3. But supposing that death did still Gandhi's voice; supposing India rose as a man to combat his teachings of *ahimsa* and *satyagraha*, would that not prove an incontrovertible argument for the continuation of the name—of a heralding of this name from every house top?

4. Was Krishna's voice stifled by the arrow, or Jesus' by the cross? Has Mahomed nothing to say simply because he has ceased to walk about among us as a man among men? We may make a hollow mockery of the *Gita* by our distorted understanding; we may fight shy of *The Sermon On The Mount* because of its too lofty ethics; we may take up the sword in defence of the Prophet who denied its use as a means of propagation of the Faith. But the worst of us would lay the blame on our own deafness; we would not say the Teacher's Voice had become still.

5. Shall we drop the name of the *Gita* of the Bible, of the *Koran*—we shall not—thereby

silence their Voices.

5. For the sake of argument let us visualize an India freed from the inhumanities and degradations of caste. We shall have done away with untouchability: but shall we have reached a millennium? There will always be the oppressed and the down-trodden who, like the poor, will always be with us. There will still be *Harijan* work to be done—there will still be the crying need for help, for understanding and for brotherhood. For, in so far as we have cut ourselves off from the most degraded of our brothers or sisters,

we have cut ourselves off from the SELF, from Brahman, from Allah, from God.

7. Let us then not fall victims in that hateful tendency to quibble about words and, forgetting their meaning, cause the downfall of the structure into which Gandhi has instilled his very heart's blood. For, who is there to say with a surety that the Spirit of Gandhi is not a more potent help today than it was while hampered by the limitations of his flesh?

8. Let us put aside all childish wrangling over words and get on with the job.

CABINET MINISTER AND OFFICIALS DO PICK AND SHOVEL WORK

"This is a unique occasion in the history of India's Secretariat" declared Shri Mohanlal Saksena, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, addressing the officers and ministerial staff of his Ministry, who had turned out in large numbers for digging up and levelling the ground at the Nazam-ud-din village Expansion Scheme area.

He added, "Hitherto the Secretariat has been an inaccessible citadel with little or no contact with people outside whom it had been designed to serve. But today, we have made a breach in this citadel, however insignificant it may be. The officials of the Secretariat, volunteers of relief organisations and the refugees themselves are here together on common ground, armed with shovels, spades and pick axes. Not only would this serve to cut across the barriers of official and social hierarchy, but also provide an opportunity to Government servants to take a hand in the task of building up a newer and more glorious India."

About 300 officials of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation and attached offices led by Shri Mohanlal Saksena, initiated the work of the Self Help Squad. With implements of earth work in their hands, they fell briskly to the task of breaking up mounds and levelling the ground where homes for refugees from West Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind, Bahawalpore and Baluchistan are to be built. A number of women volunteers organised by Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, wife of the President of the Indian National Congress, were also present working like ordinary labourers side by side with men.

After working for about an hour and half, the volunteers of the Self Help Squad congregated around Shri Mohanlal Saksena

who in a short address congratulated them for this evidence of spirit of service. He said, "Your presence here is an indication that a new spirit inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's ideals is being born in the Secretariat of India. Hitherto, the appeals of the leaders of the country to 'Produce More' have but succeeded only in producing more lies and still more red-tape in the Secretariat. But evidently a mental revolution is now taking place, and Gandhi's dying message that 'deeds and not mere words count' has caught on."

India Waives Capitation Fees

As a result of representations made by the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses the Government of India has now abolished the system of requiring capitation fees from South African Indian students studying in Indian Universities.

The regulation governing capitation fees was a serious hardship as in terms of these regulations students were compelled to pay each year an additional sum of about Rupees 500 over and above the ordinary fees at the same time they were required to furnish a Bankers' or Insurance Company's guarantee. These regulations have now been withdrawn and South African Indian students will now be admitted without these encumbrances.

Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society

At the 14th Annual General Meeting of the above society held, the following were elected Office bearers for the year 1948-1949: Chairman: Mr. K. K. Gounden; vice chairman: Mr. R. S. Narasimhan; managing secretary: Mr. S. L. Singh; hon. secretaries (Legal Advisors): Mr. George Singh; hon. treasurer: Mr. V. Gnanas; auditors: Messrs. Wolpert and Abraham; Organizers: S. B. Somers. A committee of twenty (20) members

The refugees, he said, who had to leave Pakistan under the shadow of a great tragedy were made of stuff of which great nations are made. Their industry and drive could be a great asset to independent India and the Government were determined to make use of them as such.

Proceeding, the Minister appealed to refugees to have a little patience and not expect the Government to perform miracles. The rehabilitation of five millions of refugees, he added, presented complex and staggering problems. Above all, elements of corruption and inefficiency in the administrative machinery had to be rooted out. And this could be done only with active official and popular co-operation.

Shri Sarkaria continued, "Since the last few days, when I took over as Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation, I have been attempting to assess the nature of the task before me and checking up the tools with which I have to work. To accomplish the immense task that confronts me I have to make sure that every screw in the machinery is in its proper place and that every gadget is suitably geared."

Proceeding he said, "I have tried to imbibed the teachings of our great master, Mahatma Gandhi, as a humble soldier of his army for the last 28 years. His idealism and his teachings should guide us in the task of rehabilitating the refugees. He devoted his entire life to serve the poor and to mitigate the miseries of the down-trodden. The problem of refugees calls for a somewhat similar approach."

It was a pleasant surprise to the millions of refugees in the corridors of the Black, where most of these sections are lodged, to see the Minister moving about in this informal manner intent upon finding out whether they received prompt and courteous attention at the hands of the officials. He talked to all and sundry asking them about their problems and requirements. Some had come for registration, others to file their claims and yet others in quest of houses or business premises. The Minister instructed the officials concerned to take quick action on their applications and not to keep them hanging around in response.

Non-Commissioned Sikh Officers' Wonderful Courage

A Sikh non-commissioned officer, Lance-Naik Chand Singh, Pathan Infantry played an outstanding part in an action which was fought recently on a 15,000 feet high hill feature, north-east

of Sanaa, Kashmir. The incident occurred when a platoon of Sikhs was out on patrol with the object of finding out whether a certain bridge in the vicinity was safe. The hill area was covered with about 6 ft. deep snow and any movement against the open background was within the raiders' view.

When our patrol approached their objective, the raiders, who were found to be occupying a dominating hill feature, opened fire with machine guns, light machine guns and 2" mortars. Our patrol owing to lack of cover suffered some casualties.

Lance-Naik Chand Singh with two other men managed to crawl into a crevice and from that position brought intensive fire to bear on the raiders which foiled their efforts to take away our casualties and weapons.

Lance-Naik Chand Singh and his comrades kept the raiders thus engaged for over five hours until four platoons of the Jammu and Kashmir Infantry and Pathan Infantry came to their rescue. The raiders' positions were then overrun and they fled leaving behind 21 dead, two rifles, 2,785 rounds of Small Arms Ammunition, 24 blankets and some utensils.


Jews From Pakistan Migrate To India

Enquiries made in official circles indicate that a number of Jewish families have crossed over from Pakistan into the Indian Dominion. Exact numbers are not yet available. These Jews have come mainly from Karachi but some have moved out from their homes in the N.W.F.P. and West Punjab.

Soccer At Verulam

A very exciting and thrilling soccer was witnessed at Verulam Sports Ground on Sunday, July 26, between Model Dairy (A and B) and Charnwood (A and B). The "B" team, which especially were fast and interesting positional play was a treat to the spectators. D. S. Poodarum, the Charnwood right back, put in a splendid defence throughout the first and second half of the game. The Charnwood "B" team forwards gave the Model Dairy "B" defence many a trying moment with the result that Charnwood scored 4 goals within 20 minutes' play in the first half. In the second half the visiting team seemed lagged out and within a few minutes another goal was scored.

The "A" matches were also well contested and some fine soccer was witnessed. In the first half Dada (Tiger) scored 2 goals within fifteen minutes. During the second half the Charnwood "A" defence line put up a really tough defence. The visiting team Model Dairy "A" team seemed to play the ball with confidence and calmness. In the second half, Charnwood "A" scored 2 goals, Model Dairy "A" and



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Old files of 'Indian Opinion' of the period during which it was being conducted by Gandhi contain valuable material for his biography. These are, however, not easily obtainable. We would, therefore, request the subscribers to 'Indian Opinion' to help us in getting them. All files sent to us will be paid for. All who can send the files may please address their correspondence to Jivanji D. Desai, Manager, Navjivan Karyalaya, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad, India.

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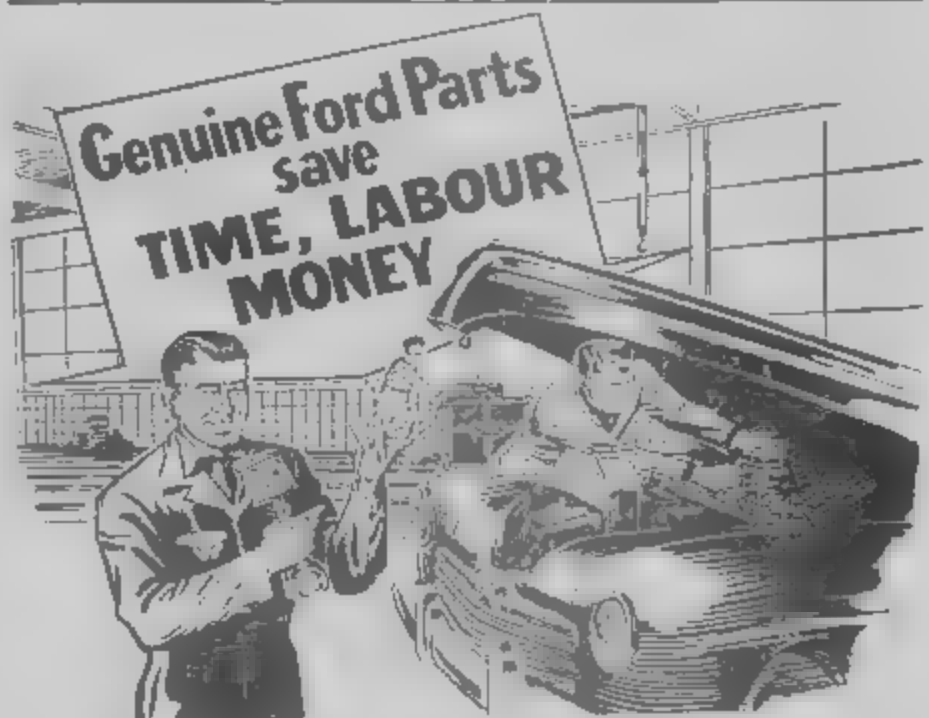
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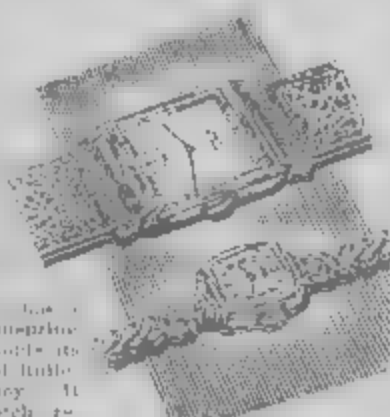
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Friday, 6th August, 1948

How To Celebrate Independence Day

PLITTL E from all over South Africa are desirous to know how best to celebrate this great day in the history of India which falls on August 15. They are expecting some guidance from us. A move has been made to celebrate the occasion in Durban and Johannesburg by the India Independence Day Celebration Committee and the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj respectively. All those who are nationals of India owe allegiance to India and must be loyal to India a hundred per cent. Those who have a divided loyalty are hypocrites. They are not loyal but disloyal.

This day should be observed more as a Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving than a day of rejoicing. Every Indian in his heart rejoices that his Motherland is free from bondage. But what has followed after the attainment of Independence is saddening. The peace and happiness that was yearned for is yet far from us and the loss of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, has removed even the particle of joy that may be in us. It has awakened, as indeed it should, everyone who prides himself or herself to be an Indian to his duty, to oneself to one's country and to humanity. If Mahatma Gandhi's life meant anything to us, as we

pride in him, and if we feel a gap in our lives without him, then everyone of us should at least make an honest attempt to walk in his footsteps and try to achieve the Freedom for which he lived and died. That Freedom is not impossible to achieve if mankind would only try to shed all false pride and arrogance and live up to the great principle of "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." Let us all remember that until we have reached that stage we have not achieved real Independence but only its skeleton.

So we would suggest that on August 15 there should be prayers in every Church, Temple and Mosque for wise guidance to the leaders and the people of India; there should be music, prayers and homage should be paid to the Flag of India's Independence, which should take place in the early morning hour in the open and on the sea shore where that is possible; all those for whom it is possible, young and old should observe a twenty-four hour fast counting from the last meal one has had the previous evening. This is observed in India while celebrating

all national occasions. All these things done up a mass scale, quietly, prayerfully and in a disciplined manner have both their moral as well as spiritual value. These are a few suggestions we humbly submit to the public to be followed in celebrating the first anniversary of India's Independence on August 15.

Attlee's Reply To Churchill

THE reply given to Mr Winston Churchill by the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee during the recent debate in the House of Commons on the question of Hyderabad will be received with a sense of profound satisfaction by India and Indians. It is a matter of deep regret that such a reply should have been occasioned by Mr. Churchill at this juncture. But Mr. Churchill's apparent hatred for India and his displeasure at her attaining her freedom will probably die with him. Now, it is found that Pakistan army is fighting against the forces of India in Kashmir which was hitherto firmly denied. The suspicion is irresistible that though the British Government have officially left India, Mr. Churchill's shadows are still there to wreck the good work that may have so far been achieved. It will not be

surprising if it is found later that even in Hyderabad and in Pakistan Mr. Churchill's emissaries have been at work. In this respect the words of Lord Louis Mountbatten are worthy of note particularly by Mr. Churchill and his friends. In his first public speech in London he had expressed his grave decided that he was quite certain that India was growing from strength to strength. Good feelings of friendship that were cordial in India for Britain at present were greater than ever before. In fact such a bond of goodwill had never been seen in the past. In his opinion nothing but criminal lunacy in Britain could destroy this feeling. In a brief reference to Hyderabad Lord Mountbatten, not only ten days before his departure, he and the Supreme constitutional adviser Sir Walter Monckton, had drafted proposals by which Hyderabad could be fitted into the Indian Union. He regretted that while the Nizam's delegation accepted these proposals the Hyderabad Government rejected them.

If Mr. Churchill is at all a God-fearing man, he should desist from his malicious activities now and to India which will cause him later on, to fruitlessly regret it not for the sake of India but for the sake of his own country.

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

THE trial was resumed again on July 2. The cross-examination of Chotu Ram, a motor driver of Birla House, was continued. After this the court examined the bank account of Godse and Apté.

A joint application had been filed by Nathuram Godse and Narayan D. Apté regarding their joint account in the Presidency Industrial Bank in Poona. The Judge said that the Bombay police had written to him that the bank was not holding up their balances at the instance of the police authorities. The Judge said that a certified copy of the letter from the Bombay police which he had received, could be obtained through their counsels and they could write again to the bank.

The next prosecution witness, Bhaur Singh, a watchman in Birla House, deposed that on the day of the explosion he was standing in front of his quarter. Chotu Ram was sitting a few paces away from him. He saw a green coloured car with a luggage carrier on its top, coming in the circular open space outside the wall of the servants' quarters. The car stopped and three or four persons alighted and began to talk with some persons standing in front of the circular open patch. Passing in front of him, these persons then went towards the prayer grounds. About five minutes later three or four of them returned. Three persons came to the gate and one went towards Chotu Ram. The person who went towards Chotu Ram asked him if he could take a photograph of Mahatma Gandhi. Chotu Ram asked the person where his camera was. The person then went away towards the other person standing at the gate. This person who talked to Chotu Ram had a bag in his hand.

Thereafter witness entered his own room to put on his uniform as he had to go on duty at 6 p.m. When he came out he did not see these persons. Witness then went to the prayer grounds. About five minutes later he heard the explosion. Witness and a police constable ran in the direction of the explosion.

Sulochana Devi pointed out to witness a person standing nearby, who, she said, had ignited the bomb. Witness and a police constable caught hold of him. The man was then searched and a hand grenade was found on his person. Witness identified a coat, hand grenade and other articles seized from the person when he was arrested. Witness pointed out Madanlal as the person whom he had arrested.

Witness also pointed out Badge, N. Godse, Madanlal, G. Godse,

Apté and Karkare as the persons who were walking in the circular ground.

Mr. Bhopalhat, the defence counsel, then submitted an application to the Special Judge, drawing his attention to certain remarks passed by the well-known correspondent of a certain well-known Delhi paper. The application read: "The undersigned and his colleagues submit that they are endeavouring to do their best for their clients consistently with the prestige and dignity of a Judicial Tribunal and therefore claim full protection from the Court against derogatory remarks in newspapers." The Court was then adjourned.

On July 4 the cross-examination of Bhaur Singh was continued. Mr. Bannerjee, counsel for Madanlal asked witness if the accused had offered any resistance. Witness replied that he had not offered any resistance when he was arrested, but he said that he had not placed the bomb in that place.

The next witness was Mr. K. N. Sahni, First Class Magistrate and District Refugee Officer in Karnal. When asked why he had been to Birla House, witness replied that he had had a serious accident on January 10, resulting in the death of his wife Mahatma Gandhi had sent him a letter of condolence and had expressed the wish that witness should see him. A licence witness had gone to Birla House to see Gandhiji. Witness continued to confirm the statements made by Sulochana Devi, Bhaur Singh and Chotu Ram.

Mr. Sahni then in answer to the questions of the defence counsel, said that he was an A. V. Samajist, but he respected all religions. When asked by Mr. Dange, whether he was aware of the fact Hindus strongly resented the association of Muslim names with that of Hindu deities, witness said that singing of such songs was not resented by anyone.

On July 6 Chamanlal Grover, proprietor of a restaurant in Lodi Colony, was the chief prosecution witness. Witness said that he had taken by the police to the Tagore Road police station in February. A person was brought out from the lock-up. The person said he would show the place behind the Hindu Mahasabha building in Reading Road where bombs and cartridges had been buried. Witness pointed out Shankar Kistayya as the person he had taken them to the Hindu Mahasabha building.

Witness added that on a subsequent day about 2 p.m. he was again called to the police station. The police took out two persons from the lock-up. Witness pointed out Karkare and Apté and said that they were the men. Apté told them that he would take them to a place where a pistol had been used and a tree against which shots had been fired. Witness was further cross-examined by the defence counsel. This having concluded, Court was adjourned until the next day.

Earlier, Ram Prakash, manager of a hotel at Delhi, identified Vishnu Karkare and Gopal Godse as the two persons who had stayed in his hotel as "C. M. Joshi" and "Gopal" on January 20.

Witness was cross-examined by the defence counsel as to the dress the accused wore and the time of their arrival and departure.

An urgent trunk telephone call from Delhi to a Bombay number was booked on January 19 last but the call proved ineffective as the person called "Dante or Karnal" was not available on the telephone, said Mr. P. R. Karlast, Administrative Officer, Telephone Revenue, New Delhi on July 7. Witness said the charge for the call had been signed by the office secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha at New Delhi.

Mr. S. C. Roy, Inspector of Explosives, Agra, who examined the hand-grenades, gun-cotton shrapnel and other articles recovered from Madanlal, gave evidence earlier. Witness said that the police usually sent various kinds of explosives to him to be examined. He and the explosives men appeared and found on them were a very light type of explosives.

The next witness, Kunwar Singh, a police photographer, deposed that he had taken a collection of photographs of the servants' quarters behind Birla House. After one or two more minor witnesses the court adjourned.

On July 8, Booking Clerk, Sunder Singh deposed that he was on duty from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. on January 20 and 21. He was in charge of issuing first and second class tickets as well as reserving seating places. Witness identified

receipts made out on January 20 in the name of N. Vinayak Rao. He had a conversation with him. Witness identified Nathuram V. Godse as the man who booked the room as N. Vinayak Rao. Witness also pointed out D. Apté as the man who had been the companion.

The next day, January 30, Vinayak Rao had come to witness and asked for extension of time. Witness told him that no extension could be given without permission of the Station Superintendent. The persons went away. Witness went to the room at about 1 p.m. to see whether it had been vacated. He saw Vinayak Rao and his companion sitting in the room. A third person was also there.

A bearer of the Retiring Room also gave evidence. There were

On July 4 three persons who were present at the last prayer meeting vividly recalled as the trial how Mahatma Gandhi fell a victim to bullets alleged to have been fired from a pistol of N. V. Godse. They were Mr. Nandlal Mehra, a constant companion of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Amar Nath, Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police, and Dhanraj Singh, a police head constable on duty at Birla House.

Witnesses were not cross-examined by counsel for Nathuram Godse. Godse himself told the court that he did not want the "eye-witnesses" to be cross-examined.

Sergeant Ram Chandra of the Royal Indian Air Force, the first prosecution witness the next day, was the first man to apprehend accused Madanlal after the bomb exploded on January 20 at the prayer meeting. Witness proceeded to the spot on hearing the explosion. He found dark green smoke coming from the exploded substance. Witness went through and came to a boundary wall where a woman with two children besides another person were standing. The woman pointed towards the man standing nearby as the one who exploded the bomb. Witness caught hold of him. Witness identified Madanlal as the man.

The eye-witnesses then continued with their evidence. The court was then adjourned.

(To be continued)

MINISTER OF INTERIOR REFUSES TO SEE CONGRESS

We publish the following correspondence between the Government and the Congress which speaks for itself:

Letter to the President, Transvaal Indian Congress, by the Minister of Interior, dated Pretoria, 12th July, 1948:—

Sir,—Your letter of the 4th ultimo addressed to the Private Secretary to the Honourable the Prime Minister, has been referred to me by the Prime Minister.

I note the request of your two Executive Committees to the Prime Minister to meet a joint deputation to discuss certain difficulties on regard to the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946. As I am the responsible Minister, I shall regard the request for an interview as directed to me.

I am at all times prepared to discuss with Indians in South Africa in a friendly and co-operative spirit any matter affecting the interests of Indians here. But I am not prepared to extend this facility to any organisation of Indians which sponsors or associates itself with any unlicensed flouting of the laws of the country. I also exclude organisations which are communistic in their orientation or leadership or which, while claiming to be composed of Union citizens, invoke the political aid of another country. At the moment the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses do not fall within the ambit of organisations with which I am prepared to discuss, indeed with which I could usefully discuss, matters affecting the Indian population in the proper spirit. I note that your organisations have temporarily suspended organised law-breaking. While not prepared to judge the motives or reasons for this step, I can only hope that it will be followed within the near future by the permanent abrogation or organised law-breaking and the repudiation of foreign ideological conceptions which are inimical to racial peace in South Africa. If my hopes are realised, the way will be paved for the desired interview on a mutually convenient date. Until then, other Indian organisations which satisfy the tests I have enunciated above, will have to serve as the channel through which the Indian population in South Africa may approach the Government on a discussion of any matter affecting its interests.

—Yours faithfully, (Sgd.) T. F. DORRIS, Minister of the Interior.

Letter to the Private Secretary, the Honourable the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, from the Secretaries of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, dated 2nd August 1948:

Sir,—We are directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 2nd July 1948. It is the desire of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress to make the following urgent observations for the earnest consideration of the Honourable the Prime Minister:

(a) The history of the Indian in South Africa is one long record of his steadily deteriorating status and fast dwindling rights. He was deprived of the Parliamentary franchise in Natal in 1896. In 1934 the Municipal franchise was taken away from him. Earlier his trading and property rights in the Transvaal were restricted. The years have witnessed the growth of a huge body of anti-Indian legislation culminating in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946.

(b) This unjust law aroused the deep indignation of Indians throughout South Africa. Dispossessed of the franchise, all constitutional means of obtaining redress were soon exhausted without avail. The unyielding attitude of the Government left the Indian people with no alternative but to launch a campaign of Passive Resistance in protest against a racially oppressive law.

(c) With the return of the present Government to office as a result of the recent General Elections, in which the Indian people of South Africa have had no part, our Congresses suspended their Passive Resistance struggle and sought an interview with the Honourable the Prime Minister to discuss the many disabilities confronting them, more particularly in relation to the above-mentioned Act and to secure from him a statement of the Government's policy in regard to the Indian community.

(d) We recall that in reply to our communication dated the 25th June 1948, the Honourable the Prime Minister said he was unable to meet us as he had to proceed to Capetown on urgent business. He referred the matter to the Honourable the Minister of the Interior. To our further request the Honourable the

Prime Minister stated that his heavy tasks and commitments precluded an interview with him and that we should approach the Honourable the Minister of the Interior.

(e) In the circumstances our Congresses are concerned at the inaccessibility of the Honourable the Prime Minister at a juncture when vital questions affecting the Indian community call for pressing solution.

(f) Our Congresses have noted the suggestion of the Honourable the Minister in your last communication that the Honourable the Minister of the Interior should be approached with a view to an interview.

However, before we could attend to this matter, the Honourable Minister of the Interior has already, by letter dated 12th July 1948, expressed his unwillingness to meet our Congresses. He has raised objections which are to be greatly deplored, for they run counter to all constitutional and democratic practice. We view such an attitude with grave apprehension, more particularly when it is taken against the accredited national representatives of a community who, deprived of the Parliamentary franchise, has no other channel of placing its views before the Government.

(g) The objections of the Honourable the Minister of the Interior constitute so serious a departure from ordinary democratic principles and procedure, that our Congresses cannot but draw the Honourable the Prime Minister's attention to its wider implications and significance.

(h) We cannot understand the Honourable Minister concerning himself with the internal composition of the membership of our Congresses. It is not for the Honourable Minister, but for the Indian people themselves to determine the composition of their organisations. The Honourable Minister should be satisfied with the fact that we are the largest Indian political organisations in the country, whose membership is open to all Indians. The Natal Indian Congress has 35,000 registered members. The present officials of the Transvaal Indian Congress were elected by 12,000 votes without any opposition.

(i) Indians in South Africa have always maintained their unfeigned right to seek the goodwill of India and the

support of world opinion in their struggle for full democratic rights in this their land of birth and adoption. The solution here lies with the Government of South Africa. So long as the Indian is the victim of unjust racial discrimination, so long as the franchise, the basic pillar of fundamental human rights, is denied to him, so long will this position remain.

(j) The Honourable Minister refers to organised flouting of the law. We assume that this reference is to the Passive Resistance movement. There is no question that the Asiatic Act of 1946 is directed against the interests of the Indian community of the Transvaal and Natal and seeks their ultimate economic destruction, social degradation and national humiliation. In such circumstances, Indians have traditionally chosen to defy such and unjust law and accept the penalties imposed. Here, too, the solution lies with the Government.

Our Congresses, Sir, record with great regret the fact that the Honourable the Prime Minister has been unable to grant us an interview. He has referred us to the Honourable the Minister of the Interior, who has refused to meet our organisations. The primary purpose envisaged by our Congresses in seeking the interview was to discover the policy of the new Government in respect of the following disabilities under which Indians suffer:

1. Unjust discrimination in terms of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (1946).

2. The continued denial of the franchise.

3. The restrictions on movement from one Province of South Africa to another.

4. Other unjust discriminations against Indians in laws and their operation.

In addition, there is the question of a Round Table Conference between the Government of India and the Union of South Africa arising from the resolution adopted at the 1946 Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

What we require is an unequivocal statement of policy from the new Government in regard to the above matters, especially regarding our status as part of the South African nation. Such a declaration we can seek only from the Honourable the Prime Minister, the head of the Government.

We hope, Sir, we have made our position clear. Should the

IN THE SIXTH MONTH

By K. G. MASHRUWALA in 'Harijan'

AFTER a few days (26th July according to the Indian and 30th according to the Christian calendar) it will be six months since the loss of Gandhiji. Time has flown so rapidly that to several of us it looks as if the event took place just a few days ago. But the immobility of our memory in relation to his death will not prevent time from running its course with its usual regularity. Months will be succeeded by years, and years by decades, until not a single person will be alive who was born before 30th January 1948.

I know some, and there must be many more whom I do not know, who have hardly passed a day without shedding tears and feeling miserable on account of being deprived of their dear Bapu. While some report that the appearance of the 'Harijan' consoles them to a certain extent, to others it serves as a reminder of his loss and the intensifier of the grief.

But while there cannot be but sympathy for those who cannot help grieving and weeping, let us all those who do so as also those, who, though feeling equally, are composed or hardened enough not to do so—remember that the more we love and feel for him, the more is our duty to live for him, and to atone for his death.

The Congress, Congress Government, and Congressmen individually, the Communists, Workers and those who feel that they have a greater claim to be regarded as Gandhian than others, the Brahmans and non-Brahmans, the Harijans, the Mussalmans and even the members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S., all joined and will join again on every minor, unulating day in paying glowing tributes to him. Poets and celebrated writers have been and will be inspired to compose beautiful pieces, which will make us feel proud of him or move us to the point of weeping.

And yet we may have done nothing to atone for his death.

Let us remember that he died and was killed because of the communalism in us. He lived and died for Hindu-Muslim Unity. He lived for the removal of untouchability; he lived for the happiness and uplift of the villagers and the seven lakhs of villages; he lived to see that those who had more talents or knowledge or wealth used them for the benefit of the poor and the ignorant. He lived for truth, non-violence and for peace in the world, for settlement of all disputes between man and man by not resorting to war and bloodshed, but by satyagraha and arbitration.

How far have we advanced in any of these directions? What have we done to diminish Hindu-Muslim and various intra-Hindu discords, provincial bitterness, and State disputes? How are we going to settle our differences, whether in matters of foreign and inter-State politics or inter-provincial and home politics? How are the Kashmir and the Hyderabad questions to be settled ultimately? What shall be the basis of heart relations between Pakistan and India? Will force, violence, intrigue, and diplomacy centering round power-politics be the means of settling them, or straight-forwardness, justice and the spirit of wellbeing of all? Is the UNO going to be a cabal of the Big Three or Four for power-politics, forcing smaller and weaker nations to follow them in their war programmes? Have our internal and external relations taken a turn towards friendship or more bitterness?

Our answers to these questions will indicate how we have atoned for Gandhiji's death.

My reference to high and political problems must not create the sense in the ordinary reader that I address this to the politicians. Let him remember that no politician, however good and noble, or however mischievous and ignoble, can succeed aught if he is unable to get applause and co-operation from the people. He ultimately trades upon the emotions of the credulous public. He scatters seeds of hatred among the people, and leads them to war and destruction, or sows seeds of love and understanding and gently takes them to peace and regeneration. Gandhiji was the careful farmer who did the latter. Let us not hear those who emphasize the caste, religious, regional, linguistic, cultural or other narrow labels which have been put upon us from time to time, and exploit them for hating our neighbour. Let us all lead men first and last, and everything else afterwards. Not one of the above distinctions is of fundamental importance.

ASHRAM OBSERVANCES IN ACTION

This is a translation of selected chapters from Gandhiji's Gujarati history of the Satyagraha Ashrams published for the first time in May last. V.G.D. in 'Harijan'.

1. Truth

WHENEVER some one was found telling a lie in the Ashram, effective steps were taken to deal with the situation as symptomatic of a serious disease. The Ashram does not believe in punishing wrongdoers, so much so that hesitation is felt even in asking them to leave the institution. Three lines of preventive action were therefore adopted.

The first thing attended to was the purity of the principal workers in charge, the idea being that if they were free from faults, the atmosphere about them was bound to be affected by their innocence. Untruth cannot stand before truth like darkness before the light.

Secondly we had recourse to confession. If some one was found practising untruth, the fact was brought to the notice of the congregation. This is a very useful measure if it is judiciously adopted. But one has to be careful about two things. First the public confession must not be tainted by even a trace of force. Secondly the confession should not lead to the person confessing taking leave of all sense of shame. If he comes to believe that mere confession has washed off his sin, he is no longer ashamed of it at all. There should be an even

present consciousness of the fact that the least little untruth is a dangerous thing.

Thirdly, the worker in charge of the Ashram as well as the wrongdoer would take a matter of principle. Of course it is a matter for the wrongdoer himself to decide whether or not he should undertake a fast. And as for the worker in charge, he is clearly responsible for intentional and unintentional wrongdoing in his institution. Untruth is more poisonous and more subtle than any poison gas whatever, but it dare not enter where the head of the institution is wide awake and has a spiritual outlook on life. And it is found to have effected an entrance if it is warning to the principal workers, who may be sure that he must bear his share of responsibility for this infection. I for one believe that spiritual acts have clearly defined results, and these like combinations of physical and spiritual forces.

Only as we have no such means of measurement in the former case as in the latter we are not ready to believe or we only half-heartedly believe in the spiritual influences. Again, we are inclined to be lenient to ourselves with the result that our experiments are unsuccessful and we tend to move only in a circle like the oil-miller's hut. Thus untruth gets a long lease of life and as fast as we teach the melancholy couplet—'that untruth is unavoidable, and what is unavoidable easily becomes necessary, so that not truth but

untruth increases its prestige.

When therefore untruth was discovered in the Ashram, I readily pleaded guilty for it myself. That is to say, I have not still attained truth as defined by me. It may be due to ignorance but it is clear that I have not fully understood truth and therefore neither even thought it out nor declared it, still less practised it. But granting this, was I to leave the Ashram, and resort to some Himalayan cave and impose silence upon myself? That would be sheer cowardice. The quest for truth cannot be prosecuted in a cave. Silence makes no sense where it is necessary to speak. One may live in a cave in certain circumstances, but the common man can be rested only in society.

What then is the remedy to be tried to get rid of untruth? The only answer which suggests itself to me is bodily penance, that is fasting and the like. Bodily penance has a threefold influence, first over the penitent, secondly over the wrongdoer and thirdly over the congregation. The penitent becomes more alert, examines the innermost recesses of his own heart and takes steps to deal with any personal weakness that he may discover. If the wrongdoer has any pity he becomes conscious of his own fault, is ashamed of it and resolves never to do any more in the future. The congregation takes a lesson from the misdeed.

But bodily penance is only a means to an end, not an end in itself. By itself it cannot bring an erring person to the right path. It is profitable only if it is accompanied by a certain line of thinking, which is as follows.

Man tends to become a slave of his own body and engages in many activities and commits many sins for the sake of physical enjoyment. He should therefore identify the truth whenever there is an occasion of it. A man should not seek physical enjoyment as a chief objective. Even a slight occupation of enjoyment in the shape of food will probably be helpful in breaking the power of that delusion. Truth is order to produce this effect and is asked in its widest sense as the exercise is asked and all the organs of sense with a view to the purification of itself or others. Merely to fast is not enough. And fasting for health is not at all in this sense.

I have also found that frequent fasting tends to rob of its efficacy, for then it becomes almost a mechanical process without any background of thought. Every fast therefore should be undertaken with this intention.

I have noted no special effect of fasting in any case. I have fasted frequently, therefore my

co-workers are nervous and are afraid that a fresh fast may place my life in danger. This fear makes them observe certain rules. I consider this an undesirable consequence of fasts. I do not however think that self-control practised on account of such fear does any harm. This fear is inspired by love, and therefore it is a good thing if a person steers clear of wrongdoing even under the influence of such fear. Deliberate and voluntary reformation is of course extremely desirable, but it is only so be welcomed if a person avoids sin because he is afraid of causing pain to others, as in my case no employment of brute force. There are many cases of reformation undertaken

primarily only to please one's dear ones becoming a permanent feature of men's lives.

One painful consequence of fasting must be taken into account. People sometimes do not avoid sin but only try to hide it for fear that someone else may fast if he comes to know of it.

After giving due weight to the pros and cons I hold that fasting and such other penances are necessary in certain cases. On the whole they have done the Ashram a signal service. But we must remember that undertaking a fast or similar penance implies certain qualifications in the penitent, which may be set forth as follows:

(To be continued)

DURBAN INDIAN MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES' SOCIETY

THE following resolution was passed by the annual general meeting of the Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society held in Durban on Sunday, July 25:

This meeting notes with deep concern the suggestions to remove the Magazine Barracks from its present site to Cato Manor, partly due to the view of the hardships and extra expense involved by transport, and hereby authorises the Dimes Committee, Executive and/or officials to lodge objection and to do all that is necessary to oppose the suggested removal of the Barracks. Further, this meeting contends that it is not in the best interests of both the City Council and its Indian employees to house employees far from their places of work.

This meeting fully endorses the action of the Committee and Executive in pressing for the early establishment of an Industrial Council and is firmly of the opinion that on account of numerous delays in the past, an Industrial Council is the best

course for settling disputes with the least possible delay.

The meeting instructs the Committee to press for the early erection of the Magazine Barracks. Polycyclic the erection of which was approved by the City Council some time back.

This meeting instructs the Committee to press with all vigour for the erection of a school in the Magazine Barracks area and regards with grave concern the indifference of the various authorities concerned in allowing over seven hundred children of school-going age to remain without any facilities. The Committee, Executive and officials are authorised to do all things necessary for the provision of an early date of facilities for these children.

This meeting expresses its thanks and appreciation to all officials and Committee members as well as to others for their unstinted and untiring services in the fight for better wage, working and living conditions for Dimes workers during the past year.

DURBAN INDIAN BENEVOLENT SOCIETY

THE fourth annual general meeting of the Durban Indian Benevolent Society was held recently at the M. K. Gandhi Library. Mr. T. M. Naicker presided.

The secretary's report states: The object of the Society is to investigate and relieve the wants of the aged, distressed and destitute Indians and Indian families within the Magisterial area of Durban who are not receiving any help from any other charitable organisation nor drawing grants from the State as old age, invalidity or invalidity grants. The

Society also endeavours to secure employment for those unemployed and its work is directed towards the very poor of the Indian community.

The secretary's report further states that Indians are facing a serious position in so far as finding work is concerned. Even some of those unemployed Indians who receive the unemployment dole for the period provided find themselves without work and a number of such cases had come to the Society.

During the period under review an amount of £62-8-0

in the form of grants-in-aid, donations and subscriptions were received, which included a sum of £62-10-0 from the Natal Provincial Administration and the sum of £100 from the Durban City Council. The Society is thankful to both these authorities for their yearly grants of £100 and £50 respectively.

The Society finds the subsidies inadequate to meet the requirements. The calls on the Society for aid are becoming heavy and it is finding great difficulty in meeting the wants of the poor. Poor relief, the secretary states, is the responsibility of the Pro-

vince and it is therefore incumbent on it to accept responsibility and make a substantial increase of its subsidy to the Society.

The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year:—Patron: His Worship the Mayor of Durban, C. L. L. Boyd, president: Mr. T. M. Naicker, vice-presidents: Messrs. A. S. Kajan, P. R. Pather, A. Christopher, S. L. Singh and M. John, hon. secretary: Mr. K. Soodbram, hon. treasurer: Mr. H. G. Thathiah, hon. auditor: Mr. I. P. Gordon and a committee of 33.

NEWS ITEMS FROM INDIA

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, the Minister of Food in India, said on August 3 that although some grain are being rationed, people should not be afraid, because the food situation in India was not bad. But it was not very good either. He said that special grain shops would be opened by the Government. In reference to black-marketing he said that the present Government was a Government of the people and that those people who still insisted in continuing black-marketing would be severely punished.

THE LATEST NEWS ABOUT INDIA

The situation in Hyderabad is causing much anxiety to the Government of India. For last 35 hours now that the Razakars are determined to take the law in their hands. The Nizam has no power over them, and a settlement at this stage is out of question. The Government of India will have to take stronger steps now.

Indian Government Press Note.

An Indian Government Press Note dated August 3 says that on July 27, when the Indian Government heard that about 200 Razakars were advancing through Tandolwadi, which belonged to Hyderabad, to Shiv gao in the Indian territory, Indian police were sent to Khirakathi, a village in the Indian territory near Tandolwadi. Here they saw two or three places on the border they did not raid the Hyderabad territory. The Razakars seeing them, started firing from Tandolwadi. So the Indian police raided them by entering the State territory. They captured three Razakars but none were injured on both sides. In the afternoon the police, gathering that there

was fighting in Tandolwadi and Khirakathi, sent the Indian patrol who rounded the Razakars by once more entering the State territory and captured them. This time they captured 29 Razakars. Three of them were sub-inspectors of the Hyderabad police. Three were Naibs and twelve were ordinary police. The press note said that this showed that the Razakars had the full support of the Hyderabad State.

Pakistan's Obstinacy

The Jodhpur Railway, Sind section, was to be transferred to Pakistan on July 31 on condition that the Pakistan Government should either put in a sum of money in the Reserve Bank or the Imperial Bank of Jodhpur. This sum was to be the price of the carriages etc. But a train from Jodhpur carrying Indian refugees was stopped by the Pakistan Government. Many similar trains were stopped. The Indian Government tried to persuade Jodhpur that Pakistan would come to an understanding. But the Pakistan Government removed officials from Jodhpur station and kept their own officials there without satisfying the one condition. The Indian Government has requested the Pakistan Government to meet and discuss the matter, but the latter has not replied.

Dr. Khan Sahib Sentenced

Dr. Khan Sahib, who was arrested in Pakistan, has been sentenced to 3 months.

U.S.A. Kashmir Commission

U.S.A. Kashmir Commission members who are in Kashmir at present studying the military situation there were taken by the Divisional Officers to areas where heavy fighting had been carried on but the places were now captured by the Indian military. They went up to

Jellum and studied the military situation.

Mr. Churchill Criticised

Mr. Shankarrao Deo said at a meeting in Trichinopoly (Madras) that India would no longer tolerate States such as Hyderabad. He also said that it would be wise on Mr. Churchill's part if he left India alone. He said that this interference would cause many bitter feelings in the hearts of Indians. Since self-government was formed, there were friendly feelings among the Indian leaders towards England. They tried to instil such feelings in every Indian. But if Mr. Churchill insisted on airing his opinions about India in the manner he does the result would be anything but good.

N.U.C. Non-European Section

The report for 1947 of the Natal University College, non-European section, shows an enrolment of 275 for the second term. Of these 275, 123 were first year students, 130 held matriculation certificates, 24 were full-time students. There were 295 Indian men and 4 Indian women (14 full-time students), 46 Bantu men and 7 Bantu women (10 full-time students), 5 Coloured men and 4 Coloured women. 25 have completed the requirements for the B.A. degree, and 11 more will be eligible to graduate if they are successful in the supplementary examinations. Of these 27, 3 are Indian women, 4 are Bantu men and the 20 remainder Indian men. 1 Indian man is eligible to graduate as a B.Sc. The report thanks the Sastri College and the M. L. Sultan Technical College for their kind co-operation.

Wanted by Hindu Young Men's Association Educational Trust, Pietermaritzburg, a Hindu Tamil teacher with the necessary qualification of imparting higher Tamil education to the pupils of the H.Y.M.A. Free Tamil School and to act as its principal. It is essential that the applicant possess a sound knowledge of the Tamil language and literature, history, culture and religious philosophy.

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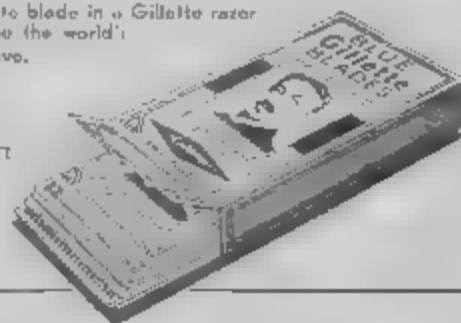
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ગોંડલમાં, 'પુરિ-અમલ અંતરિણિઅમલ'

ਧਰਤੀ ਸਮੁੰਦਰ ਭਾਂਡ:— **INDIAN OPIUM, Phoenix, Natal.**

ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନ ସମିତି

ધાર્મિક સાહિત્ય

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If you want to see God in the form of Ram Raj the first requisite is self-introspection. You have to magnify your own faults a thousand fold and shut your eyes to the faults of your neighbours. That is the only way to real progress. To-day we have fallen. The Hindus and Sikhs are looked upon as enemies by the Muslims and vice versa. ... I have told you the only method. You have to be correct in your behaviour irrespective of what others do. ... All eyes to-day rest on India, which has become the hope of Asia and Africa; nay of the whole world. If India was to realise the hope, it has to stop the fratricide and all Indians have to live like friends and brothers. Clean hearts are the first condition of that happy state."

—GANDHIJI.

દિલ સાફ કરો!

".....કહે છે કે તારીખ પાંદરમી ઓગસ્ટને દિવસે આપણને સ્વરાજ મળ્યું! પણ હું એને સ્વરાજ કહી શકતા નથી. સ્વરાજમાં બાઈ બાઈના ખુનને માટે તરસ્યા બની તેની કતલ થા કરે. સ્વરાજ હોઈ તો કોઈનું મીત્ર બની રહેવાની કમેદ રાખે છે. તેની આખી દુનીયામાં પોતાનો કોઈ દુશ્મન ન હોય એવી આકાંક્ષા છે. પણ અફસોસ! આજે ખુદ હિંદના સંતાનોમાંથી એક પક્ષે મુસલમાનો અને બીજા આણવી હિંદુ ને શીખો એક બીજાનું લોહી પીવાના તરસ્યા બન્યા છે. તમારે આ આ સ્વરાજનું સ્વપ્ન ખિણ કરવું હોય.....એકલે સ્વરાજને સ્વરૂપે ઈશ્વરનું દર્શન કરવું હોય તો તેથી પ્રથમ તમારા અંતરમાં કંડા કેતરી આત્મનિરીક્ષણ કરવું જોઈએ. તમારે તમારા પોતાના દોષ હજારગણા મોટા કરીને જોતાં અને તમારા પડોશીઓના દોષ જોવાનું માંડી વળતાં રીખવું જોઈએ. આથી પ્રગતીનો એજ એક રસ્તો છે. બીજો નથી. આજે આપણું કેવું પતન થયું છે! હિંદુ ને શીખને મુસલમાન દુશ્મન દેખે છે અને હિંદુ ને શીખ મુસલમાનને પોતાના વેરી માને છે. એના એકમાત્ર ઈત્કાર એ તમારે બતાવેલા છે. બીજા શું કરે છે કે નથી કરતા તેની પંચાવનમાં પડ્યા વિના તમે તમારું પોતાનું વર્તન અશિશુજી રાખો.....આજે આખી દુનીયાની આંખ હોંદપર કરી છે. એશીયા અને આફ્રિકાજ ગલિ. આખી દુનીયા તેના તરફ આશાની તબલે જુએ છે. હિંદુ દુનીયાની એ આશા ખુરી પાડવી હોય તો પોતાને ત્યાં આડી રહેલી બાઈબાઈ વચ્ચેની કતલ અટકાવવી જોઈએ અને એ હિંદીઓ વાઈ બાઈ અને પરસ્પર દોષન બનીને રહેવું જોઈએ. પણ એ સુખદ સ્થિતિ નિર્માણ કરવાની પહેલી તકત દિલ સાફ કરવાની છે."

—ગાંધીજી.

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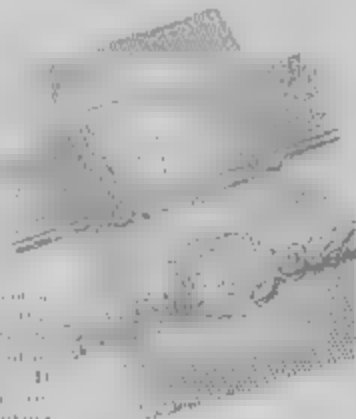
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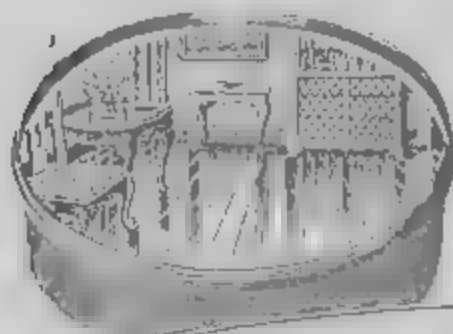


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Programme

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| Prayers | National Songs |
| Unfurling Of National Flag | Folk Dancing |
| Chairman's Speech | Mass Singing |
| Messages | Distribution Of Sweetmeats
To Children |
| Parades—Boy Scouts, Girl Guides,
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INDIAN OPINION

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 15TH AUGUST, 1948

First Anniversary Of Free India

A FEW SHORT months ago a red letter day in the history of India. On that day India broke out of the shackles placed on her by British rule, and began to play her destined role in the world stage. After the vitally and angrily agreed Partition, the successful evacuation of millions of people from her life territories, the suppression of internal disturbances, the rescue of Kashmir, these are some of the outstanding achievements of our nation in its first year of freedom. When the full story of her achievement in political freedom by India is written perhaps one of the most poignant chapters will be concerned with the tragic happenings in the Punjab and Bengal in August and September 1947. Rivers of blood began to flow from the moment the country became free and it almost seemed at one time as if the whole Government would collapse. It was nothing short of a miracle that the nation has survived the great ordeal notwithstanding tragedy after tragedy befalling her. All the credit is due for that to efforts of the Government and the trusted leaders of the people. To overcome within a year the evils that had been perpetrated and had taken root for the last 200 years was a herculean task and it cannot but be ad-

mited that it has been performed ably and with a considerable amount of success. The settling of the question of the states when despotic rule was allowed to prevail was a long and arduous task and within one year an all but one State, namely Hyderabad, it has been successfully carried out and the Kashmir State has been rescued from being annihilated by hostile elements. Though peace is yet lacking in both the above mentioned States, there is every hope that the evil forces at work will soon be subdued and that peace and tranquility will once more reign supreme there. That will be our prayer on this auspicious day of the first anniversary of India's freedom.

Another vitally important and very difficult task was the procurement and distribution of food for on this depended the very existence of the millions of people of India. Both the Central and the Provincial Governments have had to work against heavy odds in this connection. It is worthwhile noting that at one stage over 100,000 refugees scattered in more than 30 camps were being fed by the Central food Ministry. Yet no famine or there a breakdown in food supplies. It is also worth noting that

the Government is fast planning large scale agricultural schemes which when set at work will improve the food situation throughout the country.

When one comes to think of the strides India has made during the one year of her freedom to the free India communities that have to tell her the hope that that country will once again be transformed into a land where milk and honey will be flowing is not a farfetched hope. Side by side with this much work has been done in bringing about reforms in the social, economic and educational fields with amazing swiftness.

In this brief survey of the wonderful achievements of India during her first year of freedom let us not forget to think of the part played by Lord Mountbatten as the last Viceroy and the first Governor-General of free India. Both he and Lady Mountbatten have played an angelic part in bringing solace to the people of India during their most trying time and have thus left an indelible mark in the hearts of millions of love and affection for them.

Every Indian is at the same time, no doubt, proud to feel that India has as her Governor-General one of her own nationals and that the post has been won by no less a person than Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, whose name is a household word in every Indian home.

The whole team of dis-servicing of the great nation our and praise for their marvellous achievements

during the first year of their reign. The names of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad must however be singled out for the unique part they have played in moulding India's future. May Heaven's blessings be upon them and upon their co-workers in the great and onerous task that yet lies before them.

Let us dare not forget those men, women and children who have given their lives in freeing India from bondage even as the seed perishes to enable the tree to grow the sweet fruits of which all living beings are privileged to enjoy. Let us not forget that had it not been for their supreme sacrifice, there would not have been a free India. Let us therefore bow our heads down in reverence to them and to their near and dear ones whose sacrifices in the great battle for freedom have been immeasurable.

And finally let us ever forget the one whom we revere as the "Father of the Nation," who lived for us and died for us and who has all of a sudden left us in the most tragic circumstances—Mahatma Gandhi? If we truly loved him and believed in his doctrine of love and non-violence then we should resolve on this day to make an honest endeavour to shed all communal hatred and with clean hearts to dedicate our lives to the service of the oppressed people.

We who have settled out-

side India have a responsibility as representatives of this great country. Our duty does not end with the hoisting of the National Flag and rejoicing that our Motherland is free. We have to perform a greater task than that. All our actions, our behaviour should be such as would set a noble example of what true citizenship means, and for which India would have no reason to be ashamed of. It would be most, therefore, for us, whilst celebrating the great occasion, to pray, not only for the peace and happiness of India and of the world, but that all Indians outside India may be bestowed with strength and wisdom to become good and loyal citizens of the countries in which they have settled. Loyalty here, of course, means not blind loyalty, but consistent with the loyalty to the Supreme Power which governs the Universe. Unless we are loyal to that Power we can be loyal to no one.

Government's Unyielding Attitude

THE new Union Parliament which opened on Friday August 6th, has nothing so far of particular interest to the Indian community. The speech from the Throne did not contain a word on the Indian question, nor will there be any legislation on Native Affairs. That is, however, a matter of very little consolation.

The sentence of four months imprisonment imposed on Mr. M. P. Naicker, leading member of the Natal Indian Congress, for aiding and abetting his people to enter the Transvaal Province from Natal in violation of the Immigrants Regulation Act 1913, indicative of the unyielding

attitude of the new Government. It would be unreasonable to blame the Court which had shown considerable leniency in adjourning the case of Mr. Naicker in the hope of an amicable settlement being arrived at between the Government and the Indian community. If it was the desire of the Government to move in that direction it could have had the case of Mr. Naicker adjourned *indefinitely*. The present Government dared, in the face of very strong criticism, to take the step of releasing Leibrandt and others who had been sentenced for very serious crimes. Mr. Naicker's crime compared to that was no crime at all and yet it was obviously treated as more serious than the one Leibrandt was found guilty of. While we do not in the least desire to encourage any precipitate action on the part of the Congress even in the face of strong provocation, in order not to hinder any honest move for an honourable settlement of the vexed Indian question the attitude of the Government seems anything but heartening. It must be a Congress thinking seriously of giving a fitting reply to the challenge of the Government.

NOTES

Minister's Strong-mindedness

Commenting on the refusal of the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, to see the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses, the "Cape Times" in its issue of August 3 writes:

"... It is doubtful whether Dr. Donges was well advised in assuming the role of the strong-minded administrator towards the Congress at this moment, or at least in quite such a manner. The iron hand is all very well, but it is necessary to dispense with the velvet glove quite so openly? The Natal Indian Organisation, as a group representing the moderate Indian view, deserves encouragement in its adherence to consti-

tutional methods, and was for this reason favourably regarded by the previous Government. But there is no evidence that at the moment the N.I.O. represents more than a minority opinion. The Indian Congress merely sought to elucidate the Government's attitude towards the Indians, as it was entitled to do for lack of a clear statement of policy. It is hardly in accordance with democratic procedure for a Minister to base a refusal to discuss with any representative body matter vitally affecting a section of the population for the reasons the Minister of the Interior advanced, especially in the unusual circumstances of the South African Indians. South Africa has still to go before a world tribunal next month, and whatever the policy of the present Government may be—even if its solution is to repatriate the Indians—it cannot contain insensitive to world opinion. Dr. Donges may yet find that so having won grandiously is not the better part of diplomacy or at least Mr. Eric Louw may find that out at Paris next month.

N.U.S.A.S. Ends Social

Colour Bar

The National Union of South African Students has decided that there should be no social colour bar at any of its functions or on student tours arranged by it. Resolutions to this effect were passed at the 24th annual congress of N.U.S.A.S. held at Maritzburg last month by the Student Assembly, the governing body of N.U.S.A.S., which is composed of delegates from the Students' Representative Councils of all affiliated centres. The Cape Town delegates opposed these motions, and as a consequence no S.R.C. representative from the University of Cape Town would accept nomination for any executive position in the National Union. The question of the colour bar was raised by the non-European Hewa Teachers' Training College delegates, who moved that the colour policy of N.U.S.A.S. should be revised. Unless this was done they would probably disaffiliate from the union, it was stated. The policy was laid down at last year's congress following a motion by U.C.T. It stated that there should be full academic equality but that there should be a social colour bar. This year's motion was "that N.U.S.A.S. recognises the right of all students to participate in the functions at its national gatherings." Another motion was also passed that "all members of N.U.S.A.S. be permitted to participate in the student tours undertaken under the jurisdiction of N.U.S.A.S."

Opposition to intolerance and racial isolation is being foreign to

the academic spirit which pervaded N.U.S.A.S. was the key note of a statement by Mr. Philip V. Tobias, the president of N.U.S.A.S. He stated: "We are, therefore, opposed to any student organisation which tends to perpetuate racial isolation of Africans from English-speaking students, of Europeans from non-European students. It is my own view that we should try to overcome the barrier of suspicion and prejudice which separated the two camps in the South African student body and at least try to understand each other's viewpoint. The schism which started in 1933 has grown steadily with the years and to-day the two groups seem as irreconcilable as ever. But at least, I feel, we should try to develop a measure of understanding in order that we may agree to disagree, even if we cannot agree to agree."

Mr. R. T. Chari

Mr. Rajagopala Thiruvankata Chari has taken over from Mr. J. W. Meldrum the secretaryship to the High Commissioner for India, a post Mr. Meldrum had held since 1943. Mr. Meldrum is on 24 months' leave and will then resign from the Indian Civil Service. Mr. Chari is at present in Cape Town. When the Government of India withdrew their High Commissioner, Mr. Deshmukh, in 1946 Mr. Meldrum remained in the Union to carry on the routine duties of the High Commissioner's work on matters that were not in dispute between the Union and the Government of India. Questioned by a Press representative in Cape Town as to whether he had been told to smooth the way for the return of the High Commissioner Mr. Chari refused to commit himself. The return of the High Commissioner was a matter for decision on a higher level, he said. Asked whether he intended to offer himself as an intermediary between South African Indian bodies and the Union Government, Mr. Chari said: "It is not for me to take any part in negotiations between a Minister of the Union Government and the nationals of the country—the South African Indians." Mr. Chari, who is an unmarried man in his forties, was educated at Madras and graduated at Cambridge. He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1936, and, after five years in a magisterial post in Madras, was sent to represent the Government of India at Kandy, in Ceylon. After a year he became a secretary of the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon, and he remained in Ceylon until shortly before his present appointment. Before leaving for the Union he went to Delhi for his official training.

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

THE trial of Godse and others was resumed on July 12. Lieut.-Col. P. N. Taneja, Civil Surgeon and Superintendent of Irwin Hospital, New Delhi, giving evidence in the Special Judge's Court, gave his opinion that Mahatma Gandhi's death was due to internal haemorrhage caused by injuries inflicted on him by bullets fired a pistol. The body was identified by Dr. Jivraj Mehta, and Colonel Taneja. Witness found Ave' injuries on Mahatma Gandhi's body. Witness further described the wounds.

The next witness Jagdish Prasad Gori, a resident of Gwalior, deposed that he had been staying in Gwalior city since 1939 and knew Dr. Parchure whom he pointed out in the dock. Dr. Parchure was a principal officer of the Hindu Rashtra Sena. Witness joined the "Sena" at Dr. Parchure's instance and used to attend its parade daily. The ideal of "Sena" was to organise and unite Hindu youth. Witness also knew Mr. Danile, secretary of Mr. Vinayak D. Savakar. He had come to Gwalior for propaganda work. Witness pointed towards Narayan D. Apte in the dock and added that he had also come with Mr. Danile to Gwalior.

After this, witness next saw Apte on January 28, 1948, at Dr. Parchure's dispensary at Gwalior. Pointing towards N. V. Godse in the dock, witness added that he had met him there too.

On the morning of January 28 at about 9 a.m. witness had been called to Dr. Parchure's dispensary urgently. At about 1.30 p.m. he had gone to the dispensary. Dr. Parchure was not there but Godse and Apte were in the dispensary. Witness left for his office.

Witness also stated that he knew Danwade, co-accused in the trial still absconding. Danwade belonged to Gwalior. On the night of January 23 at about 9 p.m. Danwade had come to witness's residence and told him that a pistol was required by Godse. Witness asked him as to what he could do in the matter. Danwade said that witness could sell his pistol to him. Witness replied that he could not do so as he had only one pistol. Danwade then told witness that he could get another pistol and that witness could get a sum of Rs. 500 for his pistol. Witness then handed over his pistol to Danwade. Witness identified the pistol. Along with the pistol he had also handed over to Danwade seven rounds of ammunition. Witness saw Dr. Parchure on February 2, and told

him that his pistol had not been put to proper use. Dr. Parchure did not reply and had kept quiet.

The other minor witnesses were Mr. Sundar Lal Vaidya Supervisor, Mr. Balwan Kaur and Miss Fimess, of the Delhi Telephone Exchange.

On July 13 Gariba a "tonga" driver, was the first prosecution witness. He said he remembered the day of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. Two or three days before that two passengers who had got down from the Bombay Express about 11.30 p.m. had engaged him.

They wanted to go to Dr. Parchure's house and the fare was fixed. Gariba handed over the two passengers to Juloma another "tongawalla" as the strap of the harness in his "tonga" had broken. Gariba identified N. V. Godse and N. V. Apte as the two persons.

The next witnesses, Shro Pyarelal Dutt, inquiry clerk in the inquiry office at Cawnpore, Mr. Anand Bihari Lal Saksena, an officer clerk in the inquiry office at Cawnpore, and Mrs. Coleman, Matron of Cawnpore Central Station, gave evidence saying that one N. V. Godse had stopped in Cawnpore on January 21. They identified Nathuram V. Godse as the man.

The next witness called was Mr. Syed Manzar Ali, a Magistrate from Gwalior.

Mr. Inamdar counsel for Dr. Parchure, pointed out that witness's deposition had not been received by a competent court. As such they were being taken by surprise. The Judge ordered the witness to be called the next day.

Mr. P. L. Inamdar, counsel for Dr. Parchure, the next day, filed an application stating that "the papers produced by the prosecution and styled as confession of the accused applicant are inadmissible."

The application says, among other things, that "the so-called confession was obtained from Dr. Parchure after threatening him with dire consequences to the life, liberty and property of him self and his relatives."

"The confession was made in the presence of a Civil Judge and the accused had high temperature at the time, when the so-called confession was made and was not in a condition of mind and body to understand the nature and legal effect of what he was doing. The accused therefore prays that this Court be pleased not to admit the document for any purpose."

the proceedings in the trial of the case.

On July 14, Syed Manzar Ali, City Magistrate, Lashkar Gwalior, said that on February 27 he had accompanied the police to Park Hotel, where Apte told witness that he would take them to Dr. Parchure's house and show them the place where Godse had fired a pistol. Witness had been taken there with police officers by Apte.

Madhukar Keshav Kale from Gwalior, the next witness, deposed to the court how on January 28 he had met Danwade and two other persons, whom he later identified as N. V. Godse and Narayan D. Apte at Dr. Parchure's residence trying out two revolvers.

Witness had gone there to find out what steps the Hindu Mahasabha was to take as power had been entrusted to the Congress.

On entering the hall he found Godse and Apte practising with revolvers. They were not successful though and hence they asked Danwade to get a pistol for them. Danwade took the two into the courtyard and loaded the revolver and fired skywards. Each of the two persons then tried to fire but did not succeed. They then asked Danwade to get them a good revolver. They further stated that they were in a hurry to get the revolver as their party had already left and they were to leave by the 3 p.m. train. Danwade promised to get a revolver by the evening and then they could go by the night train.

Witness accompanied Dr. Parchure to his dispensary. One Madhukar Khire had also come to the dispensary. But this time it was rumoured that the Mahatma had been assassinated. Witness asked Parchure to close his shop in view of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination and Dr. Parchure agreed and did so.

On January 31, witness heard the name of the alleged assassin as Nathuram Vinayak and he told his friends that the assassin must be N. V. Godse. Witness had learnt the names of the two persons whom he had seen at Dr. Parchure's house, from Parchure's son. He narrated the entire story to his friends and was pressed to inform the Government, and so they proceeded to the home of the Home Minister, Mr. Ghosh.

Three persons whom witness had seen at Dr. Parchure's house had objected to witness's presence but Dr. Parchure had not objected.

On July 15, M. Kale was cross-examined again.

Madhukar M. Khire, 30-year old student of Gwalior, who was the next witness, stated that he had known Dr. Parchure for the last five or six years. Witness asked Dr. Parchure to close the dispensary and he did so. On his way home witness thought that he should accompany Dr. Parchure. Witness then accompanied Parchure up to the Rajput boarding house. The doctor told Ramdayal Singh that he had completed his work and that Ramdayal Singh would have to complete the rest of the job. Dr. Parchure also said "our movement must end in success."

Ramdayal Singh of Gwalior, Zamindar and President of the Rajput Seva Sangh, in his evidence stated that he was in the Rajput boarding house when he heard the news of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. He then made arrangements for holding a condolence meeting.

Witness said it was dark when Parchure came to him. Witness was standing near the flag pole talking to his friends. The meeting, which was to be held in the hall, has not yet started.

Dr. Parchure came and just blurted out, "a good deed has been done." He further stated that an opponent of the Hindu religion had been killed and that the Hindu religion would now remain safe. The person who killed Gandhi was their own man. The throwing of the bomb some days ago was also the work of their man.

The pistol, Dr. Parchure went on, had been sent from Gwalior and the person had come from the South and gone via Gwalior.

Witness kept quiet but one of his friends asked Parchure to keep quiet and go away.

Mr. Jagmuth Singh, forest contractor and zamindar of Gwalior was examined next.

Witness had seen Dr. Parchure for the first time on January 30 at a meeting at 11 a.m. Witness saw Dr. Parchure again the same evening about 7 p.m. when he was with Ramdayal Singh. Witness confirmed all what was said by Dr. Parchure.

Asked to identify Dr. Parchure, witness pointed V. D. Savakar, but going back, Jagmuth Singh pointed out Dr. Parchure.

On July 16, Gupen Singh of Delhi and Bihari Lal, Sub Inspector, Parliament Street Police Station, New Delhi, gave formal evidence.

Court was then adjourned.

On July 19, witness Mr. R. H. Atal a First Class Magistrate of Gwalior, stated that he had recorded the confession of Dr. Parchure on February 18.

The confession stated that Nathuram Godse and Apte had gone to Parchure with a plan to kill Mahatma Gandhi at Delhi and that he had arranged to obtain a pistol for the assassination.

Mr. Atal made it clear to Dr. Parchure, before the confession, that in case he made a confession, his conviction was certain. Dr. Parchure, however, persisted in making a confession.

Madanlal filed a petition.

The Judge said in the course of his remarks, "If the accused want to speak to their counsel,

January 1, when N. V. Godse and Apte were coming down the stairs after seeing Savarkar, he had heard Savarkar say, "Be successful and come."

Later, in their taxi, Apte had remarked that "Tatyasa" had predicted that "Mahatma Gandhi's one hundred years were over" and that there was no doubt that their work would be successfully finished.

Witness was introduced to Savarkar in 1944 as the owner of a "Shastri Bhandar."

Badge answered that he had known Apte for five years. He had known Godse since 1940. Badge had attended several meetings of the Hindu Mahasabha where Savarkar and others had expressed their views.

Apte and Karkare had come to Badge for the first time in August, 1947, for arms and ammunition. Apte told him that some influential persons wanted to obtain arms from him and demanded from witness a steel gun.

From July-August to December 1947, Badge had supplied arms and ammunition worth about Rs. 1,800 to Apte. On January 9, about 6.30 p.m. Apte visited witness again and told him that Karkare and some others would come later and that he should show them the articles.

On the same night Karkare, accompanied by Madanlal, Com Prakash and Chopra, came to witness' place. Karkare then asked the stuff to be brought in. This consisted of gun-cotton slabs, hand-grenades, cartridges, two pistols and a fire axe. Madanlal said he knew how to operate these articles. The next day Apte and Godse told him that he should see that the stuff

reached the Hindu Mahasabha office at Dader by the evening of January 17. Apte was heard telling Godse that one part of their work was over.

On January 14 Badge with his servant took the stuff to the Hindu Mahasabha office. As Badge was leaving Apte came. He asked Badge to accompany him. Badge took the bag from his servant and started going along with him (Apte). When he had gone a few paces, they were met by Godse on the footpath.

Questioned by the Judge whether Badge meant pavement or footpath, Mr. Dapthari, Chief Prosecution Counsel, said, "Foot path" is the place where pedestrians walk, to distinguish it from the path where they are knocked down (laughter).

The bag was put at Dixit Mahara's house at Bhuleshwar.

The stuff was shown to Karkare. Apte then asked Karkare that he, along with Madanlal, should leave for Delhi. When Karkare and Madanlal had left, Apte told Dixit Mahara that they were proceeding on important work and asked him to give him a revolver or two. But Dixit Mahara did not possess a revolver but he had a pistol which he would not give.

Badge said, "We then came out and stood in the compound of the temple. Apte asked me if I was prepared to go to Delhi with them. I asked him what work was there in Delhi. Apte told me that 'Tatyasa' Savarkar had decided that Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Shrawardhy should be hushed off and that work had been entrusted to them.

(To be continued)

fundamental human rights and even common rights of citizenship to a section of its subjects, who, as taxpayers no less than others, are powerless to defend themselves, then it must be conceded that the people affected have a natural and inherent right to appeal to world opinion.

"What is more, so long as our people are denied the franchise the Governments of the Union, of India and of Pakistan are entitled to overrule the welfare of the South African Indian community by virtue of treaty obligations between India and the past Governments of this country."

SEGREGATION WILL LEAD TO DISASTER

The African National Congress stands for a policy of common citizenship through equality of opportunity in all spheres of national life, according to a statement by Dr. A. B. Xuma, president-general of the Congress, after a meeting of the national executive committee held recently in Bloemfontein to discuss the political situation in the Union.

The Congress is convinced that segregation or separation will lead to racial antagonism and militate against the full economic development of the country, as well as co-operation between white and black for the common good.

"We are therefore convinced that the only policy that can save South Africa from racial conflicts and economic chaos and disaster is a policy of common citizenship of equality of opportunity for all sections.

"We deprecate any policy in conflict with the principles for which Congress stands and, in particular, we protest against the statements and actions of the Minister of labour in connection with the training of African artisans and the recognition of African trade unions, and the right of African workers to organise.

"In a democratic and Christian State, the Government no matter what party it represents, must legislate and rule, not in the interests of any section or party, but in the interests of the people as a whole. A denial of these principles is a negation of both Christianity and democracy.

"We appeal to all men and women who believe in a greater and progressive South Africa to work for these principles."

PLAN TO SEND INDIANS TO INDIA

THE 'Vaterland' (John. Newburg) considers the time ripe for Europeans in Southern Africa to reach agreement on an Indian policy that would be based on repatriation.

Asians who have settled in South Africa have become a bone of contention for the natives as well as the Europeans, while they have produced relations with India.

The only basis for negotiation with India could be on the principle of "the return of these recalcitrants." Whether Indian leaders in the Union claim South African citizenship or not, "the fact that India from time to time pokes her nose into our domestic affairs is a proof as well as a warning that action has become imperative."

they can just get up and address me. I will not name anybody, but some of the accused have been jumping out of their seats." The Judge said that if counsel wanted to hand over anything to the accused, he should hand it over in his presence.

Digamber Ramchandra Badge, approver in the Mahatma Gandhi murder case, and in the Special Court of Mr. Atma Chatur, on July 20, that Apte, one of the accused, had told him in the presence of N. Godse and others on January 15 last, in Bombay that "Tatyasa," accused V. M. Savarkar, former president of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, had decided that Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Shrawardhy should be hushed off, and the work had been entrusted to some of these now standing charged in the case.

Badge also stated that on

ORGANISATION'S REPLY TO DONGES

THE Natal Indian Organisation has suggested to the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges that he should meet a deputation from it some time this month to discuss matters affecting the Indian community, including education, housing, unemployment, the administration of the immigration laws, social welfare and the revision of the licensing laws.

Replying to an offer by the Minister to meet a deputation the Organisation says that it appreciates his statement that it and its associate bodies will be regarded as an acceptable channel of approach to the Government. Referring to the question of Indians being Union citizens raised in the Minister's letter, the Organisation says:

"While it is true that Indians claim, and are declared, to be nationals of South Africa, yet in fact and in law they are denied

the rights, privileges and responsibilities of Union citizenship.

"It is a common cause that they have no say in the administration of the State, nor for that matter, in that of other governing bodies. As long as these disabilities continue to be imposed on a section of Union Nationals, viz., Indians, the trend of world events obliges us to appeal to world opinion for an amelioration of the disabilities and for a due adjustment of our status."

"It is necessary to observe that within recent times there have been many instances where injustice and wrongs perpetrated by States have been brought up for discussion in the world forum with a view to finding an amicable solution.

"When a State fails to extend

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL, Deputy Prime Minister in a recent statement, warns the British Government that if they wish to maintain friendly relations with India, they must see to it that India is not subjected to venomous attacks like the one made by Mr. Churchill at a Conservative rally.

Explaining the role of Mr. Churchill and the men of his way of thinking in pursuing the policy of divide and rule, which resulted in partition and subsequent events in India, Sardar Patel points out that the failure of the Cripps mission and the Simla conference was due to Mr. Churchill.

The Deputy Prime Minister says that if proof is needed of the deep-seated prejudice of Mr. Churchill it is evident in his reference to Kashmir as being four-fifths Muslim while he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad is four-fifths Hindu.

Referring to the recent Tory's concern for the Nizam he says the question of Hyderabad can be solved peacefully if the Nizam sheds his medieval conception of ruling absolutely with persons almost from a militant minority and accepts the democratic method of consulting and acting in conformity with the wishes of his people expressed through their elected representatives.

Following is the text of the statement.

Mr. Winston Churchill, His Majesty's leader of the Opposition and Britain's war-time Premier, while bemoaning the disappearance of the title of Emperor of India from the royal title, has indulged in a characteristically ignorant but extremely prejudiced outburst against India and its Government. Mr. Churchill's disastrous record in relation to India, both as a member of Government and in opposition is well known. His intervention has every time been exercised to the violent prejudice of this country and, in the ultimate analysis, to the detriment of his own. Mr. Churchill is an unrepentant imperialist, and at a time when imperialism is on its last legs he is the proverbial last director for whom obstinacy and dogged consistency gain more than reason, imagination or wisdom. Many an attempt to build up friendship between India and Britain has been rejected by his refusal to face facts and attempts to mould them to suit his own predictions.

It is well known that when the Cripps offer was made, it was he who prevented negotiations from achieving success. It was he who every time thwarted the attempts of Mr. Roosevelt to see that justice was done to India's legitimate aspirations and its free and

ATTACKS ON INDIA BY BRITONS MUST STOP

SARDAR PATEL'S WARNING TO LABOUR GOVERNMENT

willing co-operation enlisted in the war effort. At the time of Lord Wavell's Simla conference, it was he who was responsible for its break-up and failure. If any of these attempts had succeeded, the history of India and of the relationship between Britain and India, despite the bitterness and intensity of freedom struggle, would have been different. We might have avoided the evil of partition and the disasters that attended it.

Labour Government's Policy

Fortunately for Britain the cup of disasters was by then full and the British electorate decided to change the pilot. Through a realistic policy followed by the Labour Government and the bold, imaginative step taken by one of Britain's wisest statesmen Lord Mountbatten, and the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality which he helped to create, the mischief done by the Churchill regime has been to a large extent undone. But it seems Mr. Churchill is still seized by his favourite disease, Hindu phobia, and is determined to wreck that good work done by Lord Mountbatten.

It might well be expected of his record of offices and positions of responsibility that he will exercise that discretion and restraint which are characteristic of sobriety and ripeness of official life. How far it was appropriate for him to have attacked in such terms the Government and the people of a sister dominion, I shall leave to his Majesty's Government and the people of Great Britain to determine.

I shall only say this, that we have been patient far too long with such unseemly, prejudiced and mischievous attacks by high placed Britons on our administration, our leaders and our people. I have not seen anything even remotely like this being said of any other member of the Commonwealth. One of them has outraged world's conscience by bare-faced and wanton policy of racial prejudice and an open disregard of fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. But Mr. Churchill's elastic conscience, with his infinite capacity for bearing wrongs done to others by his own race, has never registered even a formal protest.

I should like, therefore, to tell His Majesty's Government that, if they wish India to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain, they must see that India is not

in any way subjected to malicious and venomous attacks of this kind and that British statesmen and others learn to speak of this country in terms of friendship and goodwill. Owing to years of deep-seated prejudice and owing to ignorance it may be difficult for some of them to do so, but if future disasters are to be avoided, it has got to be done.

That Mr. Churchill's attack on India and its Government is both mischievous and venomous can be judged from the way in which he has disregarded the all-party responsibility for the passage of the Indian Independence Act in July last year through Parliament. We ourselves knew that if the final stage of grant of freedom to India were made a party issue it would enhance our difficulties manifold. We were fully aware of the machinations of the vested interests both in India and the United Kingdom to hand over as difficult a legacy to India as was possible. Balkanisation of India was being actively promoted. Large-scale disturbances were being manufactured. Vandalism at the time of impending departure from the scene of personal rule was disgusting many of the Churchillian agents in power here. We therefore decided to drink the bitter cup and accept the lesser evil of partition, only on condition that it commanded all parties' support. That support was both promised and given. It was this agreement of all parties that secured the safe and speedy passage of the Indian Independence Act, for which there is no parallel in the history of the British Parliament. We thought Mr. Churchill was an honourable man and would abide by the obligations inherent in the agreement. But, obviously, he finds it hard to recognise that India is now a free and independent country.

Medieval Mind

No proof of his deep-seated prejudice and his medieval mind were needed, it would be enough to show that whilst he refers to Kashmir as being four-fifths Muslim, he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad is four-fifths Hindu; and that a creation of the eighteenth century, as the Nizam's state is, is suddenly by the magic of Mr. Churchill's words transformed into an "ancient state." The fact of the matter is that, to vary the words of a British statesman, whether Mr. Churchill roars like a lion or coos like a dove, it is his ignorance and blind preju-

dice that must come out prominently. We can well realise what a disaster the British could have avoided by forcing Mr. Churchill to give up the seal of office. We had hoped that this blow to his personal fortune administered by his people at the height of his glory would make him a sadder but wiser man. But it appears that, through his ancestors, Mr. Churchill has acquired the well-known characteristic of the Stuarts of not being able to learn or to learn anything.

Mr. Churchill has referred, apparently with some self-satisfaction, to the large casualties that occurred during the disturbances more than nine months ago. Obviously, it did not suit his purpose to mention that since then India had settled down to peaceful conditions with a speed and efficiency which had amazed many disinterested visitors. While not one of us would disclaim our due share of responsibility for these tragedies, and it is agreed that these have brought shame and disgrace to India, there can scarcely be any doubt that, in the ultimate analysis, a very large part of the blame must attach to the divide and rule policy followed with such masterly acuity by Mr. Churchill himself and so faithfully implemented by his agents and Europeans of his way of thinking in this country, who then under his regime or that of his predecessors. No dispassionate student of recent history of India can fail to be convinced that the partition of the country and attendant disasters were brought about by the disruptive activities of the group of which Mr. Churchill was the inspiration and the spokesman. Thus, for these tragedies it is Mr. Churchill and his henchmen who have also to answer before the bar of his story.

It is not clear how far the Tory Party is behind its leader in these acts of indiscretion and unwisdom. Mr. Butler's irrelevant reference to Hyderabad in the foreign affairs debate was the first indication of a section of Tories still attempting to make capital out of India's troubles. Mr. Churchill's intervention in Parliament followed up by his speech at a Conservative rally seems to indicate that at least an attempt is being made to whip up enthusiasm in favour of Britain's one-time "faithful ally" against India. I should like to warn the British public against being taken in by these attempts. The question of Hyderabad can be solved peacefully if the Nizam would shed the utterly medieval conception of his, of ruling with a class chosen almost entirely from a militant minority and accept the democratic

the method of constituting and acting in conformity with the wishes of his people expressed through their elected representatives and would recognise the inevitability of the consequences of interaction of geographical, economic and other compelling forces on the relationship between Hyderabad and India.

But, then, in order to injure India's interests, these distinguished products of a democratic age would forget the lessons of history and the teachings of theocracy and stop to buttress a regime which still lives in the times that it was born. It, therefore, disaster overtakes the fortunes of the Nizam, the responsibility will lie elsewhere than on the Indian Dominion. I am glad to know that His Majesty's Government have not fallen a prey to

these machinations of Mr. Churchill and his henchmen and have refused to treat the Hyderabad issue otherwise than as one of domestic concern of the Indian Dominion. I would, therefore, appeal to the rank and file of the Tory Party not to be misled by these old world ideas of some of their leaders, but to extend to the Indian Dominion that goodwill and friendship which are an essential in British interest in India's and to sustain and uphold the fine gesture they made in transferring power to Indian hands. It is only in this spirit and not on the malice and venom of Mr. Churchill's tongue, that an enduring relationship of friendship, co-operation and collaboration can be built between India and Britain and other members of the Commonwealth.

THE HYDERABAD ISSUE

HYDERABAD'S accession to India and responsible Government were the only solution to the Hyderabad problem, Mr. S. Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, told Parliament in New Delhi.

"There can be no compromise on this, for a compromise would mean suicide," he said.

He made this statement when tabling a White Paper on Hyderabad. He said Hyderabad was pursuing its own policy which was a standing threat to progress and prosperity.

Accession would bring Hyderabad within the ambit of an all-India policy on essential subjects of defence, external affairs, land communications and, at the same time, would preserve the internal autonomy of the State in other matters.

"Meanwhile, the internal situation inside Hyderabad is rapidly deteriorating and the depredations of Razakars on our borders are taxing our patience increasingly.

"I will not attempt to put any lights on the seriousness of the situation. It is causing the Government a great deal of anxiety. But members may rest assured that we are watching the situation very carefully and we are well prepared to meet all possible eventualities."

The White Paper, which Mr. Patel presented, said "The Government of India cannot afford to be helpless spectators of the orgy of misrule in Hyderabad. If law and order and, the situation there, which already shows signs of collapse, further deteriorates and, therefore, imperils the peace and good order in India, the Government of India would unquestionably be obliged,

"Any arrangement, except the State's accession to India and the democratisation of its administration, must be a brittle affair which will crack at the first stress," it said.

"As for the Nizam's special claims for preferential treatment among the Indian rulers," the White Paper said, "his status under British paramountcy was not better than that of other rulers."

"On the contrary, by interposing their authority in Hyderabad more repeatedly and effectively than in other States, and by negotiating all claims of Hyderabad to preferential treatment in various authoritative statements, the British did everything possible to disburse the Nizam's rule of his perverse and erroneous notions."

—SAPA Reuter.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE

Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said in a message to the people on the occasion of Independence Week. "We should observe August 15 by taking vows again to dedicate our lives in the service of our country. I request you all to co-operate with the National Government and so help to reach the desired goal. August 15 is indeed a day of rejoicing, but we must remember that those men, women and children who suffered and gave their lives for the freedom of our country."

Things In General

Natives Equal To Europeans

Mr. Harold Williams, a member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council who returned recently from England is reported to have said that during his visit to Britain he addressed English Parliamentarians and pointed out that Natives, in the sight of God were equal to the Europeans. However, at the present stage especially in Northern Rhodesia, they had not advanced socially, culturally and economically enough to take their place in Government. At the next session of the Legislative Council two Natives, as well as the two Native representatives would be appointed and this experiment in giving direct representation to the black races would be watched with interest.

The Rhodesian Labour Party at its recently held Congress decided to retain the clause banning Natives from membership of the Party.

Gen. Piensar Not To Be Reappointed

The Administrator of the Transvaal, General Piensar, whose term of office expires on September 1, has been informed that he will not be reappointed. Sapa's Parliamentary correspondent learns, General Piensar's successor is expected to be announced soon. General Piensar has been Administrator of the Transvaal for ten years, having had two terms of office.

Apartheid No New Policy

In the opinion of the Native members of the Native Representative Council, apartheid is not a brand-new policy, but has, in fact, been followed by various South African Governments for generations under different names, says a statement signed by Professor Z. K. Mathews of Fort Hare, chairman of the Native Members. The statement says the policy has been followed more particularly since Union. In all the various forms it has assumed, it has always met with the strenuous opposition of the African people. "Moreover, it has always succeeded in exacerbating racial feeling and bitterness among different sections of our population without yielding any material benefit to the Africans. For them it has always meant a policy of exploitation. Admittedly, the pill of apartheid is usually given a superficial sugar-coating in the form of full facilities for Africans to develop in the limited areas or spheres set aside for them. It is designed to warn the African people

against being taken in by promises of facilities in areas or spheres which nobody takes the trouble to define or specify, and they are advised to be vigilant and scrutinise with care all measures or schemes purporting to be designed to advance their interests."

Indian's Right To Vote In U.S.

A special Federal Court, consisting of three judges, ruled that the denying to Indians of the right to vote in New Mexico is contrary to the United States Constitution. This ruling was made in a suit brought on behalf of Miguel H. Trujillo, an Indian living at Laguna, Pueblo. It was alleged that Eloy Garley, the clerk of Valencia County, had refused to register Trujillo before the New Mexico primary election on June 8. It was pointed out in argument that Indians who paid taxes were denied the vote, while whites were entitled to vote whether or not they paid taxes.

Eid Festival

Eid was celebrated throughout South Africa. The day went peacefully in all parts of India too, but in Lahore, the day was spoilt with a very sad incident. 23 were killed and 24 injured in the general stampede, when people trampled each other to get out of the Mosque after prayers.

Wedding

The marriage of Mr. George Singh of Durban to Miss Suriah Kumari, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. R. Bodasing of 39 Cato Road, Durban took place on Tuesday, August 10 at 39 Cato Road, Durban. Both the bride and bridegroom were recipients of scores of congratulatory messages and valuable wedding gifts.

THE PHOENIX SETTLEMENT LOST TRANSFER DEED

Will any person having in his possession or knowing the whereabouts of Deed of Transfer No. 2434/1933 under which the Phoenix Settlement holds its property, kindly communicate with the Editor. The Deed is urgently required by the Trustees.

NEWS ITEMS FROM INDIA

Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, inaugurated a meeting, held to celebrate the beginning of Independence Week at the Gaudhi Ground, Delhi, on August 9. He said in reference to the statements made by Pakistan to the U.N. Kashmir Commission that they were based on lies and deceit.

"I cannot refrain from using strong language," he said, "when Pakistan continues to be untruthful and deceitful. The fact that Pakistan is fighting against us in Kashmir has set us thinking. No country could tolerate attacks from a neighbouring country, and we can't also."

Speaking on Hyderabad, Pandit Nehru said, "owing to its geographical conditions, Hyderabad has no other choice but to join India. It is not heard of in history even that when a State is surrounded by an independent country it still remains free."

Pandit Nehru reminded the people of their duty and responsibility as citizens of a free country. He said, "we have a lofty and noble cause to fight for and we can't have people jeopardising the ideals for which the Father of the Nation lived and died."

The Parliament began its session on August 9 at New Delhi. The opening was made by questions put to the Prime Minister regarding Hyderabad. The question was asked as to what steps had been taken with regard to the fact that Britain helped Hyderabad with ammunition etc.

Pandit Nehru said that India had expressed its disapproval of such an action. This was done by contacting the High Commissioner for Britain in India. Our High Commissioner was also to express India's disapproval in England.

The question was then put that besides expressing our displeasure, what concrete steps were taken. The Prime Minister said that the first step was that all planes going to Hyderabad were to be stopped and searched in India.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, said in answer to further questions, that the Government had kept strict guard over the smuggling of arms and ammunition in Hyderabad, and persons found doing so were dealt with severely.

The Portuguese Government notified the Government of India that on eight or ammunition were sent to Hyderabad, to their knowledge, but henceforth the Government would take steps to prevent any such move.

Prince Mirza Za Bahadur, second son of the Nizam, has resigned his post as President of the Hyderabad Improvement Trust.

Sardar Patel said in connection with Mr. Laxmikant's speech, that the latter said in a speech some days ago, that there would not be peace in India for another five years. "I just want to say this," said Sardar, "to show the mentality of the rulers of the Hyderabad State. I appeal to my people not to be led away by such propaganda but to stand solidly by its Government. This will surely bring peace."

The Deputy Prime Minister, in conclusion, answering some questions said, "I wished really to give you more solid and clear ideas of the situation today than I have given you. But I ask you to trust us and to help us." This was received with much cheering by the House.

The Sardar further said, "the failure of Sir Mirza Ismail to come to an understanding shows that the Nizam and the Government of Hyderabad have decided not to help by agreeing to any sort of understanding."

In Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister, addressing a mass gathering that had assembled to offer prayers for Eid. He said that he did not want to hide anything from the U.N. Kashmir Commission. He wanted to place all his cards on the table. Sheikh Abdullah said, "we cannot rest until the terrible atrocities inflicted on our people are not avenged. Pakistan tried to frighten us by firing etc but they have found out that we are made of different stuff. Pakistan is a dominion based on deceit." Thanking India the Prime Minister said, "the Government of India did not take advantage of our position. With her high democratic ideals she helped us, and made a condition that after Kashmir was quiet, it could join that dominion which the majority wanted." He called upon the Muslims of Kashmir to cast away all prejudices and to work and worship as one people.

In Delhi large numbers of Muslims celebrated Eid by going to Mosques and offering prayers. The huge gathering at the Juma Masjid Maulana Abul Kasam Ali was also present. After prayers the messengers from the Governor-General and others were read out in the congregation.

With the departure of the British Governor-General and the installation of an Indian, Government House, the palatial home of India's constitutional head in New Delhi, will no longer be exclusively a residential building. With the occupation of Government House by Mr. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the new Governor-General, about 10,000 square feet of the building have been released for use as offices of the Government of India.

His Excellency the Governor-General's personal staff consists of the following: Mr. Shavam Lal, secretary to the Governor-General; Mr. S. Krishnamurti, private secretary; Col. B. Chatterjee, military secretary; Squadron-Leader D. N. Prakash, R.I.A.F., deputy military secretary; Major A. S. Wilson, comptroller, Governor-General's household; Lieut. Parashar, R.I.A.F., Capt. Narendra Singh, Indian Army, Capt. Davinder Singh, Indian Army, Capt. Y. Khao, Indian Army, ADC's; Mr. T. R. V. Chari officiating press attaché.

A state funeral was given to the late Brigadier Uman who was killed in action in Kashmir. His body was brought to Delhi by air from Srinagar. The burial took place at Okhla adjacent to the grave of the late Dr. Ansari. Hindu, Sikh and Muslim pallbearers carried the flower-laden bier slowly uphill to the burial ground, where Maulana Abul Kalam Azad led the last prayers. As the body was being lowered in the grave, a detachment of tank corps fired a volley of three rounds and the Last Post was sounded. The Governor-General, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and other cabinet ministers, as also officials, both civil and military joined the procession. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, also followed the procession.

Another incident of raiding a train passing through Hyderabad was announced. The train was raided between Gajjipudi and Yarpalum. The train was stopped by pulling of the chain and then a band of hidden Razakars raided the train. Two compartments were burnt, passengers were robbed and frightened out of the train.

Congress workers and relief workers in the Hyderabad territory have been treated very badly by the Razakars. At least that most of them are killed and some are robbed of their homes and others are disabled.

Former members of the I.N.A. are now eligible to the army. Ex-service men can be admitted to two forms of service, Regular and Short Service.

Concessions To S.A. Medical Students In India

As a result of representations made by the Government of India to certain Provincial Governments on the subject of exemption from the payment of capitation fee the following concessions have been granted to South African Indian students admitted to medical colleges in India:—

(1) The Government of Bombay have agreed to exempt all South African Indian students admitted to the Grant Medical College from the payment of capitation fee with effect from the academic year, 1948-49.

(2) The Government of the United Provinces have granted a similar exemption. This concession, however, will apply, for the present, only to those candidates nominated by the High Commissioner for India to the two reserved seats in the Medical College, Agra. The capitation fees already paid by students, it may be noted, will not be refunded.

(3) The Government of Madras have agreed to treat South African Indian students admitted to Medical Colleges in Madras, in the payment of fees, on the same basis as students of that Province, provided the parents or families of students concerned originally belonged to that Province.

(4) The Government of Bihar have decided to waive the recovery of capitation fees from South African Indian students admitted to Medical Colleges in Bihar.

SHREE MAYAWANT ASSOCIATION NOTICE

A special general meeting of the Shree Mayawant Association will be held in the Association Hall, 38 Victoria Street, Durban, on Sunday, August 22, at 2.30 p.m. Members are earnestly requested to be present.

Agenda:—(1) Minutes, (2) Correspondence, (3) Amendment to Constitution, if any, (4) Adoption of proposal to dissolve the Association.

Rule No. 13 provides that no member shall be entitled to a vote unless he has discharged his financial obligations to the Association.

DR. JAMES L. DUNN,
Hon. Secretary,

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| मेरी कहानी (प. वा. वा. नदी) | १ ६ |
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| मधुरा दुध | १ ६ |
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આઝાદ હિંદનો પ્રથમ વાર્ષિકોત્સવ

ઓ ૧૨૩ તા. ૧૫, ૧૯૪૭ નો દિવસ હિંદની તમામ રાજ્યોમાં આજનાં સર્વ મર્યાદાઓ વિરુદ્ધે જાહેર વર્ષાથી પ્રીતિને ખાતાને જરૂરી રાજકીય બેઠકોમાં નાની નાની અને દુનીયાની રંગ મુશીબર પોતાનો નિર્મીત બાગ બગવવાને તેમજ સુધિત પ્રાપ્ત કરી મ હુદકે સ્વિકારાયેલા હિંદના બાગમાં પાછી વિદેશી પ્રદેશોમાંથી દરેક કોઈકોની સફળતાથી વિજય, દેશના અત્યંતિક લોકોને શ્રમાવર્ધક કાશીરત્ન રજાઓ, અપ-વરણ થયેલ બેનોન સાંપોની સંખ્યામાં ફરી ભેગવવી એ આઝાદ હિંદના પ્રથમ વર્ષમાં દેશ ભેગવેલી સિદ્ધિઓમાંની કેટલીક અગત્યની સિદ્ધિઓ ગણાય.

હિંદની રાજકીય આઝાદીની સિદ્ધિઓનો જવાબે સંપૂર્ણ ધ્વનિ-કારણ જાહેર થયે તેના અતિ કહેણ પ્રકરણોમાંનું એક કદાચ ૧૯૪૭ના આઝાદ અને સપ્ટેમ્બરના પત્રક અને ગાંધીવાના દુષ્કાળ બનાવોને કમનું કળાએ દેશ આઝાદ પામે તેવીજ કોઈની મરીઓ વહેવા કાગી અને પડીકે વારે તે નંદ્ર ચડી બાંધકે એમું જ જણાયું. પરંતુ આજે કહેર આજે આવવા છતાં બચકે કસોટી માંથી દેશ કમળે એ એક અગત્યના ગાળી શકાય. એ મુશ્કેલ પરિણામનું માન સરકારને તેમજ પ્રજાના કેટલાક સેવાઓની નેતાઓને પડે છે, કે જે ગમે તે ભાષા આપવા પડે તેની પરવા કર્યા વિના સંગ્રહીત રીતે મદદરની પડેલ કલા શક્તિ કલા, કહેલા પાસે વર્ષ ગાયવામાં આવેલ અને જરૂર પાડી રહેલા અનિર્ણય એક વર્ષમાં કુદે કરવા ને માનવ શક્તિથી પર વસ્તુ કવી. છતાં

પણીજ કુનેદશી અને સફળતાથી એ કામ પહેલે જાણે પાદ પાડવા માં આવ્યું છે એ કોષને પણ કહીશ કયો વિના નહિ પાડે. દેશી રાજ્યો, જ્યાં સાંચા કાળથી આપણે અત્યાચારી રહી કવી. ત્યાંના સવાલનો ઉકેલ કાવવો અને એ રાજ્યોમાં પ્રજાના સ્વા-પત્તુ એ કંઈ સહેલી વાત નહોતી. પરંતુ એક હાથેકાળે રાજ્ય સિવાય સવાળાં રાજ્યોના સવાલ નો ઉકેલ કાગી દેવાયો છે અને કાશીરત્નને લોકોની તત્વા મા કાશીરત્ન તાણુદ ચનું ઉગારી દેવામાં આવ્યું છે. કપરોકલ બને રાજ્યોમાં જે કે કહ્યું શાંતી નથી સ્થાપાં છતાં કુદે સુદતમાં અનિર્ણય નરવોને કાગી દેવામાં આવવાની અને એ રાજ્યોમાં પ્રજા શાંતીનું સાચાચ દ પાવાની આશા રાખી શકાય છે. આઝાદ હિંદના પ્રથમ વાર્ષિકોત્સવના આ શુભ પ્રસંગે આપણી ઓની એ પ્રાર્થના છે.

બીજે પહેલાજ અગત્યને અને એકલોજ મુરકેલ સવાલ આજાદ ભેગવવાનો અને તેની વહેંચણી કરવાનો કલો કે જેનાપર કસોટી ના નિર્વાકનો આધાર રહ્યો કલો. આ બાગલમાં મર્યાદા તેમજ પ્રાંતિક સરકારોને બાગીરક પ્રથમને કરવા પડેલા છે. એક નોંધ લેવા જેવી છે કે એક પ્રસંગે ત્રીસ કહેવામાં વહેંચાયેલા ચાર કાળ નિર્વાકોને મર્યાદા સરકારી અનાજ ખાતાં તરફથી અનાજ પુર પાડવામાં આવી રહ્યું હતું અને એક પણ કાળમાં અનાજ ખુદી પડ્યું નહોતું. એ પણ નોંધ લેવી પડે છે કે નરકારે ભોતીની વિશાળ મેજનાઓ પડી રહી છે કે અગત્ય આવવા અમરણ દેશ

માં આજની સ્થિતિ કળીજ સુધરી જશે. બચકે આજેલા વચ્ચે આઝાદીના પહેલાં વર્ષમાં હિંદ કહેલી પ્રગતિનો વિચાર કરી એ ત્યારે હિંદ દશ કહીની નહીં એ વહી રહી કશે એવો ફરી પાછો સમુદ દેશ બની જશે એવી આશા ભેગવી બચકે નહિ ગણાય. વળી આ સુધારાની સાથે સાથેજ આર્થિક, સામાજિક અને કેળાણીના ક્ષેત્રોમાં પણ કળીજ સુધરી સુધારાઓ થઈ રહ્યા છે.

આઝાદીના પ્રથમ વર્ષમાં હિંદે ભેગવેલી અગત્ય સિદ્ધિઓની બા કુદે કપરેલા આપનાં કહેલા વાર્ષિકોત્સવ તરીકે અને આઝાદ હિંદના પહેલા મવરન-નરવલ તરીકે કોઈ માઉન્ટબેટને બચ-વેલા બાગની નોંધ લેવાનું આપણું ત સુધીએ. કોઈ માઉન્ટબેટને નેમજ કોઈ માઉન્ટબેટને હિંદની અતિ વિશમ પડીયા તેની પ્રથમ ને આશાસન આપવામાં જે દેવ તાણે બાગ બચવેલો છે એ કહી ખુદી શકાય તેમ નથી તેમની એ અનુપમ ભેગવેલી તેને હિંદના કહેરોના હુદયો ફરી ત્રીધાં છે અને તેઓને માટે પ્રથમ અને આ ફરની નહિ જુભાય તેવી કાપ નેઓના મનપર પડી ગઈ છે.

એ સાથે હિંદના મવરન-નરવલનું પદ હિંદના એકે પણ જને મળ્યું છે અને એ પદ જીત તારી. રાજગોપાલાચારી, જેમનું તામ હિંદના કહેરકે પરમા ચર ગયું થઈ પડ્યું છે તે છે એ હાતને વારે એક ગર્વ લેવા જેવી બીના છે.

પહેલાં વર્ષના પોતાના અમલ માં પળીજ સુદ સિદ્ધિ પ્રાપ્ત કરવા માટે ને કે આખી કહેલી ને માન પડે છે છતાં પકિત જવાહરલાલ નેહરુ, નરકારે વલભ-ભાઈ પટેલ, ડા. રાજેન્દ્રપ્રસાદ અને મોલાના અયુલ કલામ આતર. જેમણે હિંદનું બાવિ પાતામાં અયુલ જાગ બચવેલો છે. તેના નાઓની બાગ નોંધ લેવી પડે છે તેમાંની તેમજ

નેઓના સાથીઓની સમક્ષ જે મહકકાર્ય હલુ પડેલું છે તે કરવા ની સ્થિતિ તેઓને શક્તિ પામે.

વળી અવળા જીવાને મીઠા કલા પુરાં પાડનાર પુલા ઉત્પન્ન કરવાને જેમ બીજ પોતાનું બચિ-કાન આપી દે છે તેમ જુલામી માંથી હિંદની સુધિને માટે જે નરકારીઓએ અને નવજુલાનો અને બુવસિઓએ પોતાના હેલુ બચિ-કાન આપેલું છે તે ને પણ આ પ્રસંગે આપણે ખુદી નહિ કહીએ. તેઓને તેમજ નેઓના સમા-રનેલીઓ, નેઓનો કીંદની આઝાદી ના સંચાલનમાં ભોગ અનુપમ છે. નેઓને આપણે પ્રથમ અને આજે થી વંદન કરીએ.

અંતમાં જેમને આપણે "શક્ત વિના" તરીકે પુલ્ય ગણી અન્મની એ છીએ અને જેમાં આપણે માટે જીવ્યા અને પોતાનું જીવન-રક્ત રેલ્યું અને હેવરે અતિ કહેણ સંજોગમાં આપણને મુદ્દી અજુકિતવ્યા અલોપ થઈ ગયા એ પુલ્ય મદદરમાં ગાંધીજીને શું આપણે કહી પણ ખુદી શકીશું? ને આપણે તેમને પડેપર આજના કાલજી અને પ્રથમ અને આજેના ના તેમના શિક્ષણમાં માનના કાલજી તે આપણામાંથી કોઈની જેર કાઢી નાખવાનો અને હુદય સુદિ ફરી કચકાયેલા કોઈની ભેગા મા આપણું જીવન અર્પણ કરવાનો પ્રમાણિક પ્રથમ કરવાનો આ શુભ કિતે આપણે સંકલ્પ કરીએ.

આપણે જેઓ હિંદની બાકાર વસી રહ્યા છીએ તેઓની ઉપર એ મદદન દેશના પ્રતિનિધિઓ તરીકેના વિશેષ જવાબકારી રહેલી છે. માફકવજ કરકાવવા અને માતૃભૂમિની આઝાદીની જુલાલી ઉત્તવવા માયથીજ આપણી જવાબ કારીનો અગ આવતો નથી એ કરતા આપણે વધારે ખોટી ફરજ ભવતવાની છે. આપણા સવાળા કહેવા, આપણું વર્તન બર નામ રીકરવ્યા આજે નમુના કૃપ અને

અરનમાં ૧૯૪૬થી હોલિ મહાસભા તેમજ
અપી તેના હતી તેઓ મંત્રી છે. અને
૧૯૪૭થી ૨૨ મેનાની તેમજેક સ્થાપ
ના કરી હતી ૧૯૪૭થી તેઓ મંત્રી

ને આગળ છે. મહાસભામાં મેં જાણે
ને મંત્રીશ્રવર અપાસી હતી. અને પાસે
ને આગળે પાસે જીવર મુકાબા
ને ન આગળે તેમજે કરીદાવી હતી.

અપાસી થયે પાસે નેમજે કરીદાવી
નેમજે અપાસી કરવા મંત્રીશ્રવર
મંત્રીશ્રવરો અપ ઉભા થાય છે.

હિંદમાં સ્વાતંત્ર્ય સપ્તાહ

તલ. હિંદમાં કીંદના પદ પ્રધાન
પંડિત નેમજે ન્યુદિલ્હીમાં
માર્ચ ૩૦ ૧૯૪૭ રણતપ સપ્તાહની
ઉજવણી અને મંત્રીશ્રવર અપાસી
મુદા કરી

નેમજે કીંદના પોતાની મંત્રીશ્રવરો
અને કરીદાવી સમયની હતી તેમજે
કીંદના આપણે એક મહાન સ્વાતંત્ર્ય
માર્ચ ૩૦ ૧૯૪૭ ને આગળે માર
રણતપના છત્તા અને પ્રધાન અપાસી
કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો નેમજે
નામી નેમજે કરીદાવી

કીંદના આપણોમાં ખીન સ્વાતંત્ર્ય
અપાસી છે કે છત્તા કરીદાવી
પાસ કરીદાવી આપણુ છે

નવી હિંદના પંડિત મંત્રીશ્રવરોમાં
નેમજે નિવાસસ્થાન આગળે કરી
૧૯૪૭ રીતે રણતપ નેમજે માણસોને
કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો આપણોમાં
આપણુ હતી.

પુનાકરે નેમજે સભા કરીદાવી કરી
રણ સમજા પાકિસ્તાન કરીદાવી નેમજે
વિષ ભોળા પંડિત નેમજે કરીદાવી
એ નિવેદના જાણીદાવી અને કરીદાવી
અપાસી છે. તેમજે કરીદાવી પાકિસ્તાન
જાણીદાવી અને કરીદાવી આપણુ રણ
છે કરીદાવી સમજા આપણુ વિના
મને છુટકો નથી કરીદાવી પાકિસ્તાન
અપાસી રાખે કરી રણ છે એ કરીદાવી
અપાસી વિના કરી કરી કરીદાવી છે.
૧૯૪૭ રીતે ૧૯૪૭ કરીદાવી પાસ અને
કીંદના પાસ રણ આપણુ નેમજે કરી
અને અપાસી રાખે નથી કરીદાવી

ન્યુદિલ્હીમાં પાસીન-૮ આગળે ૧૯
૬ માં સર કરી. ૧૯ પ્રધાનને કરીદાવી
પાસ વિષે પ્રધાન પ્રધાન કરીદાવી
કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
અપાસી છે તેના નેમજે કરીદાવી
પાસી લીધા છે એ પ્રધાન કરીદાવી
પંડિત નેમજે કરીદાવી રીતે કરીદાવી
સામે હિંદ હિંદમાં આગળે કરીદાવી
કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
છે. કરીદાવી આપણુ કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
ને પાસ વિરોધ કરીદાવી સમજા કરીદાવી
આપણુ છે.

કીંદના કરીદાવીમાં પાસીન-૮ કરી
રણતપા કરીદાવી આપણે કરીદાવી
ના કરીદાવી.

૧૯. સુધીના નેમજે કરીદાવી મંત્રીશ્રવરોમાં
નામીન-૮ સમજા કરી નેમજે આપણુ
માર્ચ ૩૦ ૧૯૪૭ રણતપ નેમજે

કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
કીંદના કરીદાવી આપણુ છે.

કીંદના કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
પાસી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
છે કે. આપણુ કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કીંદના કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
પાસી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કીંદના કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
આપણુ છે.

નેશનલીસ્ટની ઈલાયદાપણુની નીતી નવી નથી

કીંદના પ્રધાન ૧૯. મેમજે
નેમજે રણતપ કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
નેમજે સમજા કરી, તેમજે કરીદાવી
એક નિવેદન મંત્રીશ્રવર કરીદાવી
નેમજે કરીદાવી મને છે કે નેશનલીસ્ટો
ની ઈલાયદાપણુની નીતીમાં નવું કરી
નથી. પરંતુ કરીદાવી કરીદાવી આગળે
ની કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી નામ
કરીદાવી આપણુ કરીદાવી કરીદાવી છે,
નેમજે નિવેદન કરીદાવી છે કે પુનીવન
સ્વાતંત્ર્ય પાસ એ નીતી પાસ અપાસી
અપાસી આપણુ છે. તેના સમજા કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી નેમજે કરીદાવી સમજા વિરોધ
કરીદાવી આપણુ છે. પણ નેમજે કરીદાવી
નેમજે કરીદાવી અપાસી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

નેમજે કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી નીતી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
નેમજે કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

પાકિસ્તાનને કાચ આપણે કરીદાવી
સમજા કરીદાવી કરીદાવી સમજા કરીદાવી
અપાસી પાકિસ્તાન કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
૧૯. ૧૯. ૧૯. ૧૯ ના કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
પાકિસ્તાની પોતાની કરીદાવી છે.

પરચુરણ

પુર્વે આગળે મારે કરી, આપણી
નેમજે કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
નેમજે કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
નેમજે કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
નેમજે કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

અખર પત્રો

કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

કીંદના આગળે મંત્રીશ્રવરો કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

પુસ્તક મંડળી પાસીન-૮ કરીદાવી

પુસ્તક મંડળી પાસીન-૮ કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

કીનીકસ સેલમેન્ટનું ગુપ્ત થયેલું

કીનીકસ સેલમેન્ટનું ગુપ્ત થયેલું
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

ગાંધી પુસ્તક આપણ

ગાંધી પુસ્તક આપણ કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

માન્યાપા કરીદાવી

માન્યાપા કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી
કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી કરીદાવી

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Imported doors 2'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 3'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 4'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 4'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 5'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 5'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 6'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 6'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 7'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 7'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 8'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 8'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 9'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 9'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 10'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 10'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 11'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 11'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 12'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 12'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 13'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 13'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 14'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 14'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 15'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 15'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 16'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 16'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 17'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 17'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 18'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 18'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 19'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 19'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 20'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 20'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 21'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 21'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 22'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 22'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 23'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 23'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 24'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 24'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 25'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 25'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 26'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 26'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 27'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 27'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 28'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 28'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 29'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 29'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 30'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 30'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 31'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 31'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 32'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 32'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 33'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 33'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 34'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 34'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 35'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 35'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 36'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 36'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 37'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 37'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 38'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 38'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 39'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 39'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 40'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 40'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 41'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 41'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 42'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 42'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 43'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 43'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 44'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 44'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 45'0" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 45'6" x 6'6" x 1 1/2", 46'0" x 6'6" x 1 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—૨૨ કેરટ સોનાના હાગીના

દરેક ભતના છેલ્લામાં છેલ્લી હબના ૨૨ કેરટ
સોનાના હાગીનાઓ બનાવવાનું તથા મેળવવાનું
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કેપીટનના પૌષ્ટિક પાકો

બીજા કાલજ પાક (વરેરે બીજા પાકો) એક વ બનાવનારી
મણી રાકે.

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1948 મીડાઈ તથા 1949 બવજાં દરવાજા, બાપા, મરજ મહામો વિશે
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—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

જોહાનીસબર્ગનું અણીયું સાડી મથ

સસ્તા આવે આકર્ષક અને કાળામય સાડીઓ તા. રી. ૧

| | | | |
|---|----------|-----|---------|
| ખાપેલું જોરજોર દર?? પતો | રી. ૮-૧૧ | વાર | |
| મીઠાની બરત બરલી સાડીઓ નવીન પ્રીગાઇન | | | ૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| ખાપેલી જોરજોરની સાડીઓ | | | ૭ ૧૦ ૦ |
| સીલક મજલીનની બરતબરલી સાડીઓ | | | ૮ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી બરત સીલક મજલીન સાડીઓ | | | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
| જરી બરત જોરજોર સાડીઓ | | | ૧૫ ૧૦ ૦ |
| ડીલમ સ્લાક બે રંગી સાડીઓ, રંગીન નવીન પ્રીગાઇન | | | ૧૧ ૧૦ ૦ |

ખાપેલું જાપાન સાડી મારે પડ?? પતો, આકર્ષક રંગોમય રી. ૧ વાર. ઉત્કૃષ્ટતાવાળા
બરતબરલી રંગોમય સાડી અને જ્વાલિયત માર દુધ?? પતો રી. ૧૨-૧૪ માં મળે છે.
મરત તમા ઉત્કૃષ્ટતાવાળા મારે તાલક રાત પાપળામાં, સાંકસ, રંગોમય
પીનિરેતના બારમાં ખાસ મારા કપો છે.
મરત જોરજોર દર?? પતો રી. ૮-૧૨ વાર

ધુરલીન ખાલુઓ મારે જરી બરત મરો

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મારો બરત તા. ૧૨ ૧૦-૧૨

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As I proceed onward I look behind me at the crumbling ruins of civilization drawn like a vast dung-heap of filth. And yet I shall not console the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the corruption is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises. Another day will come when the unconquered Man will retrace his path of glory, despite all barriers to win back his lost human heritage. To believe in the final and irreversible doom of humanity is certainly a crime but I shall not be guilty of hugging illusion or idly.

Finally I shall proclaim that the day has come when it will no longer be the mightiest of powers to give vent to proud complacency. We must realize the truth that our

by inquiry - man may thrive only so long as a good in life may conquer his evil. But inquiry is lost if it is to overwhelm and destroy him.

EXCERPT

જ્ઞાનીઓની ભવિષ્યવાણી

હું જેમ આગળ વધતો જાઉં છું તેમ તેમ મારી પાછળ વ્યર્થતાનો વિશાળ કંઠરાની જેમ સુધારાને ખરી પડતો નિહાળી રહ્યો છું. તેમ છતાં માનવીમાં પ્રજ્ઞા સુધાપવનનું કુંડળીર ખાખ નહિજ કદ. તેના કદના પ્રલયકાળ પુરો થશે અને એવા અને વ્યાનની ધાવનાથી વાતાવરણ શુદ્ધ થશે ત્યારે માનવીની તત્વારીયમાં નહું પ્રકરણ બુદ્ધિ ચવાળી આશા કેવીશે. કદાચ એ ઉપદેશજ આ પુર્વનું કિન્નિજ અવાળી મુરોઈદય સામ કું વ્યાળીજ આવશે. (કેવલ આવશે ત્યારે સુધારા અવગરો છતાં પોતાનો મુખ ધ્યેયો માનવ વારસો પુનઃપ્રાપ્ત કરવા અપરાજિત માનવી પોતાના ગદ્યસ્વી મારે કરી વિનાશ માનવતાની અનિમ અને અનિવાર્ય માણ થશે. ન માત્રી લેવું. તેા ત્રિશક પાપજ ગળાય પ. વસ્તુને મદલે પાસાવાને વાથ માનવાનો કું સુનો નહિ કદ.

અંતમાં હું પોતાની રીતી કે એ દિવસ કદે આવશે કે ત્યારે જાગવાનમા જાગવાન સત્યાઓને પણ પ્રવિષ્ટ સેપરવાદ બિનાવવી સક્ષામન નહિ મળાય. આપણા જ્ઞાનીઓના વચનાનું સત્ય આપણે નમણીએ.

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—સંગાર.

INDIAN OPINION

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IN 1903

No 33 - VOL. - XLVI

FRIDAY 20TH AUGUST 1948

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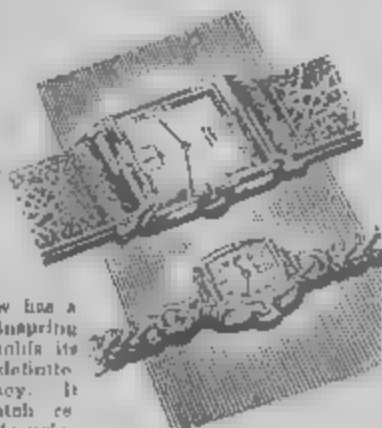
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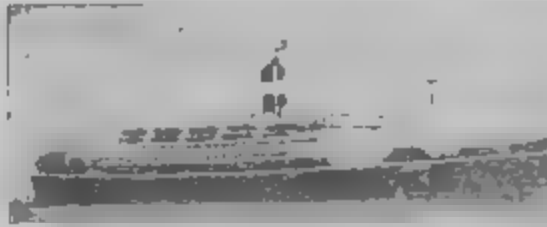
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તા. ૧૫ મીના પોરબંદર થયું મુંબઈ જવા ઉપરથી.
કચ્છી, "કેરીયા" સુપરગ્રામર તા. ૧૫ મીના આવી
તા. ૨૦ મીના મુંબઈ જવા ઉપરથી.

હાલ ૩૬ પેસેન્જરો સારી સંજ્ઞામાં યુવામાં આવે છે અને કેટલાક
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સેકન્ડ બોરડી વગર પા. ૪૦-૧૦-૦.

૧૬૫ બાર્ડ મુસ્લીમ વીરલી સાથે પા. ૧૮-૧૩-૬.

૩૬૫ બાર્ડ હોલ્ડ વીરલી સાથે પા. ૧૮-૦-૦

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—બેલ્કોન, રેબલ અને કીચન કોર્સર—

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૧૧૬ જાતની બેકાઈઓ, ચોખ્ખા પીના તેજલ શેષા શેષા,
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 30TH AUGUST 1948

Inviting Trouble

WE were wrong in our surmise last week that since no mention was made in the speech from the Throne on the Indian question no legislation would be introduced in the House of Assembly this session. The Prime Minister has quite unwisely introduced a Bill repealing the second part of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946, which provides for granting Indians qualified franchise. In so far as Indians are concerned there is nothing new in this. Indians suffer no sense of loss thereby because they never considered the concession to be a gain. Such qualified franchise was wholly unacceptable to them. It is therefore all the same to Indians whether the Act remains with or without the provision of franchise. As the Congress has very rightly pointed out Indians would be happier if the Prime Minister whilst he is at it, would take steps to scrap the whole measure instead of just half.

But what we are amazed at is that a country which is so proud of its own national honour and jealously safeguards it should be so utterly callous about the self-respect and sentiments of another country far greater in every respects than itself. The spirit in which the Indian question is being tackled, the general policy

of the Government as declared by the Prime Minister in regard to Indians in particular and non-Europeans in general, the manner in which the Government have introduced segregation on suburban trains in Capetown—a very retrograde step in a Province known for many long years and highly admired for its liberalism—are enough to set the back up of any self-respecting people and what little hope there might be of friendly relations between India and South Africa being restored is bound to vanish.

Whether the Bill referred to above has been introduced by the Government to embrace the Opposition or otherwise is no concern of ours. The very fact that a vast majority of people who have no voice in the Government nor even in matters which directly affect them, should be treated by a small minority who happens to be in power, as pawns in the political game of Parties and their feelings and sentiments can be so light-heartedly flouted, goes to prove that such a Government can by no canon of civilisation be called good Government. The present Government are quite obviously not inclined to have peace in the country. They are inviting trouble irrespective of all the consequences however grave they may be. They

should, in that case not blame the Communists for any trouble that comes of their own invitation. This time they will be the trouble makers and not the Communists to whom we have repeatedly said we hold no brief.

The Malan is deeply anxious that South Africa should not be misrepresented in the outside world and more especially at the United Nations General Assembly which meets next month in Paris. He has accused members of the Opposition of doing so by their statements and by the newspapers that support them. The Prime Minister will, however, have to allow that the latest set of the Government are in themselves so eloquent that they leave no room for any misrepresentations to

be made. The civilised world will judge South Africa by her actions and not by what others or even her own accredited representatives say of her. It is with the profoundest regret, therefore, that we have to say that the Government's latest acts are likely to cause the indignation not only of the Indian community but of the non-Europeans as a whole and invite to them to stand as one in a common cause. Let this not be misinterpreted as a threat. We have always stood for peace on honourable terms. But we seek living peace. If it is the Government's desire to give the non-Europeans of South Africa the peace of the grave yard that is a matter between themselves and their God. We the non-Europeans shall get just what we deserve.

NOTES

15th August And Fasting

IN our last week's issue, we had made a suggestion that we should fast and pray on August 15. But the suggestion does not seem to have appealed to many, and has been the subject of unpleasant comment. We would remind the critics that the suggestion we made was not a new one. It had originated from Mahatma Gandhi, who spoke as follows on August 10 last year at his usual Prayer meeting:

"I was taken to task for advising the people to fast and pray and spin on August 15. Was it not a sign of mourning? It was not so. There was cause for sorrow in as much as the country had been cut in twain. But there was cause too for rejoicing in that the British power was quitting India. There was more than enough to cheeren them. Even when there was cause for unmixed joy as on the

6th of April 1919, when there was country-wide awakening and the Hindus, the Muslims and the others freely mixed with one another, he had advised the celebration by prayer, fasting and spinning. The reason for humbling themselves before God was now infinitely greater when brother was fighting brother, when there was a shortage of food and clothing, and when the country's leaders were called upon to shoulder a burden under which without God's grace, the strongest back might break. This much I certainly believe that the coming 15th August should be no day for rejoicing whilst the minorities contemplate the day with a heavy heart. It must be a day for prayer and deep heart-searching."

Well what is happening now only in India but all over the world to-day there is all the more

reason why the present occasion is one of prayer and heart-ache, more than for joy and merry-making.

European Farmers' Demand

The following is included among the motions to be considered at the annual Congress of the Transvaal Agricultural Union which will be held at Pretoria next month:

"The Congress requests the Government to deport each and every Indian."

Direct Representation For Africans In Northern Rhodesia

Strange to say that, whilst the Union is going backward in its African policy, Northern Rhodesia is going forward. Africans will this year for the first time have direct representation in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia under proposals for the revised Constitution announced by the Colonial Office. States a *Saps Renter's* message from London. This was approved at a recent meeting in London between representatives of the Colonial

Office and a delegation from Northern Rhodesia. It is proposed "to leave the door open for the advancement of Africans in appointments on the Executive Council when they are ready for it." The proposals made by the unofficial members of the Legislative Council were rejected, the Colonial Office stated, but it was "considered most desirable that members of the non-official community should play a greater and more direct part in the administration of Northern Rhodesia."

Under the new proposals the Executive Council would include four unofficial members, of whom one would, as at present, be one of the members of the Legislative Council nominated to represent African interests. The other three would be appointed from the elected members of the Legislative Council. "One or two of the four unofficial members would be given responsibility for groups of departments, retaining their seats as elected members in the Legislative Council and not becoming officials," the statement said.

INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS

THE first anniversary of India's Independence on August 15 was celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout South Africa.

In Durban an elaborate programme was arranged by the India Independence Day Celebration Committee, which was formed last year under the chairmanship of Advocate A. Christophel. About ten to twelve thousand people including men, women and children, had gathered at the Beach front near the Snake Park at 1 p.m. The national flag was hoisted by Mr. P. M. Desai which was followed by national songs, folk dances by school girls, athletic performances by pupils of Mr. Sunny Moodley. Boy scouts were also present in their numbers. The weather was cool and very favourable to the occasion and remained so till the termination of the function at about 4 p.m. when it began to drizzle.

Messrs P. B. and P. R. Singh were the announcers and had

rather a busy time.

It was a very happy day for the young and the old and terminated with the singing of the Indian national anthem and the distribution of sweets to the huge children who were present in their thousands.

What is worth taking note of is that neither of the two daily papers of Durban deemed it of importance to report a single word of this huge affair though minor incidents like a fight between two individuals at a street corner would be reported.

A large number of Muslims celebrated the anniversary of the Dominion of Pakistan. Hundreds of boy Scouts marched in the streets and Pakistan flag salutation took place.

The Natal Indian Congress held a meeting at Finner Rustomjee Hall at 7-30 p.m. when speeches and goodwishes for both the Dominions were made.

In Johannesburg the occasion was celebrated by the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

In Capetown the occasion was celebrated under the joint auspices of several Indian bodies.

Mr. R. T. Chari, the new secretary of the High Commissioner of India, was present and read out the message of the Prime Minister of India and made a short speech.

SCENES OF ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE AT THE DURBAN BEACH



CROWN CASE AGAINST RESISTER FAILS

TWO Indians told Mr. R. Bax in the Durban Magistrate's Court last week that they had not joined the passive resistance movement solely to struggle for the rights of the Indian people, but because they were out of work and they got paid for going to prison for crossing the Natal border into the Transvaal. They appeared as Crown witnesses in a case in which Mr. S. V. Reddy, an official of the Natal Indian Congress, was charged with aiding and abetting five Indians to enter the Transvaal illegally. Mr. Reddy pleaded guilty, but was found not guilty. Mr. Bax said there was no evidence that he had actually arranged for the offence to be committed, or that he had aided or abetted the men.

Mr. A. D. Naidoo who was only a junior clerk in the office of the Natal Indian Congress, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for aiding and abetting.

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

ON July 21 Badge continued his evidence. He said that he had accompanied Godse and Apte to the residence of one Mr. Kale who gave Godse a bundle of Rs 100 notes. Apte and Badge then went to Dixit Maharaj's house. Apte asked him for one revolver. Dixit Maharaj thereupon produced a small pistol. Apte asked for it but Dixit Maharaj said he would not give it to him unless he received money for it. Apte told Dixit Maharaj that he had promised a revolver and he should give it, but Dixit Maharaj did not do so.

Apte then went to the Santa Cruz aerodrome to leave for Delhi. Here he gave the witness Rs. 550 and told him that he should leave for Delhi by the night train.

Badge and Shanker, his servant, left for Delhi on January 18. They proceeded to the Hindu Mahasabha office in New Delhi. Here they met Madanlal and Gopal Godse, brother of Nathuram Godse. Soon after, Apte, Karkare and N. V. Godse arrived.

On January 20 Apte asked witness to accompany him to Birla House. Badge said: "We were stopped by the gatekeeper. He asked us whom we wanted to see. Apte said we wanted to see the secretary. We then proceeded to the back of Birla House where, Apte said, Mahatma Gandhi's prayers used to be held. Apte pointed out a place where Mahatma Gandhi used to sit, and just behind him Shurawardy used to sit. Apte pointed out a lattice work. He examined it and said that through the opening a revolver shot could be fired and a hand-grenade could be passed. Apte added that "as far as possible, both should be finished (Gandhi and Shurawardy). He further said that if this was not possible, at least one should be finished."

"We went behind the lattice. Apte pointed out two places on either side of the gate which we passed to go behind, and said one gun-cotton slab could be exploded at each place, which would draw the attention of the people."

Badge continued: "Leaving Birla House at about 11 a.m. we returned to the Hindu Mahasabha building where Apte left Badge and Shanker. Apte returned a few minutes later and told Gopal Godse that we should all proceed to the jungle and try out the two revolvers that had been brought by Gopal Godse and myself respectively."

"Gopal Godse, Shanker and I then accompanied Apte to the jungle behind the Hindu Mahasabha building. Gopal Godse agreed the revolver of .38 bore

and Shanker Kistayya had the other revolver.

"Reaching the jungle, Apte asked Gopal Godse to take out his revolver. The revolver was not working properly. Apte then asked me to take out his revolver. Shanker who was keeping it took it out. Apte loaded it and asked Shanker to fire a shot aiming at a tree. The bullet did not hit the tree, but fell some distance in front of it.

"Apte then said this revolver would not be of any use. Gopal Godse thereupon said he would repair his own revolver, and asked Shanker to go to the Hindu Mahasabha building and bring a bottle of oil and a pen-knife from his bag. Shanker brought this.

"We sat down a few paces away and Gopal began repairing his revolver. Three forest guards then came to the spot and asked us what we were doing there. We had seen the forest guards coming and had hidden the revolvers under a sheet which we had spread on the ground to sit on. Gopal Godse talked to the forest guards in Punjabi. They appeared to be satisfied and went away. Apte then said it was no use sitting there any longer and that we should go back to the Mahasabha building.

"On returning to the Hindu Mahasabha building, we found Karkare and Madanlal sitting in the hall. Apte told Karkare that he and Madanlal should go ahead to Marina Hotel and that we would follow. Karkare and Madanlal then left. Madanlal's bedding remained in the Hindu Mahasabha building. Apte then said to Gopal Godse that we should also go to Marina Hotel taking with us the bag containing the 'stuff'."

They went to the second floor of Marina Hotel, where they found Nathuram Godse lying on a bed in a room. Gopal Godse kept the bag in the room. Shanker and Badge went down to the first floor to have their meals. Gopal Godse, Apte, Karkare and Madanlal remained in the room with Nathuram Godse.

Badge and Shanker found the door closed when they returned to the room after their meals. The door was opened to let them in and closed again.

Then Apte, Madanlal, Karkare and Badge went into the bath room. Nathuram Godse and Shanker also came to the bath room. Apte, Karkare, Madanlal and Badge started fixing the detonator in the hand-grenades and putting the primer and fuse wire in the gun-cotton slabs. While this was being done, Nathuram

Godse told Badge, "this is our last effort. The work must be accomplished. See to it that everything is arranged properly."

The gun-cotton slabs and grenades were fitted up. When they came back to the room Gopal Godse had repaired the revolver.

Apte said that Madanlal and Shanker should each carry one gun-cotton slab and a hand-grenade, and Apte and Badge one revolver each.

Badge added, "I then said that only one gun-cotton slab was required to create a commotion by explosion, and asked why two gun-cotton slabs were required."

"I suggested that one gun-cotton slab and one hand-grenade each should be given to Gopal Godse and Karkare and one revolver to Shanker, and that I would take one hand-grenade and one revolver. Nathuram Godse and Apte should remain there to give the signal. My suggestions were accepted.

"Karkare then suggested that as soon as Madanlal had exploded the gun-cotton slab, all of us simultaneously should shoot and throw the hand-grenades at Gandhi. Apte said that Madanlal should explode the gun-cotton slab near the wall, and I should enter the room posing as a photographer and fire the revolver and throw the hand-grenade through the trellis. Apte said that he would stand and give the signal to me. The others should then mix with the crowd at the prayer ground.

"Apte then said we should change our names and assume false names. He suggested that Nathuram Godse should assume the name of Deshpande, Karkare should call himself Vyasa, Apte take the name of Karmakar, Shanker that of Tukaram and Badge that of Bowla-pant. Madanlal and Gopal Godse also assumed false names, but I do not remember what names they took.

"We also decided to change our clothes. Nathuram Godse put on a half shirt, short stockings and shoes. They were khaki like the military. Apte put on a coat and trousers of dark blue colour such as worn by Air Force personnel. Karkare put on a Nehru shirt, a 'dhoti' and a

Gandhi cap. He had also lengthened his moustache and eye-brows by using paint, and also had a red caste mark on his forehead. Madanlal had put on a coat, shirt and pants in the English fashion. Gopal Godse wore shorts, shirt and coat. I had on a 'Nehru shirt', a 'dhoti' and spectacles. Shanker wore a white coat, a shirt, a 'dhoti' and the cap which he is wearing now.

"Apte gave one hand-grenade and one gun-cotton slab to Karkare to be handed over to Madanlal. He gave one hand-grenade and one revolver to Shanker and another hand-grenade and another revolver to me.

"Madanlal and Karkare then left for Birla House. Fifteen or twenty minutes later Apte, Gopal Godse, Shanker and myself also left. Nathuram Godse stayed behind, but said he would follow us. The four of us then took a taxi from Marina Hotel and went to the Hindu Mahasabha Office."

The Court was then adjourned.

Pandit Nehru's Independence Day Message To Indians Abroad

THE following message was sent by Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India to Indians abroad, India on August 15, the 11th anniversary of India's Independence.

"I send my greetings to our fellow countrymen abroad on this anniversary of our Independence. The past year has been full of difficulty and full of sorrow for us. We have overcome many dangers but we have failed also in many ways. On this day we dedicate ourselves anew to the service of our country and our people."

"Those of our countrymen who are abroad represent India at some way or other whatever their calling. They are bits of India in foreign lands and they must always remember therefore that they have a duty in their power to bring credit or discredit to India. In these days of difficulty and crisis not only in India but all over the world each one of us must remember his duty and revive in India and resolve afresh to be worthy of this great country of ours."

—Jas Hind

OPPOSITION TACKLES GOVERNMENT ON ITS APARTHEID POLICY

DURING the Budget debate in the House of Assembly on Monday the Leader of the Opposition, General Smuts, asked for a clear-cut statement on the Government's policy of Apartheid. General Smuts said: "I start with the issue which has raised the greatest hubbub in the country in recent months—apartheid."

"This country is faced with two practical issues in regard to its Native policy, and the Government must decide between them—the country must decide between them."

"The first is this. We may say that the Reserves are to be, according to the policy of this country, the only home of the whole of the Native people of this country. That is a clear-cut policy that you can understand."

General Smuts said that to him the most significant thing of all was that the Fagan Report, which the United Party Government had released, was actually referred to by the Nationalist Party. They had simply by passing the report.

"Everywhere you are up against this stalemate on the question."

"The policy of segregating and congregating our Native population as a whole in our Native Reserves is a policy which is impossible to carry out in this country."

"If that is the policy which is meant by apartheid, then I have no hesitation in saying it is an impossible policy and it is a dishonest policy because it is impossible to carry out."

"The Native has to be integrated into our industrial system. He is not a competitor in that sense, but part and parcel of our whole economic society."

The Fagan Commission had been working on the problems which arose from this situation.

"That is the position. We have our policy. It has been proved by this thorough, impartial (Fagan) inquiry, and we are convinced that in broad outline that is the line that should be followed in Native policy in this country and not this alternative of apartheid, which means driving these people into the wilds to form locations of their own."

"We want to know what is the policy the Government is going to follow. I hope the Prime Minister or the Minister of Native Affairs will tell the country this afternoon, not in slogans and catchwords, but clearly which of these alternatives they are adopting as Government policy."

Prime Minister's Reply

The Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, replying, said, General Smuts had pretended in the House that he did not know what was meant by apartheid, and had accused the Government of not themselves knowing. If General Smuts had not regarded all matters concerning South Africa "little things," and if he had paid less attention to overseas interests, he would have been fully aware that the Nationalist Party had given a clear explanation of its policy on apartheid.

Not only had this matter been discussed in the House, but the Nationalist Party had also issued a manifesto in connection with the General Election, in which both the negative and the positive constructive aspects of apartheid had been set out with the greatest clarity.

General Smuts could not have read the Nationalist Party Manifesto.

The country had the right to demand from the United Party its policy in this matter. The reply on this question had been given by followers of General Smuts and his newspapers, and was that the Smuts Government had no policy.

"The election has passed, and now General Smuts has awakened and now he declares that this matter will not stand any post-mortem. Now a clear unequivocal policy must immediately be worked out. Why did the people have to wait so long for this policy?"

It was not true, as General Smuts had indicated, that apartheid was a purely negative policy. It had an important positive side.

Apartheid was not a policy of suppression, but it would ensure that the non-European people did not stand in the way of the future of the Europeans.

Indians

So far as the Indians were concerned, the present Government were in no way continuing the policy of the previous Government, but it was taking it to a more logical conclusion.

The Government's policy would ensure that Indian received special treatment. The maintenance of political representation of Indians was not the wish of any section of the White people of the country. It was the wish of the Indian people only.

"Therefore, one of our first acts has been to introduce to the House a Bill to repeal the

provision of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946.

"With this Bill, we are making a beginning with our apartheid policy, but this was a policy of apartheid introduced by the Opposition when they were the Government."

"They say we are doing something about our apartheid policy, but this Bill is the beginning of that policy. Now we have begun, they say we are doing too much."

"Another example of our apartheid policy was the recent action of the Minister of Transport."

It had been the intention of the former Prime Minister, with the full approval of his Cabinet, to create a Native Government which would exercise authority in European areas.

"It has been said that our policy of apartheid is to remove all Natives from European areas and send them back to the Reserves. This is a caricature of our policy."

The policy of apartheid was not the policy laid down by the former Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister.

The policy set forth by Mr. Hofmeyr is stood in Hansard had been expressed with the full knowledge and approval of General Smuts.

The Nationalists and the electorate had turned their backs on that policy. That was why the last Government had been defeated at the General Election.

Dr. Malan said that on the positive side of their policy it was the intention to compensate the Natives if they were deprived of anything.

"It is our intention to take away their representation in this House. Then we can give them something else and we believe it will be something better."

"We will set up institutions for them in their own Reserves and promote and advance the development of institutions which will put them in a position of having a greater voice in their own affairs, and in a position to retain their own national character."

Mr. J. H. Russel (U.P., Woodstock): What about those who are not in Reserves?

The Prime Minister: Just as little as Europeans may stay in Reserves without a permit or have any say in the Bantu and other ruling institutions in those areas, just as little will Natives who live in the European areas obtain more rights than that. Why should they not have permits? Why should they be given a voice in European institutions?

Coloureds

"We do not want to deprive the Coloured people of their

representation in Parliament. We want to give it to them through a better system than we have at present. They should have their own representatives, just as the Natives do now. We do that because the Coloured people, unlike the Natives, do not have their own areas."

Apartheid in Education

"We want apartheid so far as our educational institutions are concerned and, more particularly, at the universities. In the universities an intolerable situation has arisen in the past few years—a situation which gives rise to friction and an unpleasant relationship between Europeans and non-Europeans."

N.I.C. Asks For The Repeal Of Whole Asiatic Act

THE following telegram was sent by the Natal Indian Congress to the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan:

"On behalf two hundred thousand Indians of Natal urge you to reconsider your amendment to the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act and to table a motion to Repeal the whole Act instead of only chapter two. We speak not only in the interests of the Indian community, who have suffered greatly under the Act but also for the peace and prosperity of South Africa as a whole. Only foresightedness and noble statesmanship can save our country from unprecedented racial conflict leading to tragic consequences for South Africa. We are firmly convinced that apartheid as no solution to our country's problems. Besides causing grave racial bitterness it will seriously arrest economic development and will not allow her to take an honourable place in the great family of democratic nations."

The Government would not deprive non-Europeans of education, and all possible steps would be taken to give adequate university training, both to Natives and Coloured people in separate institutions as soon as possible.

Opposition Actions Harmful To S.A.

He wished to make use of this opportunity to reproach the Opposition for their general actions not because they were harmful to the Government Parties, but because they were harmful to South Africa in the outside world.

The Opposition were continually trying to bring the Government into discredit by describing the Coloured Policy as oppressive."

Every time an Opposition Member made such a statement and it was printed in the newspapers supporting the Opposition, this was promptly called overboard. What was the effect of such statements appearing in print overseas? "You are doing no more than to join Bamber and Michael Scott."

The opposition and the newspapers supporting it were not doing anything to represent the matter in the proper light abroad. It was absolutely necessary that countries abroad should be properly enlightened in regard to this matter.

Leading members of the Opposition and the papers supporting the Opposition even went as far as to attempt to discredit in advance diplomats appointed to posts abroad.

Mrs. Ballinger Criticises Dr. Malan

Mrs. V. M. Ballinger (Nat. Rep., Cape Eastern) during the debate on the Budget in the Union House of Assembly on Monday, said Dr. Malan's statement on apartheid had dodged the issue of what the Native Reserves would be. What would their area be?

Today the Reserves could support only some 40 per cent. of the Native population, and then only if there was a continual export of labour. Dr. Malan had said nothing about the other 60 per cent. of the Native population.

That meant therefore that the mass of the Natives must eventually be oppressed. Sixty per cent. would be without a home and would necessarily have to be servants without any bargaining power. It was a cheap labour policy and in the long run it would mean oppression.

It was inconsistent that the Nationalists wanted to abolish the representation for Natives in the Assembly and, in the coming election of Native Representatives, to put up Nationalist candidates. On what basis would those candidates seek the Native vote?

The Budget almost completely ignored the Native people. The Minister of Finance had shown that he interpreted things almost entirely in terms of Europeans only.

The Budget did not benefit the poorest sections of the population. The Minister had apparently seen no need to increase the pensions of Natives.

The Budget brought no reduction of Native taxes. Indirect taxes, which were an enormous burden on the poorest sections, were unchanged.

Mrs. Ballinger moved a amendment that the House should decline to go into Committee of supply unless the Government included Natives in the proposed

scheme for social pensions and extended the special cost of living allowances for civil servants to non-Europeans, including Natives, and announced plans to check the spread and counter the ravages of poverty among the Native population and to build up the social and economic level of the Native people.

Mr. D. M. Buchanan (Nat. Rep. Transkei), seconding Mrs. Ballinger's amendment, said the

SEGREGATION ON TRAINS IN CAPE TOWN

THE Minister of Transport (Mr. Paul Sauer) at a Press Conference in Cape Town said that the system of segregation on Cape suburban trains which has been introduced on Monday was in accordance with the long-felt desire of a large majority of the people using the suburban trains. Similar proposals had been put forward in Parliament by Mr. P.

Budget was largely recognised outside the House as a rich man's budget.

The Prime Minister, in his definition of apartheid had spoken justice, reasonableness and Christian principles, but these were not to be seen in the lack of provision of increased pensions for Natives. Thousands of Natives were incorporated into city life, but no provision for housing was made for them.

Later, it was found that people were deliberately breaking the regulations, they might be treated more severely.

Mr. Sauer explained that only a certain number of first-class coaches in each train would be reserved for Europeans, the proportion depending on the traffic. Europeans would have the choice either of the reserved

rate sections for non-Europeans in buses would be considered. It was already the practice in country districts.

Section 1 (6) of the Railways and Harbours Regulation, Control and Management Act, 1916, empowers the Railway Administration to make regulations for "the reservation of railway premises (including conveniences), or of any railway coach, or of any portion thereof, for the exclusive use of natives or females, persons of particular race, or different classes of persons or Natives, and the restriction of any such person to the use of the premises, coach, or portion thereof so reserved."

Under Section 36 (b) of the same Act, any person who, "knowing or being in a position to know that a railway coach, compartment, or other place is reserved by the Administration for the exclusive use of males or females, or persons of particular races, or different classes of persons, or Natives, enters that coach, compartment, or other place in contravention of a regulation and without lawful excuse, or having so entered remains therein after having been desired by a servant to leave it," is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a maximum fine of £20 or three months' imprisonment, or both.

"Only An Experiment"

Mr. H. A. Gregorowski, system manager of the Cape Western System, said that in an emergency Europeans might have to use unlabelled coaches, as there were not reserved for anyone in particular.

In answer to a question as to how the new railway policy applied the policy of "apartheid," the Minister said the present expedient was only an experiment, and would have to be tested in the light of future experience.

Any European entering an unlabelled carriage would not be liable to prosecution but a non-European entering a compartment labelled "Europeans only" would be liable to the penalty prescribed by law.

Appeal To Citizens

In connection with the new ruling, trade unions in the Cape Peninsula, including the Sweet Workers' Union, the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Chemical and Allied Workers' Union, the Cape Furniture Workers' Union and the National Union of Distributive Workers are issuing a joint appeal to the citizens of Cape Town to reject the move of segregation on the railways, and to protect the tradition presently exercised in Cape Town.

The Western Province Local Committee of the South African Trades and Labour Council held a special meeting to discuss segregation on the railways.

GOVERNMENT'S APARTHEID POLICY

THE Cabinet has reached a decision about the implementation of its "apartheid" policy. The short-term steps already decided on are:

Apartheid in post offices and other public buildings, which Dr. Dönges, as Minister of Posts, is now dealing with;

Apartheid in trade unions by compelling the Trades and Labour Council to break up all "mixed unions";

Apartheid on the railways, particularly in Cape Town, which is the responsibility of Mr. Paul Sauer, Minister of Transport, and Chairman of the Nationalist Party's original Apartheid Commission;

Apartheid in universities, to which Dr. Siale, Minister of Education, is giving his attention.

Several pro-Nationalist university groups have asked the Minister of Education to receive deputations from their bodies to discuss with him the early implementation of apartheid in universities.

The University of the Witwatersrand and the S.A. University College, Cape Town, will be mainly affected. It is understood that the Minister will shortly make a public statement on this subject, in which he will announce his intention of ending "mixed university education."

He will counsel patience while the Government takes steps to establish a non-European university centre, which will be cited as an indication of the Government's intention not to deprive the non-European population of reasonable opportunities for advancement in their own areas.

V. Pooch two years ago. This showed that the desire for the change was not confined to members of the present Government.

The Government aimed at decreasing racial friction as far as possible, and a partial segregation of races on Peninsula trains, "where conflicts do occur," was one of the means of achieving this aim.

"We have no intention of using strong-arm methods," he said. "If the public at first do not conform to the new regulation, it will be the duty of railway officials to inform them until the system is working smoothly."

coaches or of mixing with first-class non-European passengers.

The system would not apply to the second and third classes.

Questioned by a Press representative Mr. Sauer said he did not think that distinguishing border-line cases would be a serious difficulty.

It was an objection which might be raised in respect of passenger trains throughout the Union.

There were seldom any difficulties of this sort on main-line trains.

Railway buses on Peninsula routes would not yet be affected. The advisability of having sepa-

The Cape District Communist Party will hold a mass meeting at 5 p.m. on the Grand Parade on Sunday to protest against segregation on trains.

Natives' Protest

The introduction of apartheid on the Suburban and Cape Plains railway system is another manifestation of the ideology of white supremacy and the furtherance of the policy of colour oppression, says the African People's Organisation in a statement.

Bombay Premier's Message

The Prime Minister of Bombay Mr. Balasaheb Kher broadcast the following message to Indians overseas on the morning of August 15, the anniversary of India's Independence: "It is exactly one year to-day that we have attained freedom. The last one year was a period of anxiety and chaos, but out of that we are beginning to have glimpses of a bright future for India."

"Our country was for some time shrouded by the clouds of hatred and the Father of our Nation was shot by a madman, but we have again gained our peace and are proceeding steadily to make our India into an ideal Nation."

"You my friends, have a great responsibility on your shoulders, whether you be businessmen, workers or students. Do not forget that each of you is a representative of India. People of the country where you reside will judge India by your thoughts, manners of living and actions."

"Wherever you be, it is your duty to be peace loving good citizens of that country."

"We are celebrating to-day but we do not for a moment forget our brothers and sisters who in another country are fighting for their self-respect and rights. We are always here to help you in your struggle."

"My one and only prayer is, may the Almighty give peace to all."

"Although it is aware that the repatriation of Europeans from non-Europeans on the trains of the Peninsula and the northern suburbs is the culmination of the policy of segregation on the whole system of railway transport, the A.P.O. cannot but deplore and view with the greatest alarm this latest onslaught on one of the few remaining democratic rights of the non-Europeans, the more so since the attack is taking place in the Cape Peninsula—the traditional home and the last bastion

of liberalism.

"It considers that not only is the introduction of segregation on the trains undemocratic and contrary to the principles of the rights of citizenship, but it will cause great inconvenience and hardship on the travelling public of the non-Europeans, who contribute an important contribution towards the S.A.R. and its finances."

"It is convinced that all non-Europeans resent this retrograde step of the Minister of Railways, pandering to the prejudices of white supremacists."

"It furthermore denies that non-Europeans or any race demanded separate travelling facilities. It also denies that travelling in the same coaches with Europeans is a privilege. It considers this to be the right of citizenship."

"The A.P.O. is therefore negotiating with other progressive organisations to devise ways and

means of defeating this segregatory measure, and meanwhile calls on all non-Europeans to render the policy of apartheid on the railways impracticable."

The following resolution was passed at a public meeting in Capetown:—

"This mass meeting, held under the auspices of the India League and five other Indian organisations, strongly condemns the latest segregatory measure introduced by the Government on the Cape Suburban Railways."

"We feel that this policy of 'Apartheid' is against all democratic principles and does not contribute towards bringing about racial peace and harmony in South Africa."

"This meeting, therefore, calls upon the Minister of Transport to reconsider the position and hopes that this obnoxious segregatory measure will not be implemented."

PRIME MINISTER INTRODUCES NEW ASIATIC BILL

THE Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, introduced in the Union House of Assembly last Monday, August 16, a Bill to amend the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1947. The Bill consists of only one page.

The main clause of the Bill simply repeals Sections 40 to 57 of the main Act—that is, the whole of Chapter II under which Indians may have indirect representation in Parliament, and direct representation in the Natal Provincial Council.

The provisions give the Indians representation in Parliament through two Senators and three M.P.s—all European; and in the Natal Provincial Council through two M.L.C.s, who may be non-Europeans.

The franchise is extended to every Indian male who is a Union national at least 21 years old, who has passed the sixth standard, and owns not less than £84 a year, or owns immovable property in the electoral division worth not less than £250.

Though the administration of the Act falls under Dr. T. H. Duggan, as Minister of the Interior, this year's amendment is being piloted by the Prime Minister. This corresponds to the action of the previous Government in committing the handling of the original bill to General Smuts.

According to the political correspondent of the 'Cape Argus,' the Opposition may adopt two possible lines of action. They may allow their Natal members, who have pledged themselves to support

the repeal of Chapter II, to vote freely with the Government; or what is more likely, they may press for the withdrawal of the whole Act.

Those who support the latter course say that the two chapters of the Act were complementary.

Chapter I restricted the right of the Indians to buy land where they pleased, and the compensation offered for this was the form of political representation in Chapter II. To remove the compensation and retain the restrictions on land tenure would, it is said, be "flagrant injustice."

It is suggested that until a new Asiatic Act is framed the land tenure provisions of Chapter I should be "frozen."

There is little doubt, says the correspondent, that repealing the second chapter of the Act is more than a manoeuvre by the Government to discomfort the Opposition.

If the Government did not want to give the Indians the representation offered by the Act they could simply withhold the proclamation putting the chapter into effect as was done by the past Government.

The Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses sent congratulatory messages on Independence Day to the Governor-General and the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan.

Afrikaans Students Want Segregation

A CONFERENCE at Bloemfontein of Afrikaans students from all over the Union during the week end expressed itself in favour of the application of segregation in the academic sphere, and called on the Government to put a stop to prevailing conditions in South African Universities.

The conference maintained that their conditions were contrary to the principles of segregation, and should be obviated by the provision of separate academic facilities for non-Europeans.

It was also decided that an attempt would be made to obviate the lack of appreciation overseas of the Afrikaans students' position by the appointment of Afrikaans students to international congresses.

The conference was attended by representatives of Stellenbosch University, Potchefstroom University College, Pretoria University, College of the Orange Free State, Pretoria Normal College, and Afrikaans students of the Capetown and Witwatersrand Universities.

The new body is an amalgamation of the old Afrikaans Studenten Bond and the Federasie Van Blankie Suid-Afrikaanse Studenten (Federation of White South African Students). The Bond, according to the constitution, is founded on a Christian national basis as embodied in the Afrikaans people's tradition and has no connection with any political party or organisation.

Its aim is to bring together in one organisation all Afrikaans students in the higher education institutions the maintenance of White Christendom against Communism, and furtherance of the common interests of Afrikaans students.

The official language of the Bond will be Afrikaans, the president of the new Bond M. C. V. van der Merwe of Pretoria University on accepting the position, told the conference that the Bond would strive for broad co-operation between all White South African student groups.

In an interview, Mr. J. Dev Morrison, secretary of the Bond, said recent happenings brought to the fore the actual need for an embracing student movement which would represent all Afrikaans students especially since the Afrikaans student had not been happy in the existing National Union of South African Students on account of its liberal colour policy. —Sapa.

PANDIT NEHRU ON WORLD AFFAIRS

ON the eve of the anniversary of India's attainment of Dominion status, the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, gave his views on world affairs.

He said that unless some form of global federation was evolved in which the Americans and Russians could live in peace, the world would eventually "commit suicide."

He called on the big Powers to make a sincere effort to settle disputes instead of "deliberately trying to annoy one another."

Although the danger of war had recently lessened, Pandit Nehru said, the powder keg was still smouldering because the Russians and Americans were not making a real effort to settle their differences.

"Fear of the consequences is the powerful deterrent which averted war this year. I hope the danger will pass next year, too."

Muslim Refugees Join State's Army

IN the Indian Parliament on August 16, Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, said in answer to questions that 4 million Muslims out of 8 million Muslims who went to Hyderabad as refugees have joined the State's Army and Police. The Indian Government is trying to stop such refugees from going to the State. Large numbers of Hindus are leaving the Hyderabad State.

He believed that a world government would be some sort of loose federation based on a psychological change in the minds of the peoples of the world rather than legalities.

Communist activity in Asia, he said, was caused by economic conditions which must be remedied before the Communist threat could be averted.

"Looking back on India's first year of independence, I am despite the setbacks of migrations and strife, optimistic about the future." Although India was beset by inflation and was in a bad economic condition, this soundness was proved by the fact that she had withstood the trials of the past year.

India needed American and other foreign capital to accomplish reconstruction, but wanted it only on terms which would safeguard her economic independence.

"We are thinking of big schemes like the Tennessee Valley Authority, and hope to give contracts for some of these to the United States."

He indicated that he wanted the Japanese economy restored.

"It would be foolish," he said, "to try to suppress a people like the Japanese. It cannot be done and, in any event, would be morally wrong and impractical. In any case, it would delay their recovery and the recovery of Asia. Recovery in Japan on a democratic basis is the only right policy to follow." But, he added, there would have to be adequate guarantees against a resurgence of militarism.

Are We In The Twentieth Century

A correspondent writes from Beira.

A decree has just been published in Lisbon to restore the old law which recognised marriage of under aged couples in Portuguese India. This decree reads as follows:—

"To maintain tradition of the inhabitants in Portuguese India, the Government with the consent of Ecclesiastic Authorities has decided to restore the old law no.

1517 dated 15th March 1926 which permitted marriages of boys aged 14 years and girls 12 years old."

As most of the Christians in Portuguese India are highly religious minded they will not permit such practices. The plan to creep in to disturb peaceful and progressive life which they are now enjoying.

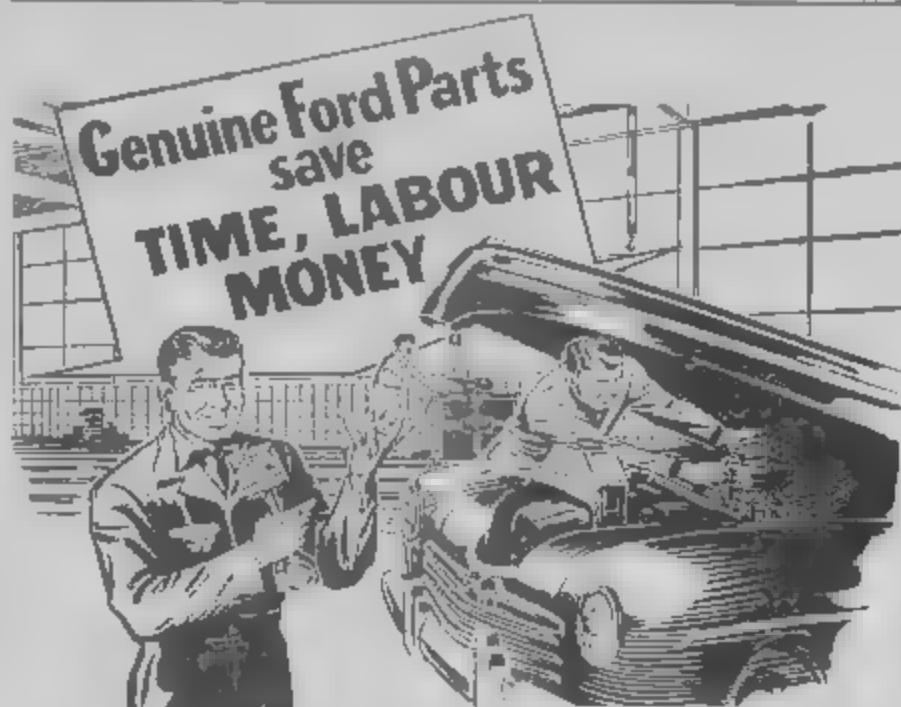
By passing this decree the Government has made a laughing stock of Christians and has shown that India was not a progressive country. The Western people are not aware of the fact that the child marriage was a forceful adoption and that Indian women of all creeds had recently fought against this evil practice. In India, to-day due to the action of women, child marriage is totally abolished.

Portugal has failed to realise that such early marriages ruin physically progress of a country. This decree therefore should be strongly condemned by all progressive people in the world.

The reader should remember that Christians from Portuguese India are linked with the Hindu, Muslims of the rest of India by tradition, race, culture and language though they are under Portuguese flag.

Naicker And Dadoo Elected Delegates To U.N.O.

Dr. G. M. Naicker and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Presidents of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses will represent the South African Indian community in Paris when the General Assembly of the United Nations meets there next month. They were elected by the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the two congresses and this decision was confirmed by Working Committee of the Natal Indian Congress which met in Durban on Sunday August 15. The Working Committee also passed a resolution "strongly deploring" the action of the Government in introducing segregation on the trains in the Cape Peninsula. The resolution expressed the fullest support of the Indian people to the non-European people of the Cape Province and particularly the A. P. O. in their opposition to this racial measure. The Working Committee meeting elected 30 delegates who will participate in the conference of the South African Indian Congress scheduled to take place in Durban on the 17th, 18th and 19th September, 1948.



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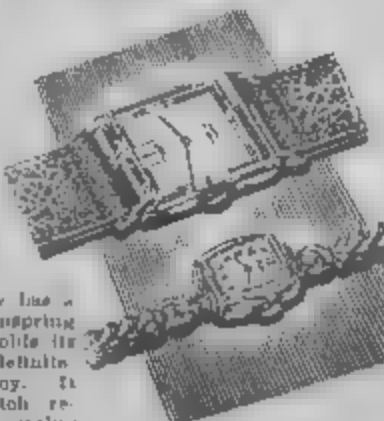
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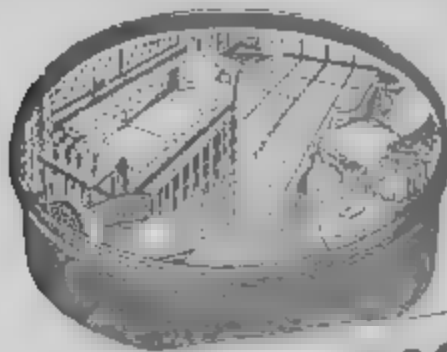
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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 34—Vol. XLVI.

FRIDAY, 27TH AUGUST 1948.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 27TH AUGUST, 1948

Ourselves

THIS is a personal note on ourselves. We seem to be passing through a crisis. Whether we shall survive or fall is in the hands of God. We have had to take disciplinary action against three members of our staff and have had to dispense with their service. They were all members of one family born and bred here and received their training here. Two of them have been on our staff for twenty odd years. They had become indispensable and they were conscious of that fact. We were becoming almost dependant on them, which was contrary to the spirit and the ideal of the founder of the Phoenix Settlement. We are now left with only four members on our paid staff and in bringing out the present issue all the family members, young and old, have had to put their shoulders to the wheel. The paper has yet to be printed and it is hoped that by the grace of God it will be out successfully.

In a way what has happened is all to the good. It has once again revived in us faith and self-confidence. The ideals laid down by Mahatma Gandhi were never to commercialise this paper but to run it as an act of service to the community by people imbued with a spirit of service and self-sacrifice. Ever since Mahatma Gandhi

left South Africa even the remnants left this place to launch out in commercial pursuit and the paper could be run only by means of a paid staff. We have had now and then some coming to settle down in a spirit of service but economic attractions have drawn them away and we have been left to carry on the work ourselves. If this paper is to survive in the spirit in which it was founded South Africa will have to provide the necessary men and women imbued with that spirit. That it has not done so, it must painfully be admitted, is a serious reflection on us all. The time has now come when the public should take a livelier interest in this institution and the paper if it is to be kept alive. At the rate we are going the future does not seem very bright.

Whither, Dr. Malan?

DR MALAN seems to have become more uncomfortable over the motion submitted before the Union House of Assembly by Mr. John Christie, leader of the Labour Party, asking the Government to give an undertaking that it will in no way infringe such democratic rights and freedoms as are at present enjoyed by

the people of South Africa, than he was when General Smuts asked for a clear explanation of the Government's apartheid policy. We fail to see any difference between the two excepting that Mr. Christie's motion was really more to the point. We do not know that General Smuts and Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr were more sparing in their criticism of the Government's policy than was the leader of the Labour Party. Much stress is laid by the Nationalist Party members on the word Christian when they refer to democracy. They always talk of 'Christian Democracy.' In doing so they not only insult both Christianity and Democracy as they stand in the true sense of the terms, because their policy is a violation of both. Democracy needs no qualification. Democracy is democracy and the reverse of it may be termed mobocracy. You may call it Nazism, Fascism or anything else but democracy. The reason why we preferred the policy of the Nationalist Party to that of the United Party was that while the latter was clothed in a saintly garb the former appeared in its stark naked form. Beyond that it was in no wise better. If Dr. Malan wants us and the outside world to see in it what it does not contain he is seeking to achieve the impossible. The most formidable task that faces Mr.

Charles te Water, Union's Ambassador Extraordinary, at large therefore, is to satisfy the outside world as to the justification for the attitude of the South African Government in regard to its non-white, voiceless and voiceless people. On the previous two occasions at the United Nations South Africa was able to sustain itself at least by the sweet words of her Statesmen. Today, we are unhappy to have to say, she stands self-condemned both by her words and deeds. Truth is always bitter and it hurts, and we do not wonder that Mr. Christie's motion has upset Dr. Malan. But the Prime Minister should, without getting upset, either defend his apartheid policy in the light of Mr. Christie's motion or change his attitude in the best interests of South Africa as a whole and in the interests of world peace. It hardly needs to be mentioned that there is a growing sense of frustration among all the oppressed people of South Africa and it is being stimulated by the present policy of the Government which hopelessly lacks both in thought and vision. We can but pray that better counsel may prevail upon the leaders of South Africa that they may lead the country on the path of life, peace and happiness and not on the path of destruction to which it seems to be drifting.

NOTES

Native Postman Has B.A. Degree—A Shock To The Guardians

Alfred Ephraim Mainzing, a Native post boy here, is a Bachelor of Arts. Born in Natal, he grew up on a farm, where he eventually became the owner of a small piece of land and some cattle. After passing his Junior Certificate examination at Edenburg, Natal, he matriculated at Lovedale College. He then entered the postal service, but continued his studies, and also persevered with his music, being a good pianist. It was his doing a pianist which resulted in his going overseas shortly before the war with a Native concert party. Returning to the Union, he sold his ground and cattle, and then went to Cambridge University, where he took his degree.

The Harpersburgh correspondent of the 'Sunday Times' gives prominence to the above news item. There is nothing very wonderful about it. Such cases are being multiplied in their hundreds, if not thousands, as indeed they should. In the natural course it would be a matter for pride but perhaps it came as a painful surprise and a shock to the self-appointed 'guardians' who see in them the danger of the wards soon wishing to dispense with their service.

Mr. Hofmeyr's Solution To Native Problem

The Nationalist Government's apartheid policy was merely a cloak for oppression, said Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.P., addressing a meeting in Capetown last week. Natives in the towns, he said, were being educated, not only in the schools, but by contact with the white man and white civilization. As they became more educated, they were apt to ask for more rights and privileges. It was getting more difficult to meet these requests. It might have been possible to remove the Native from urban areas 50 years ago, but it was impossible to-day. The only solution to the Native problem, Mr. Hofmeyr said, was to promote Native development and teach the Natives to play their part in building up the common welfare of South Africa. This meant improved housing to enable the urban Native to live a decent family life. Decent social and health services should be provided for Natives, together with an adequate education, making the Native more efficient. This would also help to stem the rising tide of Native juvenile delinquency. This is the only wise, just and safe policy to pursue with the Natives. Total oppression of

the Natives was unfeasible. Mr. Havenga's Budget did not provide enough for adequate social services for Natives. Mr. Hofmeyr rejected also the other extreme policy of full equality between Native and European. He had often been represented as supporting that policy, but the Nationalists had not been able to point to a single statement of his where he had supported it. He believed that this policy would lead to strife, demonstrations of race hatred and would never be in the best interests of South Africa.

The Extent To Which Apartheid Goes

The South African National Council for the Blind had been informed by the Minister of Finance, Mr. N. M. Havenga, that the concessions to blind persons mentioned in his Budget speech, did not extend to blind Asiatics and Natives, said Mr. D. J. van

Mr. R. T. CHARI ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

THE following speech was delivered by Mr. R. T. Chari, the new Secretary of the High Commissioner for India, at the first anniversary of India's independence, celebrated in Capetown on August 15.

This first anniversary of our independence is naturally a day for solemn celebration and dedication to Indians whether at home or abroad. But no less is it a day of rejoicing even to nationals of other countries who animated by spiritual and moral affinities or cultural religious and racial ties have aided, may contribute in no small measure, to the progress of India to full freedom. Let us not forget the long array of distinguished names from Macaulay to Mountbatten, associated with the march of India to that freedom. Irrespective of race and country all these, the world over, who believe in freedom and democratic liberty for all will find cause for rejoicing with India on this day.

The past year has been one of trouble and sorrow for the people of India. There was first the unrelenting misery of uprooted humanity trekking to security, there were difficulties of transport, shortages of food and the necessities of life and civil disturbances to be overcome by an administrative machinery seriously weakened during the war years. The shadow of death by assassination which deprived India of the beloved Father of the Nation, and the world of a unique moral force, still lies heavily upon us. But the Government and people of India have withstood

Wyk, the organising secretary of the Council.

'Manchester Guardian' Criticises Malan Government

Criticising the Union Government's action in introducing the Bill to amend the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946, the 'Manchester Guardian' writes: "The measure is the more shocking as no reference was made to it in the Governor-General's speech from the Throne, outlining plans for the session and delivered barely a week before." The paper continues: "It is inordinately regrettable that the Government have not so far corrected these Parliamentary errors under the 14-year-old franchise adds: "But there is no doubt about taking them away, especially as the Government have a responsibility of relieving the burden of the debt which the Government are now taking them away, especially as the Government have a responsibility of relieving the burden of the debt which the Government are now taking them away, especially as the Government have a responsibility of relieving the burden of the debt which the Government are now taking them away."

the Indian States and the democratisation of their administration India to-day has achieved a unity unknown to our previous history. For the first time a codification of Hindu law is being attempted through the Hindu Code Bill which will not only bring Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains under a common law, but also bestow new privileges on women, in line with the laws in other progressive countries and introduce monogamy as a rule of law. A detailed scheme of social education has been worked out whose ambitious target is 50 per cent literacy within a period of three years.

These details I have given show not only the progress which India has made during the last year, but also the ideals which she has set herself, the ideal of freedom, equality and peaceful progress of her people. She desires nothing for her people which she does not also desire for the masses of all the nations of the world. This ideal is embodied in her National Flag in the symbol of Ashoka's Dharma Chakra, the wheel of righteousness; in justice and peace among all men, which is hallowed in her history.

Therefore in the fullest confidence and friendship I invite not only all of you assembled here to-day but also all the peoples and races that inhabit the Union of South Africa to rejoice with India this day and to wish her well up the second year of her freedom. —Jai Hind.

Port Shepstone

The first anniversary of India's independence was celebrated by the Port Shepstone Hindu Dharma Sabha on Sunday, August 15, in the open opposite Messrs. Audan Bros. Store. A Hindu ceremony was performed by Pandit Ishwar Singh. The National flag was hoisted. Tributes were paid to Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders for their gallant and heroic struggle in the cause of India's freedom. Inspiring speeches were made on the significance of the occasion by several speakers. Fruits and light refreshments were served.

Ladysmith

The first anniversary of India's independence was celebrated in Ladysmith at the Sanatan Dharma Sabha grounds under the chairmanship of Mr. Vishal Lal. After the usual flag hoisting and national songs speeches to mark the occasion were made by several speakers. After the termination of the function sweets were distributed to all those present.

MR. TE WATER'S MISSION ABROAD

MR. CHARLES TE WATER, the Union's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, sailed for London on Friday August 20 in the Pretoria Castle. In a Press conference before sailing Mr. te Water said:

"In my Mission I am charged with the duty of strengthening our relations with other Govern-

ments. Mr. L. B. Gerlache, of the Department of External Affairs, his adviser, and Miss M. P. Burnside, his personal assistant, who was his secretary in London for 10 years.

"The successful accomplishment of this considerable task calls for the approval and support of public opinion," said Mr. te Water. "That approbation I venture to seek, and believe will be given me because of the importance of my mission and perhaps because my long period of political inactivity has freed me from party antagonisms."

He hoped the South African Press realised that its voice went to the ends of the earth. "As long as it is the authentic voice of South Africa I welcome that." By authenticity he meant a voice which attempted to explain South Africa to the world in good faith.

"Our good name is, I am sure, as much in your safe keeping as I hope it will be discovered presently to be in mine. I hope for a profitable co-operation with the Press of this country in my mission."

Asked whether he would feel justified in assuring other countries that the change of government would mean no retreat from democracy, he said: "I shall have

no hesitation in assuring people overseas that this Government and previous Governments, have the welfare of this country at heart, that they are concerned not to act so that they will incur its good name and prosperity, that their policies are democratic and intended to be collaborative, and that they intend to find themselves a proper place in the pattern of democratic nations."

In reply to the question, "How will you explain the Prime Minister's intention of taking away the franchise from Indians and Natives and reducing the franchise of Coloured people?" he said that he was at present not as well informed as he should be. On the journey to London he would study his files thoroughly. He thought South Africa would be called on to answer this question at the United Nations meeting. The delegation would be thoroughly briefed for its reply.

To a question whether he was likely to go to Moscow Mr. te Water said: "Nothing would please me more. I will certainly try to see whether I can go there."

To a question whether he would go to India he said: "That is asking me to look a little too far into the future. I will have the opportunity in London and Paris of meeting the representatives of Pakistan and India. Perhaps they will invite me."

ing with South Africa's complex society on separate lines is one thing; making it increasingly complex by the creation of ever more watertight sub-divisions is quite another. Under a Nationalist regime South Africa may be able to stand before the bar of world opinion and defend Nationalist actions. She may be able to return a satisfactory reply to her own conscience. But the Nationalists have still to prove that their "solution" is workable.

The 'Sunday Express'

The 'Sunday Express' makes the following comment:

Dr. Malan's action, will endear him to nobody except the extreme racialists on his own side. The straightforward course was to repeal both parts of the Asiatic legislation and restore the status quo, since the Indians in South Africa have very foolishly, refused to co-operate one way or the other. It would then be possible to review the whole question of Indian penetration into the African continent, preferably in consultation with other governments further north where the problem is as pressing as it is in Natal.

Correction

In our last week's issue on page 235 in the first column under the caption "Muslim Refugees Join State's Army" it was stated that the Deputy Prime Minister in answer to questions said that 4 million Muslims out of eight million who went to Hyderabad as refugees have joined the State's Army and Police. It should have read 4 lacs out of 8 lacs.

S.A. PRESS COMMENTS ON NEW ASIATIC BILL

The 'Star'

COMMENTING on Dr. Malan's action in introducing the Asiatic Bill 'The Star' (Johannesburg) writes:

This is not likely to strengthen friendly relations between this country and India; and if the Indians in South Africa felt an injustice before, they will feel it so doubly in future. The outcome may, of course, be partly their own fault. They objected strenuously to the Asiatic Act, and some of them illegally defied it. Having spurned half a loaf, they are now to get no bread; and some people may think it serves them right. But there is no answer to the problem represented by the presence of an Indian community in South Africa. Are the Nationalist proposals a solution?

In the debate preceding the Act which Dr. Malan now intends to amend, General Smuts explained that the Indians in the Broome Commission favoured a common franchise, but a loaded one to allay the fears of Europeans in Natal. But, "I think South Africa has decided," said General Smuts, "once for all that our

complex society will be dealt with on separate lines. We have done it in the case of the Natives, and we are going to do it in the case of the Indians." This is, of course, itself a form of apartheid. But Dr. Malan now takes a different and a harsher view. The Indians are, apparently, to get no representation of any sort; and the Nationalists have threatened to deprive the Natives as well of the form of representation they now have. It is obvious that a very great departure from previous principles is contemplated.

It is by now an old complaint, though a true one, that while the Nationalists talk much of apartheid, they have never yet defined it. The Indian proposals raise the question again, in a still more acute form. What is apartheid in so far as the Indians are concerned? Are they never to have any sort of representation?

And is it the Nationalist intention to deprive certain sections of the community of any form of vote forever, and solely on the ground of colour? Other rights are also involved, for apartheid has an economic as well as a political and social aspect. Deal-

GOODWILL MESSAGES FROM PAKISTAN AND INDIA

THE following messages received by the Natal and the Transvaal Indian Congresses from the Prime Minister of Pakistan and India respectively in reply to good wishes sent to them on the first anniversary of independence:

"Greatly appreciate your expression of goodwill and best wishes for Pakistan. Pakistan will ever strive for peace and tranquility in all parts of the globe."

"I am most grateful for your kind message on the anniversary of India's Independence. We have many difficult tasks ahead of us, but are confident that the energy and determination of our people will accomplish whatever we undertake. We are constantly conscious of the aspiration and needs of Indians abroad."

Labour Party Leader's Motion Spurned By Dr. Malan

THE Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, in the Union House of Assembly on Tuesday spurned the following motion by Mr. John Christie, leader of the Labour Party, and said, "I regard it as a veiled accusation against this side of the House and we will have no other course than to reject it."

"That in the opinion of this House, the Government should give an undertaking that it will in no way infringe such democratic rights and freedoms as are at present enjoyed by the people of South Africa, more especially:—

(a) "The freedom of ministers of religion to teach whatever their consciences may dictate;

(b) "The freedom of workers to organise themselves and fully to control their own organisations;

(c) "The freedom of the Press to report news and to comment on that news;

(d) "The freedom of educational institutions from political influences, and further that it will take all necessary steps—

(i) "To prevent this country from falling into an economic depression;

(ii) "To achieve and maintain full employment at equitable rates of pay for all workers;

(iii) "To introduce services which will give all citizens complete social security."

[The above is referred to in our leading article.—Ed.]

ments and peoples, of inviting their understanding of our problems, of trying to remove misapprehensions and misunderstandings regarding the policies of our Government, and of seeking their friendship.

"It is the intention that I and my staff shall remain mobile to move at a moment's notice wherever the exigencies of our external service may call me."

Mr. te Water has taken with

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

BADGE continued to give his evidence on July 22. He said that before going to Birla House, Karkare and Gopal Godse had taken with them one hand-grenade each. He had taken with him the revolver and the hand-grenade which had been given to him.

He added "From Marina Hotel we went in a taxi to the Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan. Myself and Gopal Godse got down there and went to the hall where Gopal Godse had kept the bag given to him earlier by Karkare. Both of us then came and got into the car which left for Birla House.

"We went to the rear side of Birla House near the chawl by the same road shown to us in the morning by Apte. The car was parked on the left side of the circular space near the wall. After we had gone two or three paces, we met Madanlal.

"All the five of us then went to the gate leading to the chawl. Apte asked Madanlal if he was ready. Madanlal replied: 'I am ready. I have placed the gun-cotton slab near the wall. The only thing remains to be done is to ignite it'."

Badge continued: "Apte said to Madanlal that as soon as he got the signal it should be ignited with a match-stick."

Mr. Daphtary: Where were you all when the conversation took place?

Badge "This conversation took place when we were going to the gate leading to the servants' quarters. When we reached the gate I saw Karkare coming from the prayer ground and going to the room which was shown to me by Apte in the morning and talking to someone there. He saw us and told Apte that Mahatma Gandhi had come and the prayer had commenced. Karkare also told Apte that he had made arrangements with the occupants of the room to allow some one to enter the room posing as a photographer. Apte then asked me to go to the room posing as a photographer with the bag which I carried with me. When Apte said this to me Nathuram Godse arrived.

"I was frightened because I thought if I entered the room and something happened, I would be trapped. Nathuram Godse and I should not be frightened, for arrangements had been made for all to escape. Godse, Apte and Karkare then went on pressing me to enter the room and told me not to be frightened. I said that instead of striking from behind the room, I would prefer to go in front of Mahatma Gandhi at the prayer meeting.

and strike him there. Godse and Apte accepted the suggestion and said: 'It is alright'."

"I signalled to the taxi. The others remained near the chawl. I took out my revolver and asked Shankar to take out his. I wrapped the revolvers with a towel, put them in the bag, and left the bag in the taxi. I also handed over the hand-grenade I had with me to Shankar and asked him not to do anything with the hand-grenades unless I gave him the signal.

"We then went to the place where the others were talking. I put my hands in the pockets of my 'Nehru shirt' in order to impress Godse and Apte that I was ready for the job. When I came near, Apte asked me if I was ready. I told him I was ready and went towards the prayer ground.

"Shankar was with me. At the same time I saw Apte placing his hand on the back of Madanlal and say, 'Chalo.' Madanlal went to the place where he had kept the slab. We were also followed by Karkare to the prayer ground.

"There was a crowd at the prayer meeting. Mahatma Gandhi was sitting there. Nearly 30 women were also there nearby. I was standing about 20 paces from Mahatma Gandhi in his right of Karkare.

"About three or four minutes later, there was a big explosion and white smoke was seen coming from the left-hand side of Mahatma Gandhi. Seven persons ran in that direction. Mahatma Gandhi was peaceful and signalled the crowd to keep quiet. I did not do anything. The crowd remained peaceful.

"About seven minutes later, I saw Madanlal being led away in custody towards a police tent. Later I saw five persons, presumably policemen, coming towards me. I thought Madanlal might be with them and he might point me out. So with a view to hiding my face I turned away. But when I found that they were not coming towards me, I made a signal to Shankar and left the prayer ground along with ten or 12 persons. We got mixed up in that crowd and left by the main gate of Birla House by the side of the police tent.

"I did not notice Nathuram Godse, Gopal Godse or Apte at the prayer ground, nor did I know what happened to Karkare.

"After coming out of Birla

House we engaged a tonga and came straight to the Hindu Mahasabha Office. I asked Shankar to throw the hand-grenades into the jungle. As Shankar went out, I began packing up. In the meantime, Nathuram Godse and Apte came back and Apte asked me as to what had happened. I scolded them and asked them to get out. Shankar also came back at the same time. I remembered about the bag kept in the cupboard by Gopal Godse. I asked Shankar to throw away the contents of that bag also. When Shankar came back, both of us went out and engaged a tonga near Birla Mandir and went to the New Delhi station. I purchased two third class tickets for Bombay. It was time for a train. But as we entered the station, I noticed some commotion there and also heard some policemen moving about. I got suspicious, engaged another tonga and came to Delhi Junction. We took a train for Bombay at 9-30 p.m. on the same day from Delhi. We got down at Kalyan at 11-30 a.m. on January 22 and reached Poona by the next train at 4-30 p.m. the same day."

Badge further stated that he was arrested on January 31 at 5-30 or 6 p.m.

Replying to further questions,

Badge said: "It is true that 'Tatyasaheb' Savarkar is a poet and a very good writer in Marathi. In fact, I cannot think of anybody in the whole of India who can compete with 'Tatyasaheb' Savarkar in oratory in Marathi and English. I regard him to be not only the leader of the Hindu community, but God incarnate ('Devata'). He has been President of the Hindu Mahasabha for six years. 'Tatyasaheb' Savarkar has written books in English and in Marathi. I have read books written by him in Marathi. In my estimation, nobody else has reached 'Tatyasaheb' Savarkar's standard.

"I used to sell books written by him and also books written by others on the same ideology."

Badge added hastily, amidst laughter: "I have never sold Congress books."

It is also learnt that N. V. Godse the alleged assassin of Mahatma Gandhi has requested that he should be supplied with detective story books. The request has been acceded to and the police are now looking about for Sherlock Holmes and Sexton Blake series.

Reporters covering the Gandhi murder trial have been approached to help the police in finding the kind of literature that Godse has asked for.

(To be Continued)

APARTHEID ON TRAINS

COMMENTING on the Government's action in introducing separate coaches for Europeans only on the suburban trains in Capetown, the 'Cape Argus' writes:—This departure from the old tradition of the Cape is bad in principle and is to be regretted in so far as it carries a step further the Government's determination to reduce the non-European to the status of second-class human beings. Whether the system of segregation be right or wrong, however, it appears doubtful if it will be practicable. Not only are there many Southern Europeans who are as dark as light-skinned Coloured persons and many Coloured persons who are as light as dark-skinned Europeans, but even in old-established South African families there turn

up now and then people of dark complexion, some of whom have had distinguished careers, and many of whom are among the keenest advocates of apartheid. How is the ticket-collector to decide in such cases? Is everyone to carry a badge proclaiming his race, as the Jews had to do under Hitler's rule? Or is everyone to be asked to undergo a blood-test in the booking-office? These are some of the difficulties which will arise under the new system. It might be added that if this system is introduced on trains, sooner or later it will have to be applied to other forms of transport, where it will lead to even greater difficulties. It may be well that the experiment should be tried, but it appears unlikely that it can be made to succeed.

NUSAS TAKE A FIRM STAND AGAINST GOVERNMENT'S APARTHEID POLICY

THE executive of the National Union of South African Students, representing 12,000 members, is deeply perturbed at the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament about the introduction of apartheid at universities, says a statement issued by the executive.

"For years," it states, "NUSAS has held to the principle of academic non-segregation as practiced at the Witwatersrand and Capetown universities. This principle is based on several facts.

"Firstly, there is a substantial danger that academic segregation would provide non-Europeans with markedly inferior facilities. This contention is more than a vague possibility and we must be on our guard against a repetition in South South Africa of what has happened elsewhere in the world.

"Secondly, NUSAS holds that there can be no better place for the learning of racial harmony than in the university, with its tradition of tolerance and co-operative pursuit of truth. The NUSAS executive is not aware of the intolerable situation of friction and unpleasant relationship between European and non-European, which the Prime Minister stated has arisen in the past few years in the 'mixed' universities.

"On the contrary, it is our contention that the system of academic equality at the Witwatersrand University and the University of Capetown has worked remarkably well and has done much to foster inter-racial tolerance and understanding."

NUSAS also reports that Rhodes University College has voted in a secret ballot to re-affiliate to it. Last week, Natal Training College, Maritzburg, voted for re-affiliation.

With these two students' representative councils, there are now eight universities and colleges fully affiliated to NUSAS, while three others have given notice of their intention to secede at the end of two years.

NUSAS adds that it is the largest student organisation of its kind in South Africa.

"If Afrikaans-speaking universities cannot subscribe to the principle of academic non-segregation there can be no co-operation between English and Afrikaans-speaking universities," said Mr. P. V. Tobias, president of NUSAS at a meeting of students at the University of the Witwatersrand.

A resolution expressing full support for NUSAS and for the principle of national student unity embodied in its constitution was passed by 211 votes to 20.

Mr. Tobias said that NUSAS had always stood for unity between English and Afrikaans-speaking universities but was not prepared to sacrifice its ideals. The English-speaking universities had always kept the door open for unity, but Afrikaans speaking universities had so far shown no willingness to co-operate. The formation of the new Afrikaans Students' Bond had shown the line they were taking.

The action of Capetown University in seceding from NUSAS because they wanted a truly representative union had been hasty and precipitate.

"They have thrown overboard

NUSAS with all its means and all it has achieved, on the off-chance that co-operation with Afrikaans universities may be possible.

NUSAS was undergoing a crisis, but as future was assured if members stood firm by the ideals they had always held dear. The organisation would carry on with its work and would take a firm stand against the academic segregation proposed by the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan.

The general atmosphere in South Africa to-day had made members waver in their support for NUSAS, some students even asking whether the organisation would not be banned soon. He was not so pessimistic. NUSAS was still the largest student organisation of its kind in South Africa, with eight affiliated colleges.

INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGES TO INDIA

The following two messages were sent by Lord Mountbatten of Burma and Lady Mountbatten to India on August 15, the first anniversary of India's Independence:—

Lord Mountbatten

"My wife and I will never forget the 15th of August, 1947, and always on this anniversary day we shall live again amidst memorable scenes of joy that marked last year's celebrations in New Delhi of India's achievement of complete independence. The first year has not been an easy one, and during it India has passed through many trials and suffered a great sorrow. But she has stood the test, and I am confident that each year will record her steady development as a great, independent nation, playing a helpful part towards the peaceful progress of the world. Jai Hind."

Lady Mountbatten

"India and her great people will be much in my thoughts on the 15th of August, the first anniversary of her independence, and the Mountbattens will think of her and of them with affection, gratitude and pride. Last year in Delhi we joined in the celebrations and rejoicings, which marked the date of India's complete freedom. This year my husband, our daughter and I will celebrate it in London with Indians and friends of India."

"This anniversary is bound to be tinged with sadness—how could it be otherwise with Gandhi no longer in our midst, although in spirit he will always be there to sustain and inspire us.

"The last twelve months have been a testing time for India and for her leaders and people. There have been problems of an appalling magnitude and there have

been much tragedy, sorrow and disappointment. But under the magnificent leadership of her great Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and due to the unceasing love and courage of her people, India has risen to every challenge, and should feel justly proud of the remarkable manner in which she has weathered the storms and of the real progress already achieved.

"In spite of the many grave perils and problems which will beset her, India will, I know, go forward with firm determination and courage, and with unwavering faith in the cause of progress and justice. I am confident she will come through triumphant.—Jai Hind."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

The following is the text of the message to India given by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, on the first anniversary of India's Independence:

"To-day, the first anniversary of our freedom, marks a definite stage in our progress; we can afford to look before and after. We recall to our mind the warmth and feeling with which we ushered in our independence this day last year, the tragedies and sorrows which followed immediately in its wake, the stream of destitute, ill-clad and ill-equipped refugees which flowed into India from across the Frontier, the serious threat to our existence and stability which we had to meet inside our borders, the inhuman atrocities and bestialities perpetrated by barbaric hordes from a neighbouring country on the happy and peaceful Valley of Kashmir, the barbarities inflicted on our border by Fascist hands of Razakars supported by the armed forces of Hyderabad and a host

of other difficult and complex problems with which we had to grapple in the very first year of our liberation from the foreign yoke.

Prophets were not wanting, who preached utter confusion and collapse; we had to contend with obstructionists and saboteurs among our own countrymen. We had to avert the evil eye cast on us from far and near. Nevertheless, with the solid support of our people, the unremitting labour of our enthusiastic workers and the generous and ungrudging help of our friends abroad, we have managed to surmount these threats to the very foundations of our freedom. Preoccupied with these challenges, we could not naturally devote ourselves wholeheartedly to the many economic and social problems which demanded urgent solution and; believe me, nothing but whole-hearted devotion could have brought about a firm and resolute solution. We looked in vain for a breathing time, when we could turn our thoughts to the many arts of peace which could have brought us victories "no less renowned than those of war."

I am also painfully aware that our hearts are still afflicted with the wounds inflicted on us during last year. We have at our hands millions of refugees who rightly demand early rehabilitation and "a place under the sun." We have foreign borders still on the fair and of Jammu and Kashmir. We have not yet got out of the unsettling effect which the blow of partition dealt us. The greatest tragedy of the year—the assassination of the Father of the Nation still rules our hearts; we sorely miss the kindly light that led us through many a period of gloom. On the economic front, we are still paying the penalty of complacency, lack of co-ordinated efforts and the absence of that industrial peace between employers and employees which was the need of the hour and the irresistible call of patriotism and public duty.

During the last year, therefore, we have fulfilled some hopes and belied many fears. On the whole, we have come out on top of the many difficulties which lay in our path. Undoubtedly our mind even now is filled with both past regrets and future fears, but I can say with confidence that if the spirit with which we won and ushered in our independence continues to guide us, if the indomitable courage and stern determination with which we combated the many dangers that threatened us in our very first year of self-rule continue to govern us and if we behave with soldierly discipline and sense of responsibility, we have simple justification for sober optimism.

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Our Divali Special Number

We hope to publish our Divali Special Number as usual this year.

We invite our various readers to kindly send their contributions and pictures of interest as soon as possible. All the material must be in our hands by September 15. The following are our advertisement rates for the Special Number :—

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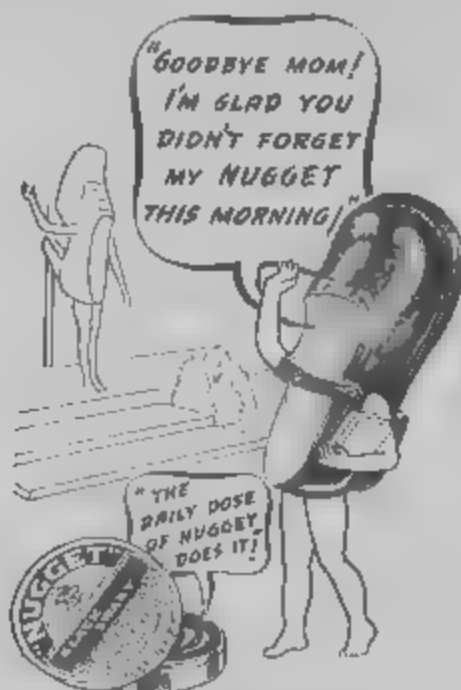
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પબ્લિક ઓપીનિયન ડોસ્
સને ૧૬-૩-૧૯૪૮.

પુસ્તક ૪૬ મું—અંક ૩૪

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૭ જાન્યુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮.

પ્રકાશક નંબર ૬ પૃષ્ઠી

"ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન"

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૭ જાન્યુઆરી, ૧૯૪૮

અમે પાતે

અમારે પોતાને વિષે શો કુદરતી કહેવાનો પ્રયત્ન ઉપરિચિત થયો છે, અમે કોટ્ટરીમાંથી પસાર થઈ રહ્યા છીએ, તેમાંથી કોઠાર થા ધંધરના કાચમાં છે અમારા સ્ટાફના તથા વાઈસોને શિસ્ત બંધના કારણે તોટરીપરથી રત્ન આપવી પડી છે, તેથી એકજ કુટુંબના માણસો હતા અને આજ રથમાં જનરલ અને કોલોનલ હતા અને તાલીમ પાડ્યા હતા, તેમાંના બે વીસ વર્ષથી નોકરી કરી રહ્યા હતા, તેઓ અનિવાર્ય થઈ પડ્યા હતા અને એ હકીકતનું તેઓને ખાતર હતું, અમારે લગભગ તેઓના પર નિર્ભર થઈ રહેલું પડતું હતું જે વસ્તુ પ્રીતીકસ સંસ્થાના સ્થાપકની બાવના અને આદર્શથી વિરુદ્ધ હતું, હવે અમારા પગાર દાર સ્ટાફપર ચાર જણજ રહ્યા છે અને આ અહવાડીયાને અંક કાઢવામાં કુટુંબના નાના મોટા સંપત્તિને પરિત્ર કઠાવ્યો પડ્યો છે, હતાં આ લખી રહ્યા છીએ ત્યારે છાપુ તો હજુ ઝપાવાનું બાકી છે, કોલેટ રાખીએ છીએ કે ધંધર કૃપાએ તે નિર્વિધે જાકાર પડી જશે.

એક રીતે જોતાં આ વસ્તુ ખતી ૦- ચોવ્યજ છે, અમારામાં આત્મ વિશ્વાસ અને શક્તિ સ્થાપન કર્યા છે મહારામા માંથીજીવે સ્થાપના આદર મુજબ આ પદને લેવાર નું મધાન બનાવવાનું નહોતું પરંતુ કેમની સેવાના એક કાચું નરીકે સેવાભાવી સોડા દાહાજ તે પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવાનું હતું.

મહાત્મા માંથીજી દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકો હોડી ગયા પાદ જે રકયા

ખડવા હતા તેઓ પણ અદિથી નીકળી જઈ વેપારમાં પડી ગયા અને પત્ર પચારદાર માણસોથી જ પ્રસિદ્ધ કરી શકાયું, અવર નવર કોઈક કોઈક સેવા બાવથી અહિ રહી ગયા પરંતુ આર્થિક આકર્ષણો તેવાઓને અદિથી પાછા ધસવી ગયા અને આ કાચું સલાવવાને અમે એકલા રહ્યા છીએ, આ પત્ર જે બાવનાથી સ્થાપવામાં આવેલું તે બાવનાથી જીવનું સંપત્તિનું હોય તો તેવી બાવનાથી રંગારેલા વાઈસોને દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાએ પેદા કરવા જેઈ એ, નથી કયાં એ અમારે કલુષ કરવું પડે છે આપણા સૌને માટે મંબીરપદો લગજાવક છે, આ સંસ્થા અને આ પત્ર જે જીવન સંપત્તિનું હોય તો હવે એ વખત આવેલા છે કે અમારે કેમ નેમા વધારે જીવન રસ લેવો જોઈએ, જે રીતે કામ ચાલી રહ્યું છે તે તે બિવિધ ઉચ્ચવળ બાવનું નથી.

ડો. મહાન, કયાં જઈ રહ્યા છો?

યુનીયન સરકારની હક્કાવદા પણની નીતી વિષે જન-કસ સમટસે માંગેલા સપ્તદ મુચારાથી ડો. મહાનને સોળ ઉપજ્યો હતા તેના કરતાં વિશેષ દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના લોકો આજે જે સોશ્યાલિસ્ટના હક્ક અને સ્વ-નિર્ધારના આગવી રહ્યા છે તેના સરકાર કોઈ પણ રીતે બંધા કરવા નથી માગતી એવી તેની પાસેથી

ખાતી માંગનારી મજુર પક્ષના નેતા મી. જોન કોટ્ટરીએ યુનીયન ની ધારાસભામાં મુકેલી દરખાસ્ત થી ઉપજ્યો, જખાય છે, અમે એ બન્ને વચ્ચે ફેરા જોઈ શકતા નથી, સિવાયકે, મી. કોટ્ટરી ની દરખાસ્ત વધારે મુદ્દાસરની જખાય છે, મજુર પક્ષના નેતા એ સરકારની નીતીની સીકા કરી છે તે કરતાં જનરલ સમટસ અથવા મી. જે. એચ. હોલ્ડેયરે કંઈ એાછી કરી હોય એમ અમે માનતા નથી, નેશનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટીના સકચે હોલ્ડેયરના સપ્તનો પ્રયોગ કરતાં પ્રીસ્ટી સપ્તપર ખાસ ભાર મુકે છે, તેઓ હમેશાં પ્રીસ્ટી સોશ્યાલિસ્ટની પાત કરે છે, તેમ કરીને હકીકતમાં તેઓ સોશ્યાલિસ્ટ અને પ્રીસ્ટી પર્ગ બન્નેનું અપમાન કરે છે, કારણ તેઓની નીતી બન્નેના બંધ કરવારી છે, સોશ્યાલિસ્ટ (ટેમોક્રસી)ને કરતાં વિશેષજની જરૂર છેજ નહિ, સોશ્યાલિસ્ટ એટલે સોશ્યાલિસ્ટ અને તેનાથી વિલક્ત તે સોશ્યાલિસ્ટ કહેવાય, તેને નાહીવાદ, કે દેશી-રતવાદ અથવા સોશ્યાલિસ્ટ સિવાય બીજા ગમે તે નામે આપાખાવી શકાય.

મુનાઇટેડ પાર્ટીની નીતીના કરતાં નેશનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટીની નીતી અમે વધારે પસંદ કરેલી છે તેનું કારણ માત્ર એજ છે કે મુનાઇટેડ પાર્ટીની નીતીએ સાધુપણનો વિશ્વધારણ કયો છે અમારે નેશનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટીની નીતી તેના શુદ્ધ નવન સ્વરૂપમાં પ્રકટ થઈ છે, એ સિવાય એમાંથી એક વધારે સારી નથી, ડો. મહાન અમને કે બહારની દુનીયાને જે વસ્તુ તેમાં નથી તે વસ્તુ બતાવવા માંગતા હોય તો તેઓ અશક્ય વસ્તુ સાધવા માંગી રહ્યા છે, આવીજ પરદેશ

ખાતે મોકલવામાં આવેલા યુની-યનના અસાધારણ એલચી મી. આલ્ફ ટીલોટરના ઉપદેશદક્ષ આફ્રીકાની સરકારની, મતાધીકાર અને કોઈ પણ જાતનો અવાજ વગરના પોતાના એક કચેર સોડા પ્રત્યેની નીતીનું વાજળીપણું બહારની દુનીયાને કસાવવાની અત્યંત બારે જવાબદારી મુકાઈ આગલા જે પ્રસંગે એ સમુદાયમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાનું રક્ષણ તેના પાલોશ મુત્સદ્દીઓ મધુરવાણીથી કરી શક્યા હતા, આજે તો અમારે સંપેદ કહેવું પડે છે કે વાણી અને વર્તમાનને તે પોતાની મેળેજ દેખિત કહ્યું છે, સત્ય હમેશાં કહ્યું હોય છે અને તે પુષ્ટિ છે, એટલે મી. કોટ્ટરીની દરખાસ્તથી ડો. મહાન જાણણી કહ્યા એમાં અમને અસમે તાલુબી નથી થઈ, પરંતુ થકા પ્રધાને જાણવળ્યા વિના મી. કોટ્ટરીની દરખાસ્તની દ્રષ્ટિએ પોતાની ઇલાચકાપણની નીતીના થા તો બચાવ કરવો જોઈએ અથવા તો અમલ દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના ક્ષિતિને પાતર તેમજ દુનીયાની શાંતિને ખાતર તે બહલવી જોઈએ.

કહેવાની સાચેજ જરૂર રહેતી હોય કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના સમયા કચ્છાયેલા સોડામાં નીરાસા ઉપજ થઈ છે અને સરકારની કાલની નીતી, જેમાં વીચાર અને દુર દેશી બન્નેનો અભાવ છે, તેથી તેમાં કંઈકે થયો છે, એટલી જ આસા રાખવી સ્વી કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના નેતાઓને દેશને જીવન અને જુવ શાંતિના પંથે દેશવાની ઇચ્છ સમર્થિત બને અને કાલ પસકાર્જ જતો બેવડામાં આવે છે એ વિનાશને પંથે લઈ જતાં તેઓને દોકે.

ਘਰੇਲੂ ਰੋਗ

—મહાશ્વર સરકારે કમ્પ્યુટાઇઝેશન સરવે
પાસેના મામલાઓમાં જાણીઓની દરજ્જા
ધારે। આપણે જે અગતે જે કેમ પાસેવો
નેતી તારીખ આપણે છે.

-જામનં જાણનામાં પ્રસાદી થતું જાણેલી
 ૩૧ જન - ૫ ઓક્ટોબર જાણાયે છે કે,
 પીપ્પલાન જામનં વીજાનીકે રાણીનામાં
 અજી જોખના પીપ્પલાન પ્રયોગો રાણી
 રાણાં છે.

—સાંભળો સખત વીરશ્વ યોગા પત્રા
અગાધે કરાવ્યો તો પછી છુટું પાડી
નેત્રો અમલ માત્ર બતાવવામાં આવ્યા
જે, આ તરફ કરાવ્યો પ્રાંતમાં કરાવ્યો
શહેર અંગે કેમને સમાવેશ કરવામાં
આવ્યો છે.

— પાણીના સરકાને નીરોધિતોનો
રાહન અને પુનરોદ્ધતનાની અવધા
કરેલા મરે નામની પાસ રહેતે
એક જગ્યાની અગોરીકા પામે એના
વાચના અગોરીકા અને પાણીના
સરકાને એક સમયની કરી અને તેને
પરીણમે અગોરીકાને પાણીના કામ
કરેલા રહેતો એના અવાજે

—મોરચીમાંના એક વેપારી ગા. શાહ
ની કોલન બીંદ સરકારની જાણી પર
ગામથી મેળાવા પીના પોતાના પીમાના
માં કરાવીયાં કપડાનામાં કિલ્લો હતો
અને પાંચો કરાગો અણગો હતો અને
મેળા દાડ મોળો હોવાનું અણગો હતું

ସ୍ୱାଧୀନତା

મયા અઢારસીવાના બન્નેમાં ૨૩૪ મા
વાનામાં સીજ કઠારમાં 'દોહવા કુંક
બામરો' ના મધાગાલ દેશના જામીન કુત્ર
કે દોહવા મુશ્કેલી-ટમાં નરકાર પંરે
જાવાજી કુત્ર કે નિરસિતો તરફે કમન
'વાદ મેસેલા દર જામ મુશ્કેલીમયો
જ જ સામ રાજમના સરકર મેસે પેલી
આનામાં મેસેલા કામ. તેને 'પરે
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હિસ્તીનનાં બીયાં નવું ૧૯૪૮ નું
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 આવશે.

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41.2

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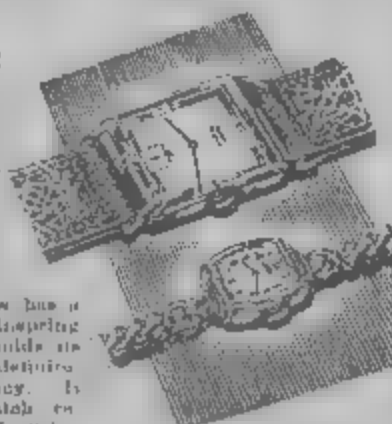
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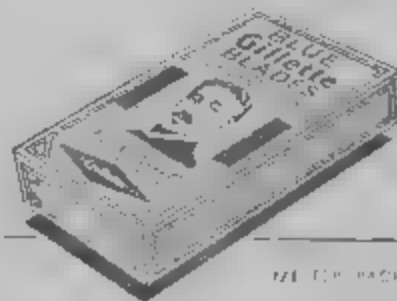
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FRIDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER, 1948

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER 1948

What Are Domestic Affairs?

THE statement made by the Prime Minister, Dr D. F. Malan, in the Union House of Assembly, on the Indian question, in reply to General Smuts, the Leader of the Opposition, though very interesting does not seem to take us anywhere near a solution of that vexed question. What a pity that General Smuts did not adopt the same tone as he has done now, and did not follow the same advice he is now offering South Africa when the question was first taken before U.N. Things would never have reached the dangerous stage to which they have now reached and friendly relations between India and South Africa would have brought great advantages to both the countries. But is there a change of heart and a change of outlook even now? We must be excused for doubting it. Past bitter experiences lead us to do so. That this statement should be made by the Prime Minister at this eleventh hour when the United Nations General Assembly is about to meet creates a suspicion as to whether this is perhaps not a move on the part of the Union Government to prevent the question being brought before U.N. this session and to allow it to hang fire another year. Such a rhyog would not be in the

interests of anybody. The question must be brought to a finality one way or the other. It may be asked quite justifiably by the General Assembly why it has not been done. A satisfactory answer to that has to come from South Africa and not from India.

Position Has Deteriorated

In the twelve months that have passed since the General Assembly last met the position has not improved but it has considerably deteriorated. The only gesture the Union Government have so far made is to seek to render the contentious Asiatic Act harsher and more offensive by removing the seeming concessions contained therein and to present us with the apartheid scheme, which the Government have made no secret of their intention to put into full force. Mr. Eric Louw the Minister of Economic Affairs, who is to lead the Union delegation to U.N. has declared that he will stand there not as the accused but as the accuser. That will be for the General Assembly to judge and the actions of the Government will speak for themselves. The question that will be discussed at U.N. will be one of principle. If details of the grievances of the Indians and of the non Europeans in general were to be en-

umerated they would make quite a formidable list—with thirty thousand odd children among the Indian community alone having no educational facilities with expropriation of land from Indians to be utilized in housing schemes and amenities for Europeans while thousands of Indians have no housing accommodation with avenues of trade and employment being hopelessly restricted in the case of all non Europeans while they are wide open to Europeans with segregation here there and everywhere to make you feel that you are a class of outcasts and a host of other minor prickles which make life for any self-respecting people anything but worth living. If the United Nations Charter of Freedom is to mean anything that great Organisation will have a difficult task to cope with the evils that are perpetrated under the guise of democracy.

Round Table Conference

Let us now examine the statement of Dr. Malan on the holding of a round table conference. India most gratefully appreciates the gesture of the Union Government in so generously condescending to hold a round table conference to discuss the Indian question which they hitherto determinedly refused to do. While that is no doubt a progressive step, the barriers are such as to make it impossible to hold such a conference, and if it is at all held to render it fruitless.

The 1927 conference was fruitful in that it resulted in the Capetown Agreement. That Agreement contained two parts—one dealing with the Assisted Emigration Scheme for those Indians who desired of their own free will, without any compulsion whatsoever, to forego their subsidiary rights in this country and to return to India with the discount provision that they could return to South Africa after one year provided they refunded the passage money and the bonuses they had received. The other part contained an undertaking by the Union Government to those Indians who desired to remain in this country to treat them as part of its permanent population and to afford them every opportunity of upliftment. The first part was purely voluntary for those who were affected by it whilst the other was obligatory for the Union Government. The welfare of Indians who had been an asset to this country when it was in dire need and had given their sweat and blood for it, was a liability of the country. It is futile to blame India for failing to do what was beyond her control. The second round table conference in 1932 was held as a result of another pistol he'd at the head of India in the form of the Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Bill and it ended in both the Governments agreeing to find outlets in other colonies where Indians could be in

duced to go, since India had not sufficient room to hold her own teeming millions. That's borne full out in fact, because no suitable place elsewhere could be found where Indians could be induced to go, though the issue was put on a section of the Indians in the Union who had strongly protested against any scheme to expatriate them, claiming their right to live in this country by virtue of their birth.

Changed Situation

The difference between then and now is that the conference was then held before the Bill was passed whereas now it is proposed to be held after the South-West Africa Bill has already been made by passing the Asiatic Act in the teeth of the opposition of the Indian community of South Africa and of the whole of India. Things have now vastly changed. India was then under British control and had very little say in her own affairs. She is now independent and stands on an equal footing with South Africa. It is in the interests of both to be friendly with one another. Neither an effort to be hostile. Neither India nor the Indians in South Africa are least desirous of indulging in extravagant demands. It would be equally wrong for South Africa to ride the high horse. We are glad to see signs of this fact being appreciated by South Africa and to hear the Prime Minister saying that the Government did not mention that South Africa could or should remain in isolation. Nobody demands of any country committing national suicide to quote the words of Dr. Malan. But in this respect cannot India justifiably charge South Africa of doing that from her? What would her mock and

mission to the Asiatic Act and to South Africa's Indian policy in particular and her apartheid policy in general as declared by the Government amount to but that? We can claim to be as zealous as any South African in safeguarding the honour of this country. The question now hinges on the definition of the term "domestic affairs." If an infringement of human rights of any people is to be tolerated as "domestic affairs" of any country, civilisation would come to an end. No one would be more pleased than we would to see the Indian question settled by moderation and conciliation, but surely that should not be at the cost of one's national honour. It would mean nothing else but national suicide. South Africa should not expect India to sacrifice what she herself is not prepared to under any circumstances.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE DISCUSSED IN UNION PARLIAMENT

IN the Union House of Assembly last Tuesday the Leader of the Opposition (General Smuts) asked what policy would be followed by the Minister of Economic Affairs at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris.

The previous Government had been severely criticised because it had not incorporated South-West Africa. What attitude would be taken at UNO?

"The line I have taken is that we have sufficient power under the existing mandate to exercise administration and to legislate. We have whatever authority we wish, and it is not necessary to go the length of defying UNO and raising these contentious and academic issues unnecessarily," he said.

More Serious Issue

An even more serious issue was the Indian question. The United Nations had consistently opposed what is called discrimination. The present Government had tossed an apple of discord into the scene by the introduction of the amending Bill to repeal Indian representation.

In the past, the Government Party had sought a solution in the direction of expatriating Indians. Would this policy be pursued at UNO? Did the Government plan to get the concurrence of the United Nations and India?

The Prime Minister's statement that it was the policy of the Government to take away the present representations of Natives in Parliament and to change the representation of the Coloured people would create a very difficult situation at UNO.

"These steps will be taken as a defiance of UNO and the policy of non-discrimination which has always been upheld there," said General Smuts.

South Africa was very much dependent and was becoming more and more dependent on the goodwill of the world, and UNO held that the question had international aspects.

"There is one young country that must be very careful about keeping in step with world opinion, and that is South Africa. We know that we have a very exposed and dangerous position. Our position is so weak and so dangerous that we must take extraordinary steps to protect the future of our country and of our civilisation and our race."

"Great countries look for allies. South Africa, more than any of them, is called upon to mind what it is doing. We are all out for South Africa first, but not South Africa alone. We cannot stand alone."

General Smuts and South Africa must avoid actions which would look like defiance.

The Prime Minister: "Then we must commit suicide?"

General Smuts: "No. Your way might be the shortest way to suicide."

General Smuts had said that if South Africa left the United Nations her position would still be worse.

There should be nothing like a challenge on South Africa's part. The idea of attacking would mean an attack on the world, and South Africa, least of all, could afford to do that.

He appealed to the Government not to look upon the question as a purely Party or sectional one.

"This colour question, this Native question, goes very deep in this country, but it goes very deep in the public opinion of the world, too," said General Smuts. "If we do not push this matter too much, they will more and more appreciate our point of view."

He approved of the mission by Mr. de Water, but it would be useless as long as people saw what was being done in South Africa, he said.

Dr. Malan's Reply

There was very little difference between the attitude of this Government and that of the previous Government on the general questions of South-West Africa and the Indian problem, said the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, in the House of Assembly on Tuesday.

The Prime Minister had been asked by the Leader of the Opposition, General Smuts, what policy would be followed by the Minister of Economic Affairs at the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris.

"When the Leader of the Opposition, as Prime Minister, attended one of the meetings of UNO, the present Government, then in opposition, supported him on the question of incorporation of South-West Africa," said Dr. Malan. "When he stood up at UNO as a defender of South Africa against the unjustified attacks of the Indians, we supported him to the utmost. On these two questions we do not differ."

"It is true that there was criticism of the method chosen by General Smuts to handle these matters. For example, he appealed for the incorporation of South-West Africa in the Union."

"Our attitude was—and I think it was justified by subsequent events—that the question of the incorporation of South-West Africa should not have come before UNO. That is a matter which is of domestic concern to South Africa, and if we wish to incorporate South-West Africa we can do so of our own right under mandate."

General Smuts asked what South Africa would do if UNO condemned her again. Where so much depended on conditions which could not be foreseen and what would happen at the General Assembly, where South Africa would make diplomatic contacts with friendly and potentially friendly countries it would not pay to lay our cards on the table in advance. "If that were done, serious damage might result."

"All I ask of General Smuts is: 'Trust us to act in the best interests of South Africa.'"

South Africa would not raise the question of incorporating South-West Africa. There was another way. "We can take our own steps, whether by legislation or otherwise, to bring South-West Africa and the Union together, and make it clearer than ever before that we regard South-West Africa as an integral part of the Union."

"We have the steps in mind. Preparatory steps have been taken. Once they have been carried out—and I hope it will happen in the course of the next session—the position that will arise cannot give cause for any difference of opinion."

India

The last General Assembly of the United Nations had decided to leave it to South Africa and India to make contact with each other and settle their differences.

S.A. Will Stand As Accuser Not As Accused At UNO

—Says Mr. Louw

SPEAKING at a Nationalist Party celebration at Beaufort West (Cape) on August 28, Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs and Mines said:

"South Africa will not stand as the accused at U.N., but as the accuser. I will not stand before them on the defensive, but will attack. Our two great problems there will be South West Africa and the Indian question."

The Nationalist Party had been accused of having fought the general election on "apartheid." This was one of the greatest problems in South Africa and it would take several years to bring the solution to fruition. The Government had made a start with the trains and the new regulations were working smoothly. It was only a foretaste of what was to come.—SAPA.

"We are certainly prepared to do so. We do not object to holding a round-table conference, but definitely not in such a way as to amount to foreign intervention by India or any other country in our domestic affairs." (Government cheers).

Last year the head of the South African delegation (Mr. H. G. Lawrence) had given an assurance that negotiations would be begun. The then Prime Minister (General Smuts) had stated that he was prepared to hold a round table conference on the basis of the conferences held in 1927 and 1932. "If we are to have negotiations with the Government of India on that basis, I would have no objection," said Dr. Malan. "I was at that time the Minister concerned. I drew up the papers that were exchanged with the Government of India. I was chairman of the conference held in Capetown, and I took good care that those talks should not in any way amount to intervention

on the part of another country in our domestic affairs.

"We therefore agreed that we would hold discussions provided we received an assurance in advance that South Africa would benefit. What we could gain was clearly stated in advance as a condition: that India would help us, by way of helping to repatriate Indians from South Africa, to make a considerable reduction, if possible, in the Indian population of South Africa."

The whole negotiations had been based on repatriation with the assistance of the Government of India. South Africa had not had that assistance before.

The agreement had involved the suspension for five years of certain legislation affecting Indians which the then Government of the Union had had in mind. It was agreed that while that agreement was in force India would be notified in advance of any steps affecting Indians to be taken by the Union Government.

The Prime Minister said he did not object as letting the Government of India know that South Africa was prepared to negotiate on that basis. "But it must be clearly understood that it cannot and shall not mean interference in South Africa's domestic affairs."

The Government did not maintain that South Africa could or should remain in isolation. That was self-evident. But it should not be forgotten that the United Nations Charter had clearly laid down that there could not and should not be intervention in the domestic affairs of any member country.

If South Africa were attacked again the world protest even more strongly than in the past.

"The Leader of the Opposition says we must take account of world opinion as it is expressed at UNO. Well and good, but how far are we to go? I asked him by way of interpretation if we must go so far as to commit national suicide—if we must do everything that is demanded of us at UNO."

S.A. Moslems Praised By Dr. Malan

DR D. F. MALAN has sent a Ramadan message to the Moslem community of the Union, praising them for the contribution they have made to the country's progress. His message is addressed to the Ramadan Annual published in Durban.

AUGUST FIFTEENTH

By SHRI KISHORLAL MASHRUWALA
In 'Harijan'

THE twin brothers—Hind and Pakistan—complete their first year to-day. In keeping with the general condition of life and health of children in India, the first year has been precarious to the life and health of both. Both have passed through severest crises, and one cannot still confidently say that they have safely passed the period over. One does not know what the next few years are likely to bring. The fact that the adversity through which the country has passed and is still likely to pass are more man-made than nature-inflicted and brought about by every type of inhuman conduct imaginable adds to the regret. In this beautiful country of ours, so richly endowed with gifts of nature, man alone has been vile and the enemy of his own kind and of everything divine and noble in him. It takes nature thousands of years to produce a man, who attains during the span of his life, as near an approach to Divinity as one can conceive in a mortal being. A kind Providence produced one such among us in our own time. But folly persuaded us to believe that this very divinity was inimical to our social and political ideals, and, if allowed to live longer, the further development of the Divine in him would be a great calamity upon our nation. And so we killed him with our own hands. This event too took place in the first year of these twins.

The two children India and Pakistan have been continuously ill, unhappy and naughty. All heart-rending circumstances depress several of us and incline them towards pessimism. I have received letters on the occasion of the first birthday. They read more like letters of condolence and sympathy rather than cheer and faith. While I sympathize with this lamentation, I do not wish to encourage it. You do not see even a young widowed mother mourning the birth or birthday of her child, even though the child has not kept good health during the year and has, in addition, lost its father. No man wants to look sad on one's birthday, simply because one has not kept well and is still on the sick-bed, and has also suffered heavily during the preceding year. There is something in the phenomenon of birth itself, which one associates with hope, and which, in spite of all the adversities of the preceding year, fills one with the hope of a better life in the future.

The merest to feel cheerful on one's birthday is not meaningless. The birth of a life is the birth of

a fresh hope of achieving something. The birthday reinforces that hope. Life and hope are inseparable from each other. Even a person who has completed a hundred years and is lying helpless in the bed and is not conscious of desires remaining un-realized, on the date of his birth cheers up a little, if for no other reason than that of having succeeded in living upto an old age. He may have been happy or unhappy during his life, and may have even often wished to be relieved of life, still there is an inner urge to feel grateful for having been gifted with longevity. And this manifests itself in a strong or weak manner on the birthday. There is perhaps, an unconscious faith that his mere existence is a boon.

So let us cheer up on this important day of our national life. Let us not look at the world from that side only which is gloomy with dark clouds, but also in the direction from which they disappear.

Like Rama and Bharat, both born almost on the same day, the people of Hind and Pakistan are and ought to be like one soul in two bodies. The accident of having two bodies has brought about their hurting by two different mothers, who are jealous of each other. Consequently the twins have not been as happy as they should have been during the year. Even Rama and Bharat had to pass a period of fourteen unhappy years. The period saw the death of the father, the abduction of Sita and a perilous war with Ravanas. Similarly, it may be that bad times are still in store for us. But that should not allow us to lose hope. Like Rama and Bharat we must resolve to valiantly fight every evil both outside of us as well as inside our own selves remembering that the true way of fighting evil is not the employment of greater evil but of greater good. We may or may not succeed in removing evil from the world. But let us resolve, as Gandhiji did, that it shall not be said of us that we gave up resist-ance to evil in despair, and knelt down before it. Let us not give up the hope that the people of the two Dominions some day will get over all these evils, and enjoy healthy, vigorous and peaceful life, and live with the same concord as Rama and Bharat. May God's grace descend upon us.

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

GODSE and Apie whipped out a knife to stab Mr. L. B. Bhopalkar when, at the Bati session of the Maharashtra Provincial Assembly in Maharashtra held in 1936, he read out a resolution that would work shoulder to shoulder with the Congress and the Nehru Government. It gave the opinion that the Mahasabha should be abolished.

This revelation was made by approver Badge when Mr. L. B. Bhopalkar, counsel for Savarkar, continued his cross-examination at the Gandhi murder trial on July 23.

Witness had met Dixit Maharaj in 1940 or 1941. He was a religious head of a Sanatanist but witness did not know whether he was a Congressite or whether he helped the underground movement of the Congress.

Badge used to go and see Dixit Maharaj because the latter used to buy arms from him. Witness had not questioned Dixit Maharaj as to why he was purchasing arms, but he thought it was for Hindus because he always bought arms whenever there was communal rioting.

Dada Maharaj, brother of Dixit Maharaj, had also bought explosives from witness. Witness knew that Maharaj was a Sanatanist but did not know whether he was a Congressite. Congressites—advocates of non-violence—never bought arms from him.

Badge said that he had taken no licence for dealing in hand grenades and gun-cotton alaba. He had been trafficking in arms and ammunition surreptitiously and against the law for the benefit of the Hindus.

Badge continued to answer questions concerning his relations with the Hindu Mahasabha.

A petition objecting to placing headlines given by some newspapers in Bombay while publishing the proceedings of the Gandhi murder trial, was made by Mr. V. V. Oak, counsel for N. V. Godse, when the special court was resumed after lunch.

The Judge said he would issue the necessary orders asking the papers that no comment should be published.

When the court again resumed trial on July 26 the Special Judge, Mr. Alma Chanan, disclosed that he had received an anonymous letter threatening his life.

The chief prosecuting counsel followed this up by saying that there had been a number of such letters in the past. Mr. Bannerjee, defence counsel, said they had also received such letters.

These disclosures were made while the court was disposing of

an application made by Mr. Bannerjee protesting against the practice of defence counsel being searched while coming into court. Mr. Bannerjee said he was not able to bring law books to court for reference because of this practice.

Mr. Daphary pointed out that certain security measure had been ordered to be taken by the Government of India. One of them was to the effect that the police was to carefully ensure that no unauthorised article such as sticks, knives, hand-grenades etc. were brought into the court's enclosure. These directions had been exercised regularly and without any discrimination against anyone.

"The police are not, as your Honour knows," Mr. Daphary added, "and I am sure, interested in law and, therefore, in law books. What they want to see is merely what a particular receptacle contains. There is nothing unfair in this. In fact, it has been experienced by Mr. Bannerjee personally."

Then Mr. Bhopalkar continued with his cross-examination of the witness, Badge. Mr. Bhopalkar asked Badge if he had taken necessary instructions in the use of hand grenades, gun-cotton, alaba, pistols and other guns. Witness answered that he had taken no regular lessons but those who sold him these things used to tell him how to operate them.

Mr. Bhopalkar asked whether he instructed his customers on how to use these things. Badge replied that the purchasers knew more about it than he did. So the question of instructing them did not arise.

Badge was further cross-examined as to where and how he reached Delhi with the "gun".

Mr. Bhopalkar asked Badge whether the bag containing the "gun" was in his hand at the time. Badge replied in the affirmative. Witness said that when they left Birla House to go to the Hindu Mahasabha building the two revolvers were wrapped in a towel and were in a box which was kept in the taxi.

Bhopalkar asked if they left the two pistols in the taxi and why did they not put the two grenades also in the taxi.

Badge said he had gone to the prayer ground with the purpose of killing Gandhi. Witness said that if Karkare and others had thrown their hand-grenades, he would have signalled to Shanker to do the same.

On July 27 Mr. Bannerjee submitted that as the "Delhi Diary"—a collection of Gandhi's prayer

speeches—could not be wholly taken notice of by the Court, and as the Court had asked him to indicate the passages which he wanted to be brought to the notice of the Court, Mr. Bannerjee added, "I am not asking that the 'Delhi Diary' as such be submitted as evidence or proof of its contents. My submission is that the actions of Mahatma Gandhi may be taken judicial notice of, and as the Court is not expected to know all facts this book should be referred to as a book of reference."

The contention before the Court is that these acts are historical facts, for, in the words of the Prime Minister, whatever Gandhi did was history. For instance the last, the question before the Court is this, that fact to be proved is the fact of an ordinary person undertaken to give rest to his life, or is it to be taken judicial notice of as an epic evidence in the country's history?

Another fact is the alleged presence of Mr. Shurawardy during prayers. In his prayer speech on January 13 Mahatma Gandhi said that Mr. Shurawardy was looked upon as the chief of the "goondas" that Mr. Shurawardy was living with Gandhi (at the time) and would willingly join the prayer, but Gandhi would not expose him to the risk of being insulted (P 388 of Diary).

If facts of Mahatma Gandhi are held not to be historical, then in the alternative, it is submitted, they are notorious facts, having had wide publicity in all the papers in the country, and having been relayed twice every day by all stations of All-India Radio.

In favour of this contention Mr. Bannerjee cited instances from the examination-in-chief regarding the notoriety of the fact of Gandhi's assassination and the explosion of the bomb at prayer on January 20, and held that the prosecution counsel could have no objection on this point.

The Judge reserved orders till a later date.

Cross-examination of Badge by defence counsel was continued by Mr. L. B. Bhopalkar, and then by Mr. Oak, counsel for Godse. He asked questions regarding witnesses meeting with Godse.

Mr. Mengle, counsel for Apie, had not finished when the Court adjourned.

On July 28, Badge was further cross-examined by Mr. Mengle, counsel for Apie. On July 29 Mr. Bannerjee, counsel for Madanlal, cross-examined Badge. In both these cross-examinations

there was nothing worth mentioning.

On July 30 Shanker said that he had asked his counsel to put certain questions to Badge but he had not done so. Shanker requested the court that he be allowed to cross-examine Badge himself. The Judge granted his request. Mr. Inamdar, counsel, for Dr. Parchure and Gopal Godse, then cross-examined Badge.

On July 31 the proceedings evoked much interest when at the resumption of the trial Mr. Hanraj Mehta, defence counsel for accused Shanker, submitted an application to the court taking objection to the cross-examination of Badge by his client Shanker.

Mr. Mehta maintained that he had always been taking evidence from his client, Shanker, as to the line of cross-examination of the approver. The deposition of the witness had also been interpreted to him and there could be no ground for him to say that he had not carried out instructions of his client about the cross-examination of the approver. He felt that something must have happened on the night of July 29-30, which prompted Shanker to behave as he did.

On August 4, Prof. Jagdish Chandra Jain of Rupa College, Bombay, told the Special Court that on January 21 he had met the Premier of Bombay, Mr. B. G. Kher, and the Home Minister, Mr. Morarjee Desai, and narrated to them all that he knew about Madanlal, who had been arrested the previous day in connection with the bomb explosion at Birla House.

Madanlal had told Prof. Jain before leaving for Delhi that his party at Ahmednagar, financed by Karkare, had plotted against the lives of some leaders including Mahatma Gandhi. Madanlal said that he had been entrusted with the work of throwing a bomb and creating confusion while the Mahatma was to be overpowered by members of his party.

Prof. Jain, at the time had not taken this seriously, but on reading the papers on January 21 he tried to phone Sardar Patel or Mr. Patel but he could not contact either. But he was able to contact Mr. Kher and Mr. Desai and to them he narrated his story. Prof. Jain was then examined by Mr. Daphary.

On August 2, the Special Court heard the evidence of Dr. D. N. Goyal, Director of the Raza Purnab C.I.D. Scientific Laboratory, on articles sent to him for examination.

These articles included the pistol with which Gandhi is alleged to have been shot, the two empty

cartridges and bullets and cartridge handed over later by Mr. Devadasi Gandhi.

He was then cross-examined by Mr. Mengle.

Mr. Sanyawan Shilshaji Rale, manager of Sea Green Hotel, Bombay, was the next witness. He identified N. Apte as the person who had come to him and asked him for a double room on February 2.

On August 3, Miss Shanta Modak, a film actress, gave evidence saying she had met Godse and Apte in the Poona Express on January 14 and on alighting at Udaer she and her brother had dropped the two accused in her brother's jeep at "Savarkar Sadan" at their request.

She was cross-examined by Mr. Dapthari, Mr. Bhopalkar, Mr. Mengle and Mr. Inamdar.

There were a few other minor witnesses.

On August 9, Goswami Shri Krishanji Maharaj, gave evidence saying that Apte had expressed his intention to destroy the Pakistan Assembly to be held in Delhi and also that Apte was reported to have intended to blow up a train containing arms and ammunition, which was to leave for Pakistan on October 16.

Witness was cross-examined by Mr. Bannerji and Mr. Dapthari. During cross-examination witness referred to some plans of Apte concerning Hyderabad. Mr. Bhopalkar, defence counsel objected to the reference to Hyderabad, but the Judge remarked, "Don't you think it is more fascinating?"

On January 17, witness left for Ahmedabad by a Tata plane. Godse and Apte were there too and occupied a double-front seat.

At Ahmedabad, witness said to Apte that he had been talking a lot but it did not appear that anything had been done. Apte replied that when they carried out the work, witness would know.

On August 10, Goswami Shri Krishanji Maharaj was cross-examined by Mr. Dapthari as to where and when he had met Apte first.

Mr. Bhopalkar, counsel for Savarkar cross-examined witness. He asked witness if he remembered the Hindu Parishad. Witness replied, he did and he had made a speech opposing the Nehru Government. Witness said he had not supported the Nehru Government in the past and will not in the future unless it changes its present policy.

The policy of the Government he was against, said the witness, was the appeasement policy towards Pakistan.

Witness had gone to Morarjee Desai and had told him that he would not help or encourage anybody using violence against any Indian Muslims.

Mr. Dange defence counsel

cross-examined witness on the Harijan Movement. Judge asked counsel as to how these questions would benefit his client. Mr. Dange replied "Sir my defence is that the Harijan Movement and the pro-Muslim Policy of Gandhiji had lost the balance of mind of the accused."

Cross-examination on other points was continued.

On August 11, Air hostess Miss Lorna Bainbridge identified N. V. Godse and D. Apte as two persons who had travelled from Bombay to Delhi on January 21 when she was on duty.

Witness was cross-examined by

INDIA'S PLACE IN WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

THE second Health Ministers' Conference was recently inaugurated in New Delhi by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. The Hon'ble Rajkumar Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health, presided. Health Ministers and other high officials from the following provinces attended: Madras, West Bengal, Bombay, the United Provinces, the East Punjab, the P.P., Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Delhi, Ajmer Merwar, Coorg, Himachal Pradesh, Cochin, Baroda, Travancore, Mysore, Patna, Saurashtra, Vindhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Marwa, Madhya Bharat, and Kashmir.

The Prime Minister congratulated the personnel of the Indian delegation and especially its leader Rajkumar Amrit Kaur, the Health Minister, who recently attended the World Health Assembly in Geneva. He was glad that India had secured a place on the Executive Board of the Organisation and of the decision to establish the headquarters of the Regional Bureau for South East Asia in India. This was no small responsibility but India will stoutly shoulder it, he said. "Most countries now were thinking in terms of socialising their health services and India would also have to think this out from the point of view of giving relief to the masses," the Prime Minister concluded.

Rajkumar Amrit Kaur in the course of her address said, "there is so much of preventable sickness and mortality around us that there is no room for apathy as in the past and, in spite of all our handicaps in the way of inadequate funds and of trained personnel, we must plan and execute a determined drive to overcome all obstacles and as provide, as early as possible, all those health services for the care of the sick and for preventive health work which medical science and administrative organisation have helped to develop in the progressive countries

Mr. Dapthari, Mr. Oak, Mr. Mengle and Mr. Dange.

Next witness Angad Singh, a textile broker of Bombay, gave evidence about Madanlal's relations with Prof. Jain.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Bhopalkar, Mr. Oak and Dange.

The cross-examination had not concluded when the Judge said that he had received a message from Shanker that even if he was not in a position to attend on Monday the Court should be held, and added "are they all expecting to fall sick?"

The case was then adjourned.
(To be Continued)

decision would be left to the Government of Malaya. I hope they will decide to join our group. Indo-China has decided to go with China and the Far Eastern group and Indonesia is also joining that group. Pakistan decided to link herself with the Muslim countries of the Middle East. With the location of a Bureau in Mysore, however, India has now the opportunity of playing an important role in the development of health measures and the carrying out of experiments and research in South-Eastern Asia as a whole.

Indian Historical Records Commission

Silver Jubilee To Take Place In December

DELHI will be the venue of an unprecedented gathering of archivists, historians and bibliophiles from all over the world during the last week of December when the Indian Historical Records Commission is to hold its Silver Jubilee Session. The dates have been provisionally fixed as December 23, 24 and 25, 1948, and the Delhi University which is to act as the host, has agreed to place its premises at the disposal of the Commission. The session is expected to be inaugurated by the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, and the meetings will be presided over by the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister and Ex-Officio President of the Commission. On the occasion of the session, the Commission has decided to organise an exhibition of documents, paintings, photographs and other illustrations of different phases of Indian history and culture. A special section will be devoted to photographs illustrating Indian folk culture and aboriginal life. Another section will illustrate the various methods of preservation and reconditioning of manuscripts. The exhibition will be held in the New Delhi Town Hall and is expected to be opened by the Prime Minister. The Commission will also organise a show of documentary films illustrating different phases of Indian life and culture. The films selected will include a few explaining the methods of maintaining the archives and libraries used in progressive countries abroad and the up-to-date processes of repair and preservation of manuscripts. The programme of the session also envisages the publication of an illustrated souvenir volume on the history and activities of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the National Archives of India.

SIDELIGHT ON KASHMIR

A SIGNIFICANT admission of the immense popularity of the Abdullah regime in Kashmir is made by a leading columnist of a Pakistan paper who blames the Muslim League for having bungled the situation by supporting the Maharaja's right to decide the accession of Kashmir to either dominion, instead of coming to terms with Sheikh Abdullah.

The charge that Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union was due to the Muslim League's support of the right of Princes as against the people to decide the future of States is made by the well-known columnist "Bazmi" writing in "Insaan", an Urdu daily of Lahore.

Bazmi writes: "The Maharaja's announcement regarding the accession of Kashmir to India came as a bolt from the blue to Pakistan. However as the Qaid-e-Azam had committed the League to the principle of the Princes deciding the future of the States, constitutionally speaking, Pakistan was unable to take any action on this issue. The subsequent march of Pathan raiders into the State further complicated matters as they indulged in indiscriminate looting and killing of people."

Bazmi points out that it was not from the Maharaja that the Indian Union derived powerful support but from Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference, which has been in the forefront of the political movement in Kashmir since 1930, and its leaders, who are "immensely popular". In spite of this fact the League, instead of coming to an understanding with Sheikh Abdullah, thought it more proper to rely on the help of the rebels, who did not enjoy any support and were unknown in Kashmir.

U.N. Kashmir Commission's Homage To Gandhiji

The Chairman and members of the United Nations Kashmir Commission paid homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi on July 29 when they visited Rai Ghat, the place where he was cremated. Led by the Chairman, Dr. Egbert Graeffe, members of the Commission offered flowers at the sacred spot.

The Chairman, paying a tribute to the Father of the Nation said: "The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan has come to this place to pay tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, a great citizen of India, who in his life and in his death held the respect and affection of the whole world. For us as envoys and servants of an international organisation, he has a particular message and our homage here paid to his ashes has a special significance. Once

engaged in acute controversies, Mahatma Gandhi invariably stood for the way of conciliation. As we stand here, symbolising the striving for a peaceful settlement, whether in his early struggle in South Africa or in his fight for India's independence or in the last troubled times between India and Pakistan, he remained gentle, open to conviction and prepared to ascribe the highest motives to those with whom he was in disagreement.

"Himself a very busy man, he had always time for the humblest of whatever nation or creed, who came to him with their troubles. And I like to think that, had he been living, we too would have gone to him at Birla House with

our troubles for the benefit of that kindly wise and ready advice.

"It is impossible to think of him as dead. In a remarkable talk of late, he once referred to the possibility of being shot, and he said that, whoever would kill him, would not kill the real Gandhi. Indeed, the Mahatma was right: the real Gandhi lives and will always be cherished, not only in every Indian heart but in the heart of the world.

"We, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, whose philosophy it is to solve each problem by means of peaceful settlement and by conciliation, consider Mahatma Gandhi also very close to our hearts as the man who believed that conciliation is the only possible and reasonable means of solution in public as well as private difficulties."

Things In General

M. K. Gandhi Library And Parsee Rustomjee Hall Committee

The twenty-seventh annual general meeting and anniversary of the M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsee Rustomjee Hall will take place (to-day) Friday, 3rd September, 1948 at 5.30 p.m. in the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, 140 Queen Street Durban. The pupils of Desai Private School will render appropriate songs on the occasion.

Dr. Malan Unlikely To Attend London Talks

Although Dr. Malan has taken no decision yet, it seems unlikely that he will go to London in October to attend the conference of Dominion Prime Ministers. One of the reasons is that the Nationalist Party offices in the various Provinces have arranged their annual congresses for October and Dr. Malan accepted an invitation to address these conferences long before there was any talk of a conference of Prime Ministers in London.

Aga Khan's Son On 10-Day Tour Of S.A.

His Highness Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, son of the Aga Khan, owner of this year's Derby winner and leader of the Ismaili community of Indians, arrived in Johannesburg last Saturday after a trip by flying-boat from East Africa. Prince Sadruddin will visit Capetown, Durban and other centres of the Union on a sight-seeing tour. He told a "Sunday Express" reporter that he was had no political significance, and one of his secretaries said that the Prince had wanted to come to the Union for a long time, as his father had often praised the

country. Prince Sadruddin said he would probably visit a South African racecourse with a view to studying the bloodstock position here before he left in ten days' time.

Congress Of Empire Businessmen

Businessmen from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Malay and Trinidad will visit the Union for the congress of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Commonwealth in Johannesburg at the end of September. In addition, both Northern and Southern Rhodesia will be represented and possibly Canada and East Africa. India too will be represented it is reported. 45 delegates to the congress are expected from Home. This will be the first Congress of its kind to be held since the war. Mr. A. de V. Leigh secretary of the Federation told the Press that subjects on which congress would report would be grouped under the following headings: Imperial economic relations and problems, Imperial social relations and problems, international payments, communications, the economic development of the Colonial Empire, and organisations set up by international trade which affected Commonwealth trade. Lord Balfour and Incheye will preside at the congress.

Ireland's Future

The Prime Minister of Eire, Mr. Costello, said on his arrival in New York last week that he was convinced that the partition of Ireland would end during his five years of office. He said that bitterness towards Britain was dying out in all sections of Ireland.

A Correction

The General Secretary of the A.P.O. drew our attention to a report appearing under the heading "Natives' Protest" in our issue of August 20 regarding segregation on Capetown suburban trains. He points out that the African Peoples Organisation is not an African Organisation but the National Organisation of the Coloured people.

The Post-Master General has announced that it is no longer possible to draw up to £20 from the Post Office Savings Bank during any period of 60 days. From September 1, 1948, only a maximum amount of £5 during any period of four days may be withdrawn.

Allegations that Belgium has been guilty of discrimination against the Indians in its African trust area are to be investigated by the United Nations. It was alleged that commercial discrimination had been practised against the Indians in an attempt to oust them from the colony.

NEWS ITEMS FROM INDIA

According to the final estimate of the Director of Joint Agricultural Research Indian Central Jute Committee, it was expected that about 1,50,000 acres of additional land would be brought under jute cultivation during 1948 and the increased cultivation would yield an additional quantity of not less than four lakh bales of raw jute. This was revealed by Sir Dattar Singh in his presidential address at the annual general meeting of the Indian Central Jute Committee at Calcutta recently. In giving a brief account of the steps taken by the Central Jute Committee for increasing production of jute, Sir Dattar Singh pointed out that 1,000 tons of chemical fertilisers had been distributed to the Provinces of West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. Jute seeds were also supplied to deficit areas for distribution to cultivators through Provincial Directors of Agriculture. To assist the various Provincial Governments in the establishment of seed multiplication farms, the Committee provided in its budget for 1947-48, a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 to be utilised as advance without interest and repayable in five years on the basis of Rs. 10,000 for every 100 acres.

Under an Indo-Pakistani Food Agreement signed in New Delhi on July 28, it is understood that India will receive 11,000 tons of

BOOKS FOR SALE

| | | | | | |
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| MY LIFE AND MISSION—Swami Vivekananda | 8 | 4 | THE HEART OF HINDUSTAN—Sir S. Radhakrishnan | 8 | 8 |
| INDIAN STATESMEN (Dawans and Prime Ministers With Portraits) | 7 | 6 | MAHATMA GANDHI (The Man and his Mission, an enlarged and up-to-date edition of Gandhi's life, by various writers | 6 | 9 |
| INDIAN JUDGES (Biographical) and critical sketches with portraits | 7 | 6 | LIFE OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA | 10 | 9 |
| TEMPLES, CHURCHES AND MOSQUES—Yakub Hasan | 5 | 6 | SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES (King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet and Othello—William Miller | 8 | 8 |
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| EMINENT AMERICANS WHOM INDIA SHOULD KNOW—Index F. Sandelwood | 11 | 9 | AMONG THE GREAT (Conversation with Romola Holland, Mahatma Gandhi, Bertrand Russell, Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Anubhinda)—Dip Kumar Roy | 1 | 6 |
| THE KNIGHT ERRANT—Vivekananda | 8 | 6 | TWO HISTORICAL TRIALS IN RED PORT—An account of the trial of the Officers of the I.N.A. | 19 | 11 |
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| THE BHAGAVAD GITA—The Lord's Song—(An English Translation)—Anis Humei | 1 | 9 | WHY CRIPPS FAILED (Documented account from the Indian Nationalist point of view)—M. Subrahmanyam | 2 | 6 |
| 60 YEARS OF CONGRESS—Dr. Patrabha Shastri | 1 | 8 | GANDHI-HISNAH TALKS (Text of Correspondence and other relevant matter) | 9 | 6 |
| WHAT IS WRONG WITH INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE?—Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao | 8 | 9 | THE GARDEN CREEPER—Saba Nayand Sita Devi | 8 | 6 |
| THE U.K.C. AND INDIA—A. N. Agarwala | 5 | 6 | PRACTICE AND PRECEPTS OF JEHU—J. C. Kumarappa | 8 | 6 |
| GLANCES AT ISLAM—Valji Guvudji Desai | 1 | 6 | LIFE AND GOSPEL OF VIVEKANANDA—Romola Holland | 12 | 6 |
| OUR INDIA (Children's stories by various writers, illustrated)—Munoo Manganji | 2 | 6 | WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE—M. K. Gandhi | 10 | 9 |
| A DISCIPLINE FOR NON-VIOLENCE (Pamphlet for guidance for Westerners)—Richard B. Gregg | 1 | 9 | GANDHI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT (1922-24)—M. K. Gandhi | 6 | 9 |
| THE IMPENDING FATE OF MAHATMA GANDHI—G. Rajagopalachari | 1 | 9 | I ASK EVERY BRITON (Recent writings of Mahatma Gandhi and his letter to General Chiang Kai-Shek | 2 | 8 |
| COTTAGE INDUSTRIES AND THEIR ROLE IN INDIAN ECONOMY—Prof. Rao | 2 | 6 | THE STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH—M. K. Gandhi | 15 | 9 |
| SHAW—WELLS—KEYNES ON STALIN—WELLS TALK (Conversation Record) | 9 | 6 | CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA (Their place in India)—M. K. Gandhi | 6 | 9 |
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| MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD—Mahadev Desai | 6 | 9 | THE STORY OF HADDON—Mahadev Desai | 6 | 9 |
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| SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI (Being an Indian view of the Non-cooperation Movement (1921-22)—K. R. Das | 6 | 9 | TALES FROM SANSKRIT DRAMATISTS (The famous plays of Bhama, Sudraka, Kalidasa, Sri Harsha, Bhavabhuti and Visakhadatta) | 6 | 9 |
| HOLLAND AND TAGORE, letters of two eminent writers | 8 | 6 | INDIAN TALKS OF—Fun, Folly and Folk lore | 6 | 9 |
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| PUBLIC FINANCE AND OUR POVERTY—J. C. Kumarappa | 3 | 6 | SAKUNTALA—Translation, Kamala Sathidhan | 1 | 9 |
| TALES OF BENGAL—Santa Chatterjee and Sita Chatterjee | 7 | 9 | INDIAN SCIENTISTS (Biographical sketches—An account of their researches, discoveries and inventions | 7 | 6 |
| HISTORY OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF INDIA—N. K. Das, B.A. | 11 | 9 | A SHORT LIFE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA | 2 | 9 |
| HISTORY OF THE REDIN OF SHAH ALUM—W. Franklin | 7 | 6 | A SHORT LIFE OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA | 2 | 9 |
| THE LIFE OF RAMAKRISHNA—An exhaustive account of the Master's wonderful life—Romola Holland | 7 | 9 | SRI KRISHNA (his life and teachings)—M. R. Sanghat Kumaran | 2 | 6 |
| INDIAN STATES' PROBLEM (Gandhi's Writings and Utterances)—M. K. Gandhi | 10 | 9 | Obtainable from: | | |
| FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE (Critical study of the conditions which precipitated two world wars)—K. T. Shah | 15 | 9 | "Indian Opinion" | | |
| INDIA SPEAKING (Various contributions on economic, political, cultural and social problems of modern India) | 15 | 9 | Phoenix, Natal. | | |

ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન

પ્રકાશક ઓપીનિઅન કંપની
સને ૧૯૦૬માં સ્થાપાયું.

પૃથ્વિક ૬૬ મું—અંક ૩૫

મુકાબર તા. ૩ સપ્ટેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮.

જુલક નક્કલ ૪ પત્રી

“ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન”

મુકાબર તા. ૩ સપ્ટેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

ખાનગી બાબતો એટલે શું?

વિશેષ પ્રજ્ઞના નેતા જનરલ રમનસંઘ પ્રજ્ઞના જવાબમાં પણ પ્રધાન હો. મહાને સુનીયતની ધારા સભામાં લીલી સલાહપર કરેલું નીચેનું જો કે રમીક છે પરંતુ જો કેમ સલાહ નો ઉકેલ લાવી શકે તેમ જોવામાં આવતું નથી જનરલ રમનસંઘ જે નરગીશ આજે વાપરેલી છે અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને જે સલાહ આજે આપી રહ્યા છે. જો નરગીશ લીલી સલાહ સુના સમગ્ર પ્રથમ ગયો ત્યારે તરીકે ત્રાપરી અને જો સલાહ ત્યારે તરીકે આપી એ એક પ્રમતસીલીય મણાય, તેમ કહ્યું હોત નો આજની ભોમમબરેલી હકે આ બાબત પહેલેથી તરીકે હોત અને લીલી અને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા વચ્ચેના મીત્રતાબધો ન બંધનું પરીણામ અને દેશોને પહેલું જ લાભદાયી નીચકમ્ હોત. પરંતુ શું હવે પછી ખરે જનરલ પડેલા સરો છે ખરે અને દ્રષ્ટી બહુલાઈ છે ખરી? આવી શંકા લાવવા માટે અમારે જુમા સોમ વી જોઈએ. પરંતુ ભુતકાળના કલ્પા અનુભવોને લઈ એ શંકા ઉઠે છે. છેક છેલ્લી ઘડીએ ત્યારે રાષ્ટ્ર સંઘની મહાસભાની બેઠક મળવાનો વખત તદ્દન મળદીક આવી રહ્યો છે ત્યારે વડા પ્રધાન તરફે થી આ નીચેનું થયું એથી સ્વાભાવીક વંદગ ઉપક્રમીત થાય છે કે રાષ્ટ્ર આ સલાહને સુનોની આવવી બેઠકમાં આવતો અટકાવવાને અને વળી એક વધુ વર્ષ નેને લટકે નો રાખવાને તો આ પગલું ન લેવાયું હોય! એવું કોણ તો કોણી કોઈનું હોત થવાનું નથી. આ સલાહનો નીચું એક વા બીજી રીતે અર્થજ જવા જોઈએ

કેમ નથી થયો એવા રાષ્ટ્રસંઘ તરફથી લાજની સલાહ અર્થ શકે છે. તેનો સતોષકારક જવાબ લીલીને તરીકે પરંતુ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાને આપવાનો રહે છે.

સ્થિતિ બગડી છે

રાષ્ટ્રસંઘની મહાસભા છેલ્લી મળી તે પછીના બાર માસ જનરલ રમન સ્થિતિ સુધરી નથી પરંતુ બગડી છે. સુનીયત તરફે અન્યાર સુધીમાં હજી પણ એટલા કરેલી હોય તો તે જો કે એથીવારીક કાયદામાં જે રેગાંવની હોત સુક વામા આવી હતી તે માછી જોવી સમને આવેલો વધારે જલબી અને વધારે આપવાનું બરેલો બતાવ વાનો તેણે પ્રયત્ન કરેલો છે અને પ્રલાયદાપણની ચેલના ભેદ આ પી છે, કે જે પુલું રીતે અમલમાં મુકવાનો પાતાનો પ્રસાર કરવારે સ્વાયે છુપાયે નથી. પ્રક્રીનો ત્રીક એટલે આતાના પ્રધાન થી. એથીક કો, જે રાષ્ટ્રસંઘમાં જનાર સુનીયતના પ્રતિનિધી મંડળનું નેતૃત્વ સેનાર છે, તેમણે કહ્યું છે કે તેઓ સુનોમાં તહોમતકાર તરીકે નથી ઉભવાના પરંતુ ફરિયાદી તરીકે ઉભવાના છે. તેનો ન્યાય રાષ્ટ્રસંઘે કરવાનો રહેશે અને સરકારના કૃત્યો પરથીજ તે તોલાશે. સુનોમાં ચર્ચા થયે તે સિદ્ધાંતની બાબતોની હશે. લીલી ઓની અને સામાન્યતઃ બીન-ગોરાઓની કાકમારીઓની વિગતો આપવાની હોય તો તેની રીત મહુ લાગી થઈ પડે જેમાં-માત્ર લીલી હોમનાજ ત્રીસ દબાર કેપર છાકરોંઓ કેમવળીની સમવટો વિનાના છે, ગોરાઓને માટે મરો અને અન્ય વેશઆશામની રાગ વટો માટે કેપરોમાં લેવાને લીલી ઓની માત્રીસીની જગીના લઈ

લેવામાં આવે છે. ત્યારે દબારો લીલીઓને રહેવાને મરો નથી; વેપારપંથા અને નોદરીનાં મરો સમયા બીન-ગોરાઓને માટે અનિ શય મર્યાદિત રાખવાનાં આવેલાં છે ત્યારે ગોરાઓને માટે રાંપુવો પથો પુલ્કાં છે; પ્રલાયદાપણ ત્યા ને ત્યાં હોઈ અરપુપ્ત વર્ગનાં હોવા નું ડગલે ને પગલે બીનગોરાઓને બાન કરાવી રહ્યું છે; અને બીજી અનેક રીતોમાંથી ગણાવી શકાય છે કે જે કોઈ પણ સ્વમાનત્રિય હોઈને ને માટે જીવન અકાચું કરી દેનારી છે. રાષ્ટ્રસંઘના સ્વાતંત્ર્યના બરી તાનો જો કંઈ પણ અર્થ હોય તો હોકશાસનના લેખનાં પ્રવળ તો હોર અનિષ્ટોને પલેલી વળ થાનુ જો મહાન સંસ્થાપર મહુ મોહ શમ આવી પડે.

સાઉન્ડ કોન્ફરન્સ

હવે આપણે સાઉન્ડ રેગલ કોન ફરન્સ બરવા બાબત હો. મહાને કરેલું નિર્વચન તપાસીએ. લીલી સલાહની ચર્ચા કરવાને સાઉન્ડ રેગલ કોન્ફરન્સ, જેની અત્યાર સુધી સુનીયત સરકાર સાક ના પાડી રહી હતી, તે હવે બરવા સંમત થવાની ઉદ્ઘાટના તપાવી રહી છે જો તેની એટલેને માટે લીલી જરૂર તેનો કોર્ટિક આખર માનવો પડે. જો પગલું જો કે જો શક પ્રમાણમાન મણાય છતાં તેને વાટો એટલી બધી કરવામાં આવી છે કે એવી કોન્ફરન્સ બરવી ગરો કવજ અર્થ પડે, અને કદાપિ અરામ નો પણ તેનું પરિણામ અકળ નીચે ૧૯૪૭ની કોન-ફરન્સ કાઢાવી નીચડી હતી કેમ કે તેના પરિણામે કેપટાકોન કરાર અથા હળા અ કરારના નો બાગ હતા એક જે લીલીઓ કોઈ પણ પ્રકારના કળાજી વચર નાજી પુરી થી આ દેશમાં પાતાનો વસવાટ નો હક જતો કરી સ્વવતન આદર્યા જવા ઇચ્છતા હોય તેઓને તેમ કરવાની સમવડ કરી આપવાને અગત્ય હતો અને તેમાં લોખી

વાન હતી કે તેવા આ દેશ છાડી ગયેલા લીલીઓ ને એક તમ જાત આ દેશમાં પાછા આવ વા ઇચ્છે તો કાઢાની અને બાલીસ ની તેઓને મળેલી રકમ પાછી બરી લઈ તેઓ તેમ કરી શકશે. બીજો ભાગ જે લીલીઓ આ દેશ માં રહેવા ઇચ્છતા હોય તેઓને ત્યાંથી વસતીના એક ભાગ તરીકે મણવાની અને ઉન્નાતિની સથળી તકો આપવાની સુનીયત સરકાર ની કલુસાતને લગતો હતો. પહેલો ભાગ જેમને લાગુ પડતો હતો તેઓને માટે બીલકુલ મરજીયાત હતો ત્યારે બીજો ભાગ સુનીયત સરકારની ઉપર જવાબદારી મુકનારો હતો. જે લીલીઓ આ દેશની બીડના રખતમા તેની મુદી રૂપ થઈ પડ્યા હતા અને આ દેશને પાતાને પાતાનો પરસેવો અને હોમી રૂઠવા હતાં તેઓની સુખાકારી તેવી એ સરકારનું તેઓ મરણેનું એક રૂબ હતું.

જે પરંતુ લીલીના અંકુશની બધાર હતી તેને માટે લીલીને હોમ કાઢવો બધું છે. ૧૯૩૨ માં મળેલી બીજી સાઉન્ડ રેગલ કોન્ફરન્સ રાનવાલ એથીવારીક સેન્ટ એન્ડ ટ્રેડિંગ એકટનાં રૂપમાં લીલી સામે તાકવામાં આવેલી બીજી પીસીંગના કારણે બરવામાં આવી હતી અને તેનું પરિણામ લીલીમાં તેની પાતાની કરોડોની વસ્તીને માટે મુદતો જરૂરનો અભાવ હોઈ લીલીઓને અન્ય સ્થળોમાં વસવાટ કરવા જવાને લલ્લવાવી શકાય તેવા અન્ય સંસ્થાનોમાં સ્થળોની તપાસ કરવાની જાહેર અગત્યનાં કરેલી કલુસાતનું આખું હતું. એ ચેલના નિષ્ફળ નીચડવાનો હોમ જો કે આ દેશમાં વસવાટ કરવાના જન સિદ્ધ હોનો રાવો કરનારા લીલીઓના એક વર્ગો તેની

રાજી-૨ દેખાડા પ્રોગ્રામને અરવા સામે
 જામનું ટોળું વધ્યાનું હતું. ગરજી અમારો
 જાન્યારી અપવાદોમાં જોઈ નરજીની જે
 જોઈ. વળી અમારું જે નરજીની પાલકોની
 નામનીથી થાય તે રીતે એકાદમ મલિહ.

મગ ત્રિવિધ રૂઝિયા આકાંક્ષાના પ્રતિનિધિ
 થી થી, ઝોચ, રૂઝ, જોરનો એવો જાણી
 આખી દુનિયા કે મુશ્કેલી સર કરશે, એ
 જાણના પડા મધ્યમ વચ્ચે રહેતો
 નાજીબુલ્લા જોઈ ને જોઈને જોઈને જોઈને
 માં મળેલી કોન્ફરન્સના પ્રારંભે રાજકીય
 રીતના કોન્ફરન્સે અરબા વધારે કરી,
 એ જોઈને પર જોઈ સરકાર માર્યો મન
 વગ કરવાના જોઈ ને મને કરી વાંચી
 નથી.

એ જાણી શકે જાણવાના અર્થમાં જો
જોઈ સરકાર સામે જાણવાના અર્થમાં
જોઈ જોઈ, એ જાણમાં મળેલી જોઈ
જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ, જોઈ જોઈ
જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ, જોઈ જોઈ
જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ, જોઈ જોઈ
જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ, જોઈ જોઈ
જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ જોઈ, જોઈ જોઈ

આથી અમે એવી સમજણની પર
આપ્યા છતાં કે અમે તોજ મરો કરીશું
તે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના કોઈ પણ મરો
માં જોવા અમારા સાગરની પાયાન અમે
મધ્યથીજ રખજ મજબૂતી કરી. તે જો
મરો કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની બીજીમાં
તવાનના પાયા મોકતો દેવામાં મદદ કરે
કે મરોની મરો તા તા દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા
ની કોઈક પક્ષની મોટો મરોમાં મરો
આપી અમનેજો મરો કે સ્વરકારની મરો
થી બીજીમાં રખજના મોકતવાના
મોરજ પદ મરો. દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકા

विविध वर्त्मान्

ક્રામિકવિકાસના ચારમારેખામાંની ૬૩મીસ

પ્રતિદીન જીવનચલનના વેપારીઓની સેવા કરવાની કુદરેસભાની રાજીલ સપટેમ્બરની આખરીય ત્રિવેદની સુખગામી મળવાની છે. જેમાં સરદાર, સારદેશીયા, ન્યુઝીલેન્ડ, અમુકાસેન્ડ, બુલાયા અને દીનીયાં અને વસુભા નોખા અને અંબાને કેસરીયા અને કદામ કેલકા અને જીડા બાકીના વેપારીઓ પાલ દાખલ થઈ. પ્રતિદેનની જરૂર છેવટે આવા પડી છે. હાલની પાલ પ્રતિનિધીઓ આવશે એમ જણાવવા છે. આવી કોમ્પેસ પુલ પાલ આ પહેલીજ ચાલશે.

હેડરેસનના મંદરની તા. એ. ડી. પી.
શ્રીનંદ મહાપત્ર ૭ કે ૩૩૨૨ નામની
આખતોપર રીપોર્ટ કરતાં.

શાહી સમયીક સંચયી - પાત્ર સખાના,
 શાહી સમયીક સંચયી અને સખાના,
 સખાનાસખાના નાના સુકવસ સંચયી,
 સખાના સંચયીનિ સખાનાના પીક
 સખાના સખાનાસખાના સખાના સંચયી
 સખાનાના પીક સખાનાસખાના સખાના
 સખાનાના પીક સખાનાસખાના સખાના
 સખાનાના પીક સખાનાસખાના સખાના

ખેતી પહેલાં તો ખરું નોકરી મળી.
 કારણના આધારે એ પામનની શરૂ.
 હોલીઓએ તમા પડનારો કરવા શરૂ.
 હો તમારું પાયા પડે તોફાન રમતો મળે.
 એમું મળીકારણ શરૂ છે કરો તમારું રંગે.
 તમારું શુભો હોલીઓએ લગતો છે કહે.
 પગ પગથી પુનીયમ સરકરે એવાની.
 હોય તેની કાંઈને પ્રમથા ખાખર કરો.
 મોં આપશે

[illegible]

सदकार नवी माननी के दक्षिण अ
दिहोमे अक्षयवा भागि रक्षेव कोषमे
मधवा रक्षे रा. ओ देणीतुन दि
पदेर ओ पुसव नदी कोषमे के रा. ६
संभवा भरीताभा रक्षेव मय के रा. ६
मय सव देरना पानगी मयवारेमा
दक्षिणीरी मय नदी कोषमे.

જો દર્શિયા આંદોલન પર દરેક પ્રકાર
કરવામાં આવશે તે સુનહાળના કરવા
પણ તે સખાળ પરિધિ કરશે.

પરિધિ પક્ષના નેતા કહે છે કે પૂર્વે
અંતર્યામીના કુળીયાના અગતી અગતી
નેત્રિ કોઈ નોંધાયેલ, જો અંતર્યામી
કેટલે કુલ વસ્તુ સમીક્ષા મેં તેમને કુલ
અંતર્યામી આગળના કાર્યોની નવ
સુધા અગતી કરેલાં પૂર્વે આમેં છે તે
અંતર્યામી કાર્યોની નેત્રિ નેત્રિ અગતી

તેમ યશો નો સાક્ષી કુદરત દર્શાવે અર્થાત
 કાચા પદાર્થ થોડો સમય માગતો પડે
 તેમજ નવામાં કવચમાં નરકાર મા
 સુગંધો, ન તેમના અધીક રહેશે તે
 એ સમજવું એકદમ ન તેમનાની શ્રદ્ધા
 બીજાક પાનગીરો મળાશે
 ના. આગાખાનના પુત્ર પતિયન
 ની શ્રદ્ધાકાંતે.

[illegible]

For the purpose of this study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

મહાત્મા કાંદેલી તારીફ

पुनीमनवा वडा प्रधान ठा. भवानि
 पुनीमनवा मुस्लीमाने रमजान गुण
 रकनो सिद्दो मोकम्मो छे जग्गा
 आ हेशवा पिकापुमा पुस्लीमाने
 आपेसा हाणानी तारीछे उरी छे.
 आ कहेशो उरणनगो असिख बसोसा
 रमजान मे-पुनीमनवा मोकम्मो
 आपेसा दनो.

મોદાની સ્થળો ન્યાયા દસ દીવસ
 તેઓ કેપ્ટન રાજા અને મુલીપત્ર
 અને મહાત્મા મુલાકાત લેશે, સંકેત
 કેસેસે ને તેઓએ જણાવ્યું હતું કે
 નેશની આ મુલાકાતને અંગે કયું રાજ
 વા કારણ નથી, તેમના એક સેક્રેટ
 ટ્રાન્કે કહ્યું કે પ્રાન્સ પોતાના પીપી
 એ કહ્યો આફ્રિકાના મજૂર વખતે
 કમી કરા ન્યારથી આ દેશ સેનાની
 પ્રાન્સની હસ્તા હતી, પ્રાન્સે ગળી
 વધુ કે આ દેશ એકી જગ્યા પહેલું
 તેઓ કહ્યું આફ્રિકાના દેસ ફ્રાન્સની
 નેના પોતાઓની સ્ત્રીની તપાસવનું
 મુલાકાત લેશે

બેસબેટ્સન કોલોનીમાં લી'લીંગ

એવિષ્ણુના પોતેની જ આદિ દેવ દુહા
 એવિષ્ણુના દાદાએ સામે નરવાર
 બાતલવાર અવે ને એવી રવાર
 અવેશી કદીપાદની રૂપદેશ નરેશી
 નથાસ થતારે એ. જામીયાન ને
 પોતેનીમાંથી દારાએવે દાંડા કાઢા
 ને રવારના નેમેની સામે વેદવાવ
 બાતલવાર અવે છે

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કચ્છનાં સુખ

શ્રી નાથુભાઈ જેવજી સોનીયા પુત્ર
શ્રી. પરમાજીદાસ વાન રામ સોની
કાલજ દેરાણી પૂર્વી ખામણી ગણાકુવડ
ની સાથે તા. રૂર ૮ ૪૮૦ના કાંડિયા-
વાડ સેવા સમાજના વૈજ્ઞાનિક મંડળ દ્વારા,
અમુકાદર.

શ્રી. નયનાબા કેવડા પોતાના પુત્ર
શ્રી. પરમાજીવરામ મગનરા સુબ પ્રમોએ
ને જે. સુમદરેએ ગયા સંભારીએ
એ કાગદી આપી નમો સુભાષીએ
પાઠશાળા એ સુભાષી આ પત્રકારો
આપાટ મનો છે.

परम्युरस्यु

— श्रीहनु पादासवामा नाथम पदा
प्रथमं कृत्वा हनुं च कंदर्वापादना नीला
म पोतामो रस पुनःमां सभं पदमार के
नम इदंनि अंक वधं केशं गच्छा करवा
ना करारने नेमकुं अंवा करेको मय्या
से. मेवा साधवा जंतामो राभरे। छः
म साधवा करार कटनं पमसां दिशे
श्रीहनु मरुकरं भाताम दीदना
भारे पदीमपक मक, दीदयक मयनं मक।
दीदयक मपयानुं रागायुं छे.

- ନିଃସ୍ଥା ପୁଣି ଜୀବନ ଅନିନିଧି
 ଅନ୍ଧାର ଗଣସାଥୀ କରୁଁ ଚକ୍ର ଓ. ମା.
 ବୁଦ୍ଧ ଶିଳ୍ପୀ ତେ ନିଃସ୍ଥା ନିରାଶା ପଶି ଖା
 ଖାନ୍ତି ଶିଳ୍ପସାଧକୀ ସଂସାର ପୁଣି ଜୀବନ
 ସିଂହାସନ ନିଃସ୍ଥା ଗର୍ଭା ମହାମାୟା ପିଣ୍ଡିତ
 ନିଃସ୍ଥା ପୁଣି ଜୀବନରେ ପୁଣିଆଁ ଜୀବନ
 ଶୁଣି.

—શ્રીમદ્ધીમાનાના પ્રધાન વાલસનામાં
જવાબમાં મુખ્ય રીતે કહે છે મુદતમાં મોટ
રકાતે કોપમન કરશે આરોગ્યેતીક રેલી
કેરોના વધુ જતાપરી. કામ ને આજે
પેદા જતાવે છે.

—શ્રી હરિવાલ્યમે જલ્પે ૫ હાંદમાં જરૂર
જો બનાવવાની ૧૬ ગોળીઓ ને ને
બાવળી માણીયાની છે. કુલ મુદતમાં
સરકારી ગોળીયાની ગોળીઓ મળે. હાંદ
માં મળ્યાં જમ્યાં બાંધી રહ્યા છે.

—પર્યાવરણના સંકરણના કારણથી પાંચઃ
સમીપ સ્થિતિમાં હાલના કલેસને મુખ્યત્વે
પર્યાવરણના કારણથી ગરમ છે
મુખ્યત્વે તમામ પ્રકારના જીવો આવાસીય
ગરમ અને સૂર્યના પ્રકાશથી ગરમ થઈ
કેલેસના પાંચ કલેસના કારણે ગરમ
રહેશે.

—କଳକାମୀନୀ, ଉତ୍ତମୀୟମ ଶାମକେଶୀ ଶବ୍ଦ
 ଶ୍ରୀ ଶାନ୍ତିପୁଷ୍ପପୁଷ୍ପାକାଶ୍ୟ (ନିଶାନ୍ତ ଶାମକେଶୀ)
 ନର୍ତ୍ତକୀ ଶ୍ରୀ/ଶାମକେଶୀ.

• પુનર્પાનના પોસ્ટ માસ્ટર જનરલ
કમ્ડી છે કે પોસ્ટલ એડીસનના સેવિંગ
એકનાથી હવે પછી કમ હીપસની
મોડીસથી ૫૦, ૨૦૦ની રૂપય લિપાડી
શકાશે નહીં, સપ્ટેમ્બર મા. ૧ સીધી
ગાર લિવસની મોડીસથી માત્ર ૫૦,
૫૦૦ રૂપય લિપાડી શકાશે.

—કેળવણી આનાના મધ્યે સુવ્યા નીચા
પડેને નુસના આપી કે ક શિક્ષણ
અનિષ્ઠ આવાદારો આપણું યાને એ પ્રમા
દુરતર દાખલ કરવી બીજે નીચા
નીચાપાંડો માટે એ એ કે પરિણામ
ફેરવવાવામાં લેવામાં આપેલો મેળવ
કોડો માટે આ ફરજીયાત રહેશે. યાને
હીમી મેળવવાને એ પરિણા નીચાપાંડ
પાલ કરવી પડશે. કે ફેરવવામાં કે.
રહેશે એ માણસના તરફથી નકલ
કરવામાં આપેશે

આ. આવાદીપર્થ ગાંધી પુન
કેસની તથા જુલાનીઓ
પરી હતી. પાસ કરી ધમીયારીઓના
કાવતરું મંદીર અને ભગવાનને એથે
રબી કરેલા પદાર્થ પડ્યાં હતાં. ગૌભક્ષ
ક્રમકાળના મનોચાર મોરવામાં આ
કુખ્ય જીવનકાળી સાક્ષીમાં નેએએ જાણ
ખુલું હતું કે હું મુખ્યભાગ મોટા મંદીર
ની માફક ઉપર હતું. હું 'પામ્પલ'નું
માપસનન પદ્ય મરદમર કરેલા. હું ૧૯૪૨
ની સાલથી દીલી રાષ્ટ્રીય હેઝિસનેા મળ્ય
હું.

શ્રી. મેનરજી-તમે કદા મા. સાવર
કરને મળ્યા હતા?

સાક્ષી-હું તેમને એ વખત પ્રુક્ષી
સમાજોમાં મળ્યો હતો.

શ્રી. હાલની-તમે શ્રી. સુભાષચંદ
બોસ અને શ્રી. એસ. બી. મોપદકરે
સહીત અન્ય ગાંધીની વ્યક્તિઓને મળ્યા
હતા?

સાક્ષી-હું સુભાષ બોસને મળ્યો હતો.
અને શ્રી. મોપદકરને તે વલેર સમા-
જોમાં મળ્યો હતો.

શ્રી. હાલની-તમે આપેને આગળ
હો?

સાક્ષી-હા.

સાક્ષીએ આપેને આગળની પાત્રોમાં
હતા.

સાક્ષીએ આગળ સાલના વજાવ્યું
હતું કે એક માણસે મને એક કપડું
હતું કે આપે પાત્રોસ્તાન મંદીરમાં
મળ્યા, કે જે કીલ્લીમાં મળનાર હતી-
નેન ખનમ કરવા માગતો હતો. આ
ખનમ મળવાથી હું આપેને મળવા
માટે ગયો હતો.

૧૭મી જાન્યુ. ના સાક્ષી પુન વિમાન
માં આપેને મળવા મળ્યા હતા.

શ્રી. હાલની-પુનમાં તમારે અને
આપેને શું વાતચીત થય?

સાક્ષીએ જણાવ્યું કે શ્રી. ડીજી અને
શ્રી. લીમ્પાકનનું કાસળ તોડીને નમ એક
કરવાનું મેં આપેને જણાવ્યું. આ-
પેએ મને કહ્યું કે મારી પાસે એ
પોલીસ છે, પણ તે જાડુ મારી નથી
અને તમે મને જો એ રીતેજીવર આપ
ના હું કામ પતાવી દઉં.

આપેએ મોટરે આ કામ નાર
ભરીદ્યા કીન પણ મને સમાર પાકી
જાણ ન પારીદ્યા માટે મારી પાસે પૂરતા
માણી મોકલ્યા.

સાક્ષીએ જણાવ્યું કે આક-
રાપરમાં આપે પુનમાં માર ના - ના
વ્યા અને ૧૫ મીરવાસ આપેને પડકારમાં
મે રીતેજીવર માગી. આ બે પીરવાસ
માંથી અક ન મારા માળા જાણ
દીક્ષીતજી મહારાજને આપી અને પોત
આપેને પાકી આપા પણ ન રીવરે
રીવરજીવર મને ન રીવરવાથી હું તે તેને
આપી કર્યો નહીં પરંતુ આપેની પાસે
પહેલાં મેં આપેને આપી હતી.

ગાંધી પુન કેસ

(મતારથી માણ)

માક્ષીએ આગળ સાલના વજાવ્યું
કે આપેને મને એક પાત્ર કહ્યું હતું કે
શ્રેષ્ઠ અને કામોળીના કામને એક દેન
પાકીસ્તાન નવી હતી અને 'શ્રેષ્ઠ
મરદમર' (આગ કમાડવામાં પકાઈ) થી
પોતે એ દેન ઉઠાવી દેવા માગતો હતો.
આ કામ માટે શ્રી. ૧૦,૦૦૦ની મરદ
હતી પણ પોતાની પાસે કેવલ ૫૦૦૦
પોતાનું આપેએ મને જણાવ્યું મારી
પાત્ર પણ પીસ ન મોવાનું મેં જણાવ્યું
પદ્યમાં સાક્ષીએ જણાવ્યું કે, આપેએ
એવું પણ તુચ્છ કહ્યું કે જો પોતાની
પાસે એક મોટર હોય તે કામકામ
ની સરદમર મળેને જગતી માણ
મુંદી છે.

શ્રી. મોપદકરે કહ્યોપાદના કેટલેખ
સામે વાંચી ઉઠાવ્યો હતો. પરંતુ જાને
એવી રીતે કરી કે 'એક પદ્ય આકાંક
છે એમ તમને નથી મળતું?'

મોરવામાં મહારાજ પોતાનું વેગન
વેગવાની એકર કરી અને આપેએ
વેગન લીધું.

સાક્ષીએ આગળ સાલના વજાવ્યું
કે મોરદોજીવરમાં આપેને હું મળ્યો ત્યારે
પોતાને જાડુ મળના ન મળી મોવામાં
મેજી જણાવ્યું.

મોરવામાં મહારાજ પોતાની વેગન
માં કામકામની સરદમર મળવા પરંતુ
કેમકામ તેમને અકસ્માત તરફ મેજ
રહેને મેજી પુન માણ કરી - નેન બાં
દીવરે જાવરે આપેને પોતાની પાસે
કહ્યું કે શ્રેષ્ઠ મરદમર મારી પાસે તમ
જાની મેનગે મને તેમ કરીને પાત્ર
કરેલા રીવરજી અને પોતે (સાક્ષી) એ
માટે દાસ્યોગ્ય અને કામોળીના ના
પાત્રવાની મોરવા કરી

સાક્ષીએ નામુદામ મોરદેને જાતમાં
જણાવ્યું કે જન ઉઠાવી નાખવાની વાત
માલ ત્યારે આ માણસ પણ આપેની
સાથે રવા થી આપેને કહ્યું હતું કે
આ સુધી (શ્રેષ્ઠ મરદમર) (અમાર
કેવારે મેજી મને જાતવામાં ન આપ
ત્યાં મુંદી હું તમજી આપવા મળવાર
નથી.

ત્યારે તમ આપેને મને મરદમર અને
ગીજી મળે નહીં મળે હતો પાત્ર ના
મરદમરે મળવા નહીં હતા, એ પાત્રી
દેન ઉઠાવી દેવા માગે રીવરજી પકાઈતો
રિવરજી કરવાની વાત અ હતી. અને
એ માટે મરદમર મોરવામાં આપે
હતી જાને દીક્ષીતજી મહારાજને મળવા
આપેને મોરવા - મેને મોરવામાં કામ
તે પોતાની સાથે મને ૧૫ દીન, ૨૫
કામ મળે અમન મોરદે કરવામાં
પરીકાં જાણે હતા. મેં તેની પાસેથી
૧૦૦૦ રીવરજી ૫૦૦ પાકી મીધાં અને

૧ આપેને આપ્યાં. પાત્રવાથી તેની
દીક્ષીત તરફ દીક્ષીતજી મહારાજ મરદમર
મે ૨૦. ૧૨૦૦ મોકલ્યા હતા.

સાક્ષીએ એ પણ જણાવ્યું કે અમાર
મામદ જાણ મોરદે અને આપેને
પીમાનમાં એટા થયા હતા અને મેં
તેમને કહ્યું કે તમે મોરદે એ ખુલું પણ
કરતા કાંઈ નથી. મોરદેએ જણાવ્યું
આપેને હતો કે અને મોરદે રિવરમાં
પાત્રવા.

અમાર વાતના વજાવના પ્રમના જણાવ્યું
માં મોરદેમાંએ કહ્યું હતું કે આપે
આગળ તેમજી ગીજી અને મોવાકન
અલીનું પુન કરવું તોએએ એક કહ્યું.

નામુદામ મોરદેના વજાવ શ્રી. એકની
ઉત્તર તપાસમાં મહારાજજીએ જણાવ્યું
હતું કે એકસમીર પર એકમા પાત્રી
તામના કમા સામે ગીજી દહાવવા
મોરદે મંદીરમાં એક લખા મળી હતી.
તમા એક વજાવે 'એક કહ્યું હતું કે
મોરદેએ પાત્રવામાં પણ કરી
અપાત્રી કમાનું કામ કહ્યું' એ એક
મોરદે હતો એ વાત તેમને પાત્ર મળી.

અને નામુદામ મોરદે પાત્રવામાં
ઉઠા થયા હતા અને મોરદેના હતો કે
મોરદે મંદીરની એ સમામાં એક પકાઈ
એ હોમા થઈ કહ્યું હતું કે મોરદેનું
એ પદ કરીસ પાકીસ્તાન આગવાનું
કામ કમાવ્યું હતું.

મોરવાની મહારાજ-મને તે વાત માર
નથી.

મારે મી રીએ મોરદેની કરીઅન
મંદીર પ્રવેશની રીસવામાં મી સાક્ષીને
કેટલાક સમાજો પુરવા હતા ત્યાં મોરદે
કરેલે જાણવા મળ્યું હતું કે આ સમા
મી પમાર વાતના પાત્રવામાંએએ
અસલા થયેને મું અસર વાત છે.

શ્રી. મોરદે એક પાત્રવામાં મોરદે પુ
૧ મોરદેની કરીઅન પ્રવેશ, કરીઅન
માર પ્રવેશ પ્રવેશ અને પાકીસ્તાન
પાત્રવામાં કુસ માણવાની પ્રવેશથી
આરંભીએ રીસોરદે મળા જ્યાં પાત્રી
મળા જ્યાં

સાક્ષીએ અત્રા જણાવ્યું હતું કે
મે મોરદે સરકારની રીસામાં હતો.
મે મુખ્યમળા તેમજ સરકારને રીસા
માથી નહોતો અને એ સરકાર કામ
તેની નાની નહીં મળે તા અરિખમાં
પણ હું મેને રીસો નહીં આપ્યું.

પા. મોરદે-તમે મોરદે સરકારની
માં નીતિની રીસા કરે છે?

મહારાજ-પાકીસ્તાનનું ખુસ કરવાની
નીતિની.

શ્રી. ૧૪મીના મીલ સાક્ષી ને પા.
જાનના મીલ હતા તેમની જુલાની

મેવાઈ હતી. શ્રી. જાને મળવામાં
મે નીતિની પાકી આપેને આપેને હતો.
શ્રી. અંગરજી પોતાની જુલાનીમાં
જણાવ્યું હતું કે મોરદે પકાઈના એક
મે દીવસ પહેલાં હું શ્રી. જાનેને મળ્યો
ત્યારે એ મોરદેમાં હતો. કરેજી કે
મળવામાં તેમને કહ્યું હતું કે અમર-
નગરની તેમની રીસાએ એક જાણીતા
મેવાનું પુન કરવાનું કાવતરું કહ્યું હતું,
અને તે માટે કરેજીની મરદમર અમર-
નગરમાં કરીઅરો અને કામોળી એકકા
કરવા માંગે હતા. શ્રી. જાનેને
જાણથી મળવામાં તેમને કહ્યું હતું કે
તેમનેએ અપીજીને મારી નાખવાની
નીતિ કહ્યો હતો અને શ્રી. જાનેને
મળવામાં એમના મુખમાં નીતિસરકારને
મળવા થયો ત્યારે તેના અમરમળમાં
પકાઈમાં માટે તેની પીક કાપી હતી.
અને શ્રી. જાનેને મળવામાં આપું
અપકર કામ ન કરવા વાંચી હતો.

અંગરજી આગળ સાલના વજાવ્યું
હતું કે એ કે પ્રવેશર જાનેને મને
મળવામાં રીસો વાત કરી હતી, પણ
મે તેના પર પવન મુક્યું ન હતું,
કરેજી કે એ લખવા નીતિમાંથી મળી
છ અને રીસોને મળી કીમાર કરવા
હતા.

અંગરજી આગળ સાલના વજાવ્યું
હતું કે ૨૦ જાન્યુઆરીએ દીક્ષી
માં અપીજીની પાત્રવા સમામાં મોળ
પકાઈ થયા અને મળવામાં પકાઈવાના
સમામાં જાણમાં આપા ત્યારે શ્રી.
જાનેને જાણ કે મળવામાંથી કામ-
વાની વાત સમામાંએને જણાવ્યો.
પ્રવેશર મળવા પરંતુ અને પાકીસ
સામે રીસોનીથી સંપકે અરિખ પ્રમાન
હો પણ એ સંપકે સમામાં નહીં.
સરકાર પહેલ નીમામાં અમરવાદ રીસો
માલ હતા. પાકી એ જાનેને મુખમાં
ના પકા પ્રમાન ના, મળેને કામ કહ્યો
અને તેમજ પાત્રવા પહેલે મળે નામે
સુધાકામાં સમામાં આપે, અંગરજીએ
હતું કે તમારે એક કેસમાં તેને જાણ
માવામાં શ્રી. જાને એકસમર એમને
મળવા મળા હતા અને મળવામાં પોત
ને એ કહ્યું તેની વાત અને મોરદેની
પુનની વાત રી હતી.

આગળ સાલના અમાર પકાઈ મારા-
સાક્ષીએ ન મળેનીની ઉત્તર તપાસ
મોરદે હતી અને અંગરજી શ્રી. મોપદ
કરની તપાસમાં હતું હા. કમર
નગરમાં રમાવવા કાવતરમાં કરકરે
માણના મરદ આપેને હતા એ રીસો
પાકીસને કહ્યું હ અને સાવરકરને
પણ એમાં કામ નહીં અમરમાને
પા. જાનેને કહેવાથી પ્રવેશરને કા.
તરની મંદીર ની આપેને પ-
હતી.

હિં

દ અને વાહિયાત—એ જોડિયા સાથેએને આને એક વરસ પહેલાં છે. આપણા દેશમાં સામાન્ય રીતે વાહિયાતો વચ્ચે પછી તેમના પહેલા પેલા વરસ તેમના જીવન અને આરોગ્ય અને મારે જુદું જોખમપરેલા તોય છે. આ બે બાબતો પણ એ નીચમથી મુકત ન રહ્યાં. પ્રથમ જરૂર બરાબ ખીમારી છે અને મુસીબતોમાં તેમનું મેક વરસ પીછું છે અને મુસીબતોના દીવસ પીછી મળા છે ને બંને બાબતો તંદુરસ્ત રહેવને મુશ્કેલી પેલાં થઈ એક કષ્ટ પણ ખાતરીપૂર્વક ન કહી શકાય. આખાં થોડાં જમીમાં તેમને કેવા અનુભવોમાંથી પસાર થયું પડશે તેની અગત્ય નથી. આમાં વધારે કુખાલી તોય તે એ છે કે જે આજોનાંથી દેશ પસાર થઈ રહ્યો છે તે કુદરતે નાખતી નથી, પણ આપણી મોનાની જુરાઈએમાંથી પેલા થયેલી છે. આપણા આ હરિયાણા સુધરે દેશમાં નાં કુદરતે પોતાની જમી સંપત્તી આપણને જતાં છે ત્યાં ચાલુસ ન જુદેમ અને કુષ્ટ થતાં સમા ને, અને પોતાની જ નવીનીત તથા પોતામાં રહેલા દુસ્તી અને ક્ષાત્રીક બાવનાઓનો કુદરમ બની મળા છે.

કમરો વરસમાં એકાર વારે કુદરત કુતીયામાં એક એવા માણસ પેલા કન છે. જે માણસની નાનકડી કુદરતોમાં તેને મારે સકળ હોય તેવો, બગાડનાની સમાપ પહેલાંમાં ગણાય પાયા છે. ધમરજી પાથી એનો એક માનસ આપણા જ જમાનામાં આપણામાં પેલા થયે પછી આપણી મુશ્કેલીએ એ સમગ્રજગતે એનો આ બમવરમાન ન આપણા રાજકીય, સામાજિક અને ધાર્મિક આદર્શોને નુકસાન પહોંચાડનારો છે અને આ માણસ ને વધારે વખત જીવેલા રહ્યાં અને વધારે અગવડ ની સમાપ વળો અથો તે એ આપણા રાજકીયે મારે મોટી આગત થઈ પડશે. આ મુખાંના જોરમાં આપણે આપણે જ હાથે નેની દત્તા કરી. આ પદ ના પણ આ આજોના જીવનના પહેલા વરસમાં જ પતી

આ બે બાબતો—હિંદુશો અને વાહિયાતનાં—આખું વરસ એટલા ખીમાર, કમજોર, કુખી અને ઉર્ણામાં રજાં કે તેથી પછાતના દીપમાં નીરાસો તે કુખ જાણી મળાં છે. અમતના આ પહેલા જનમદાન પ્રસંગે મારા પર કેટલા કે પત્રો આજ્યા છે. પરંતુ તેમાં ઉત્તર કે, મહા અને અખાનંદને વરસે અરેસેસ, પીસાદ અને નીરાસો જ વધારે છે. તેમના પ્રત્ય સહાનુજ્ઞની હોવા છતાં હું એ પ્રતીત પ્રોત્સાહન આપવા માગતો નથી. પોતાનું બાગક આખું વરસ ખીમાર રહ્યું હોય, કષ્ટ તથા જરા ખીમાર જોય અને પોતાના ખાપને પણ મોઈ એકું હોય છતાં તેની પહેલી વરસમાંને દીવસે તેની દીપમાં મગત

પંદરમી ઓગસ્ટ

દેખી : શોષ પાળતી નથી પણ આગે કહે છે. મોટી ઉમરના માણસ પણ આખું વરસ ખીમાર રજા હોય, કષ્ટ પમારી કોટી ન હોય અને વરસ દરમાયાન મજા નુકસાન મોગજી હોય છતાં તેમાં પોતાના જનમ દીવસે કુખી નથી જાણતા. મારે હવે આનંદ ન આવું આવે છે. જનમની પદતમાં જ એક એવી પીસેવના રહેલી કે જે ને દીવસ ની સાથે જોડી દેવામાં આવે છે અને બંને વરસ અને તેરજી બરાબ ચલુ હોય છતાં બધીપદને માટે ને તેના દીવસમાં એક નવી આજોના સંગાર કરે છે.

વરસમાંને દિવસે જુદા મગનાં પ્રદાનું અર્થદાન નથી. એક જીવ પેદા થયે એટલે જીવનનું એક રોય પાદ પાડવાની નરી આસા ઉત્પલ નથી. જનમદાન એ આજોને કરીથી પાછ કરે છે. જીવન અને આજો એ એક ખીમારો અવિભક્ત પાડ છે. સો વરસનો ફોલ રજા વરસ થઈ. કેવળ પમારી મા પડીને રજાડ કાઢતો જોય, કોમ આસા સરળ થવાની બાજી રહી કે એવી આજના પણ તેને ન જોય પતા તે પણ પોતાની વરસમાંને દીવસે કાંઈક ખુસ થાય છે. પોતાને સો વર્ષનું માંજી આપુય થયું છે. કષ્ટકલ જ એવી થસમતાનું કારણ હોઈ શકે તેજી જીવન માં લુપ્ત તથા વનડ રહી, કે પળ પણ જોડે રહી, કપારિક મલુના બાવામાં છુવાની પ્રાર્થના પણ કરી રહી, છતાં પોતાને દીપાંતુર મળ્યું તેને મારે તેના અંતરના કૌકળમાં જીવનનાં બાપ છુટવા વમર રહેતો નથી. જનમમાંને દિવસે એ બાપ એકાંતરની માત્રમાં પ્રગટ થઈ જાય છે. આની પાછળ દરમ અત્તજીપણે એવો વિશ્વાસ રહેલો છે કે કેવળ જીવના રહેવું એજ એક આગ્રાવીક છે.

ત્યારે આપણા રાજકીય જીવનના આ મહત્વના દિવસે આપણે જિસાદિત થા એ. અને કુતીયાની ને દિશ કાળા વાહનાથી મગગીન દેખાવી હોય તે વરસ ને દિશ ન કરીએ પણ જે દિશમાંથી વાહના વીપરાઈ જતાનાં મિક દેખાતા હોય તે તરફ પણ જોઈએ.

રામ અને બરતની રંગ પલ પ્રમ બમ એક સાથે—એકજ સમયે થયેા હોય. એ સરીરમાં એક જીવ રંગો બે બાઈએને નમૂનો તેઓ થવાની મળા છે. તેજ પ્રમાણે દીકર અને પાળી-રતાની પાનમાં પણ બે રાજકીયમાં એકજ થવનું છે અને દોની ભેંડીએ સરીર જુદાં જોવાને કારણે તેમનાં પતન પોષણ બે મનાઓ કરે છે. કુખીએ કોસમ્પ અને કેસીની પેંડ આ બે માતા એમાં થોડા નથી. કેસીએ બાળોમાં તેઓ એક બાળોનો દીવસ કરે છે. કેસીએ મધ્યમમાં તેમને પેદા કરવા

આપણે તેમના તચ્ચે કુદ પડાવે છે. આ કારણેને બીધે આ બે બાઈએને પહેલું વરસ સાં ન મળ્યું. આપણે તાજીએ જોએ કે આવાંજ કારણથી રામ અને બરતને ચોદ વરસ બાદ કુખમાં કાઢવા પડ્યા ને દરમાયાન તેમજ પોતાના પિતાને બાપા. સીતાનું દરજી થયું અને રાવજી સાથે જીવનારે થયું કરવું પડ્યું. એજ પ્રમાણે આ બે પ્રમથોના નરખમાં પણ જુરા દિવસ થયા હોય એમ બને. પણ તેથી આપણે નિરાશ ન થઈએ, કોમન ન હારીએ રામ અને બરતની પેરે આપણે આપણી આનંદવાળ બને જીવ ની જુરાઈનાં કોમનપૂર્વક સામનો કરવા ને નિમ્મ કરીએ જોઈએ. આપણે એ પણ પાદ રાખવું જોઈએ કે જુરાઈના નાસ વધારે જુરાઈથી નહીં પણ વધારે નસાઈથી જ કરી શકાય. કુનિયામાંથી

ધશ્વરની ભાવના

(મનાકંથી માણુ)

મા ના કોઈક અને ઉન્નતિ મારે જામર વિગતી કષ્ટના, આપ ના, અકિત, નિષા એ બાળતો જરૂરી છે. તે માણસને જાનગીત વધે માં જરૂરી નથી. તેથી મગતારી સાંતી અને પ્રસન્નતાની માગવી મગને જીવ છે. માનવી માને અધાર આપણે તેને ઉત્ત કરવ મારે તે પરમ સકાયક છે. તેમાં મુખ્ય અને મહત્વની બાબત એજ છે કે આપણી પ્રિયર વિગતી કષ્ટ ના બને તેટલી શુદ્ધ, સાલ અને ઉદાત પોતી જોઈએ તેમાં મુશ્કેલી કે મુશ્કેલી ન જોઈએ. તે કષ્ટનામાંથી આપણા મિત્રને આજાસન—આજાર મળે તે મારે તેમાં કોઈ પણ માનના રમકાંડ ની અડપડ ન જોઈએ. ઉલ્ટું અહા વિશ્વાસ જાને નીચ સિતમાં પધાનું રહે એવા રજાંબા અને સામ જીવાળ તેમાં જોઈએ. તેમાં મધ્યમ, માર્ગદર્શક કે મુકની જરૂર ન હોવી જોઈએ. તે કષ્ટનાને માનનારનું પસળ રવા પીક રીતે નાવી અને પરીજનાપરાપણ જોડું જોઈએ. તેમાં સહમારનું પ્રમાન્ય જોઈએ. ક્ષા, સપ, પ્રમાણીકતા, પેન, નીમળતા, ઉસાદના, નીશિંતવા, સાંતી અને પ્રસન્નતા એ તેમણેની મળ નારા સહજ સાંભો ફોલા જોઈએ મનુષ્યમાન પર પ્રમ વધતો રહે, સહ કષ્ટના કષ્ટાણની કમ્બા હોયો નીમળ રહે અને કનંજ કરવાની રહુતી સતત કાપરા રહે અને કષ્ટનાનાં સપામાં કીક પરીજાઓ હોવાં જોઈએ. અસાન અને મોખપણ મા. પીકરિનું જાળ નારા પ્રમ, આસાનું ના—એકાંત—નિસ

જુરાઈની નાસ કરવામાં મુશ્કેલી થઈ નથી જોઈએ; કુતીયા મારે મધરે આ મોલમા કરી છે તે આપણે વનજીના નથી અને એ આપણા કાષની વાન નથી. પણ પૂના બાપુની જે કાંઈ નહીં તે આપણે એટલી નિમ્મ જરૂર કરી શકીએ કે આપણે કિયે મગત એવું ન કહી શકે કે નિરાશ થઈને જુરાઈનાં સામનો કરવાનું આપણે છોટી રીધું અને મરીય માય જોયા થઈને તેની સામે મુકી પડ્યા. મધરજી પાથી એક દિવસ એવા જરૂર આપણે, બપાવે બને રાજકીયની પ્રત આ બધી જુરાઈ એ અને મુશ્કેલીમાંથી વાર ઉતરીને આરોગ્ય, તેજ અને સાંતિ અનુભવે અને રામ તથા બરતની પેરે પ્રમ અને નામકંઈપણે રાજકીય કારબાર અસાવરી એવી આસા આપણે ન છોડીએ. પર મામાના આરા આપીવીર આપણાપર જિતેલા કીશારલાસ મશરવાળા. (કરીમન બંધુ)

પણ, આત કરાંબાન અને શુભ બંને જુદાં બપાવર અને તેવરથી થાય, પ્રમને પ્રોત્સાહન મળે, અને અહંકાર કુર થાય કોઈક પ્રભાવ એ કષ્ટનામાં હોયો જોઈએ આપણી પામરતા અને કુદતા આપણી પંચના અને કોઈકેય, આપણે આજસ અને જરૂરત એ બધાનો નાસ કરીને આપણી કરોન્ડીએ અને નામે ની-બની શુદ્ધી કરે અને આપણાં આતમચીઆસ પેલા કરે, તેમજ આપણા સરીર, જુદાં અને મનમાં નીલ તથા જીવનને સંચાર કરે એવો દીવસ થયો તે કષ્ટનામાં જોવા જોઈએ. પ્રારંભ, માણસને સર્વ પ્રકારે મનુષ્યત્વ તરફ રમ જાને તેના જીવનની સંપૂર્ણ સંકી તેને મેળવી આપી કુતાર કરે એવું સામજ્ય તે કષ્ટનામાં જોઈએ. આવી જાનની પ્રિયર વિગતી કષ્ટના માવનું કષ્ટાણુર કરશે, તેથી કેટલુંએ અદીત થાય એ કસાળી રાકય નથી.

રેક સમયે પોત્ય એવી પ્રિયર વીસી ની કષ્ટના માણસને પ્રાજ થાય તે માનવજાતીના કેટલાએ અનુભો દગા નય પરંતુ માનવજાતીના કુખીયને સંધિ કષ્ટ મુખી આ વાન માણસના કષ્ટમાં આવતી નથી. આજના પ્રમયે પણ કોસ પાંચ કાવર તે કોસ બે કાવર કોસ એક કાવર તે કોસ પાંચેલા કે સો વર્ષ પહેલાની પ્રિયર વિગતી કષ્ટના અને તેની આજી જાણુ રહેલી થમ કષ્ટનાને દર પકટીને બેઠા છે. માન વજનની કષ્ટાણુ કષ્ટ આપણોમાં કે અને પીમાર ન કરતાં જીવી કષ્ટનામાં દીઆ માનનાને આપણા ગધાનો

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૫૧૨ ૦ ૮ ૧૧
૫૧ ૦ ૮ ૬
૫૧ ૦ ૮ ૧૧
૫૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧
૫૧ ૦ ૭ ૧૧

રૂપરી તથા સોનેરી સાડીના પદા, મીનાકારી એસીંગ, ફલ વીધરે મળશે.

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પા. ૧-૧૦-૦

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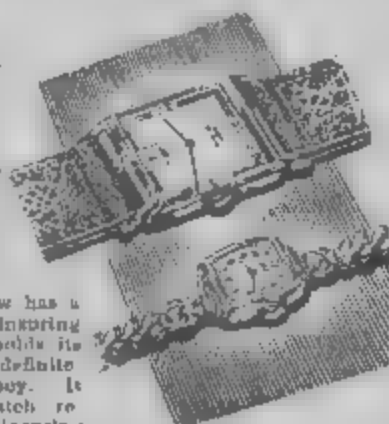
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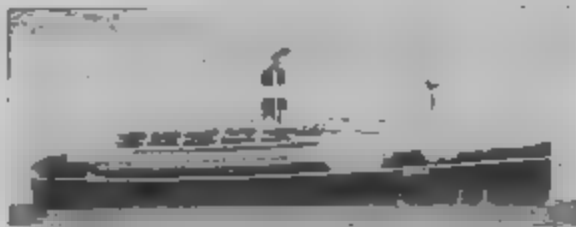
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તા. ૧૫ મીના પોરબંદર થઇ મુંબઇ જવા ઉપડશે.
રફી. "ટરીયા" સપ્ટેમ્બર તા. ૧૫ મીના આવી
તા. ૨૦ મીના મુંબઇ જવા ઉપડશે.

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સેકન્ડ એકાદમી વગર પા. ૪૦-૧૦-૦.

૧૬મી કાફા મુસ્લીમ વીરી સાથે પા. ૧૮-૧૩-૧.

૧૬મી કાફા હિંદી વીરી સાથે પા. ૧૮-૦-૦.

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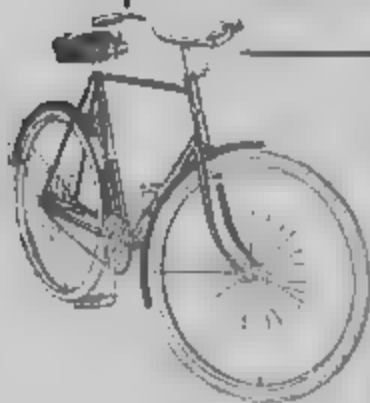
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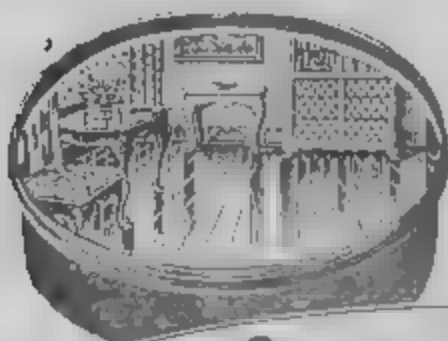
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FRIDAY, 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1948

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1948

A GLOOMY FUTURE

A N important question which flows from the debate in the Indian Parliament, cannot help getting the impression that the rulers are really not working in the interests of the people but are indulging in power politics. The two major Parties—the Party in power and the Opposition are both too busy fighting one another to solve the problems of the people whose interests they are supposed to serve. They are only trying to find faults with and to embarrass one another. It is a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

The all-important question with the Opposition would appear to be, whether the Government has the right to abolish Native representation in the Assembly by a simple majority of the House instead of a two-thirds majority of both Houses, thus violating the terms of the entrenched clauses of the Constitution. All of a sudden they have become too conscious of the moral aspect of the question. Why was not the same concern shown when the Opposition was in power, we wonder? Without thinking of the moral aspect the past Governments have trampled on the rights of the non-Europeans to satisfy the prejudices of the Europeans in order just to win their vote. The present Government is doing nothing more nor less.

What is the result of this? The Government has introduced a bill to abolish Native representation in the Assembly. It is an extension of the party game, all done by the party in power. The Opposition is too busy fighting one another to solve the problems of the people whose interests they are supposed to serve. They are only trying to find faults with and to embarrass one another. It is a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

We do not hear anyone in Parliament condemning segregation as being wrong in principle. Nobody seems to realise that the days of the colour bar are over and that in these days of enlightenment we will have to go and the sooner it is abolished willingly by the power that be the better it will be for all concerned. If it is not done in time, no power on earth will be able to stay the tidal wave of the wrath of the oppressed people which will overtake them not only South Africa but the whole world. Those whose eyes are open can see the danger and can see the need to think what shape it will take.

Mr. de Waard and Mr. Eric Louw say they are doing nothing more nor less.

enlighten the United Nations as to the true position in the Union and to counteract what has been done by the Basists and the Michael Sedra and they will not be able to do it. The result will be a disaster for the Union. The United Nations will not listen to what Mr. Louw or Mr. de Waard says. They will read what Dr. Mahatma has already said about South Africa's policy. That will sink into every Asiatic and every Indian mind. Then someone Mr. Louw might have to say to the Indian delegation at U.N. The racial feelings of the non-European people over the segregation introduced on the trains in the Cape will also tell their own tale. There will be no need for Mr. Eric Louw to tell it.

And now we hear the sad tale of the Maoris in New Zealand who have been excluded from the New Zealand Rugby team that is to tour South Africa next year. The team is known as the All Blacks but the Blacks, because of the colour of their skin are barred from accompanying the team. The New Zealand Rugby Union claims to have taken the step out of pure motives—to save the Maoris from being victims to the South African colour bar. It may be true, and if South Africa is aware of it surely it could conform to the ordinary rules of courtesy and express its welcome to them and assure them of its safety. Their susceptibility is being squandered.

But such a gesture is perhaps too much to be expected of South Africa in her present mood. It seems to be little realised what serious repercussions this incident is going to have not only in New Zealand and in South Africa but through on the non-European world. How is Mr. Louw going to counteract that? What will be the result of all this? A clash of the like of which has never yet been seen. For the non-European all the world over are no longer asleep. They are wide awake and they will no doubt have the support of all the right-thinking people of the world. War clouds are gathering. In what shape they will burst is a question. Nobody wants to see blood shed. There is hope only in the weapon that Mahatma Gandhi has given the world. That is Satyagraha. The salvation of all the oppressed people lies in imbibing the spirit of Satyagraha in word and deed. Let it remembered, however that it allows of no hatred, no untruth, no secrecy. It is a weapon which can only be wielded by those who believe in God and have faith in Him and in prayer. Any others trying to wield it will not succeed. Much as we should like to pray that there would be peace in the world, we know that there can be no peace where God is forgotten. It will come from prayer and self-sacrifice. God helps those who help themselves. That is all we would pray for all the oppressed people and for which guidance to those in power.

DR. MALAN OUTLINES FOREIGN AND AFRICAN POLICY

SEES GRAVE DANGER OF ASIATIC PENETRATION

SPEAKING in the House of Assembly last week, the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, outlined the Government's policy in the present world situation and its attitude to Commonwealth co-operation and to co-operation with other African territories.

The Government, he said, stood with the Western Union against the Communist bloc, but had not yet tried to join the Western Union which at present was confined to Europe.

Although he could not attend a conference of Empire Prime Ministers next month, he had no objections in principle to attending such conferences and would do so if it was in South Africa's interests.

Dealing with the Government's Africa policy the Prime Minister said: "We in South Africa cannot free ourselves from the fate of the rest of Africa. We are a part of Africa. We are the only part of Africa which has a large settled white population. What ever happens in the rest of Africa must have repercussions here. We want to maintain good relations with the rest of Africa."

The Union also had trade interests with the rest of Africa. To a large extent the future was bound up with trade with the rest of the continent. Communications were another important aspect. All the communications with Europe were across Africa.

"Our interests are mostly mutual. Therefore we wish to maintain close relations with the other African territories."

South Africa had a special position on the African continent as a white man's country, with a vast experience of non-European policy. Therefore the Union had a right to advise to the position of adviser and leader on the African continent in these matters.

As for the African territories south of the Sahara, the Government's intention was to give the fullest co-operation in all conferences on research into problems affecting Africa as a whole, and the Union in particular. As for the world as a whole, he thought that all the European countries which had interests in the African continent including the United States which had an interest in Liberia, should get together and form a common Africa policy.

There was already the policy of Pan-Americanism across the Atlantic and the attempt was now being made to create a Western Union. The question now arose whether it was necessary to create a Pan-African Charter.

That suggestion might seem

somewhat idealistic but it might have important results. It was extremely important in Africa that there should be some sort of arrangement between those peoples who had great interests in it.

Peoples of Africa who had not advanced far along the road of development must be led in the direction of Christian civilisation. Africa would have to be held for the people of Africa and protected against the grave danger of Asiatic penetration. There were parts of Africa—particularly Kenya—where the European population was alarmed about the open door to Asiatic, and particularly Indian penetration.

That penetration was creating

a grave problem, not only for those parts of Africa most particularly affected, but for the whole of Africa. In the sort of Charter he envisaged, provision could be made for the protection of Africa against this penetration.

Another important problem was the militarisation of the African people. That was the matter which was of great concern to the Union, and it was South Africa's duty to protect the people of Africa from that danger.

South Africa was also particularly concerned on the question of who was to become supreme in the Mediterranean, and the fate of the Suez Canal.

BLUNT QUESTIONS TO PRIME MINISTER

MR. J. G. N. STRAUSS, the former Minister of Agriculture, asked the Prime Minister these questions last week in the Union House of Assembly: "Is the Government going to deprive the Coloured voter of his rights and replace them by the type of representation enjoyed by Cape Natives? Is the Government going to banish the Native Representatives from the House? If so, how are these changes to be made?"

Mr. J. H. Conradie, the Nationalist member for Gordonias, who spoke next, said that Mr. Strauss' questions had already been answered decisively by the people who had put the present Government in power. The Nationalists had told the people before the election that they were going to place the Coloured people on a separate voters' roll and that the present representation of Natives would be done away with. The Status Act of 1934, he said, declared that Parliament was the supreme authority and could repeal any law passed previously—even by a majority of one.

An interjector asked "Is that the policy?" and Mr. Conradie replied "It can be the policy. The people have given us the policy. The people outside have decided and have put us in power, and we can do what they demand."

"The Nationalists have let the cat out of the bag at last," said Mr. Strauss in an interview. "To say that the people have given the Government a mandate to deprive the Coloured voter of his rights is nonsense. Never at any time before the election did the Nationalists ask the electorate to support them on the issue of

altering the entrenched clauses of the constitution by a simple majority. The matter was first raised by 'Die Kruithoring' in articles published after the election.

"It would be a great act of betrayal if Mr. Conradie's statement reflected his party's policy."

In addition to the Coloured franchise, the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act also protected the equality of English and Afrikaans as official languages.

During his speech in the Assembly Mr. Strauss showed that General Hertzog, Dr. Stals, Mr. Swart and Dr. D. G. Conradie, all agreed in 1931 that it would be a breach of faith to change the entrenched clauses by less than a two-thirds majority of both Houses together.

Dr. Smit's View

Dr. D. L. Smit, the United Party member for East London City, vice-chairman of the Native Affairs Commission, and former Secretary for Native Affairs, said that even the representation of Natives could not be abolished by simple majority in Parliament.

He made these points: Section 41 of the Natives Representation Act of 1936 extended the entrenched provisions of the South Africa Act to the voting privileges of Natives.

"The Cape Natives cannot be deprived of the vote, nor can the number of their representatives in Parliament be altered without a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together."

"Whether Parliament has the right, under the Status Act to disregard Section 41 of the 1936

Act is a question of law, but it would be a grievous breach of faith for any Government to disregard the moral obligation they undertook towards the Cape Natives when they passed the 1936 Act.

WHAT MR. LOUW WILL DO?

MR. ERIC LOUW, Minister of Economic Affairs and Mines, who left Capetown in the Athlone Castle last week to lead the South African delegation at the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, said in a Press statement that he hoped to enlighten the leaders of the Indian delegation as to the real state of affairs in the Union.

"I wish to assure my fellow South Africans that when I speak at the UNO Assembly I shall speak only as a South African, and only with the object of furthering and protecting the interests of our country."

"General Smuts, a previous delegate to the UNO Assembly, found that he was confronted by what he termed a wall of prejudice—prejudice showing partly from ignorance of conditions in South Africa but in a large extent the result of hostile propaganda."

"My endeavour will be to break down that wall of prejudice, mainly by supplying information. To that end, I have already taken certain steps which, I hope, will have the desired effect. In so far as prejudice is the result of hostile and often malicious propaganda, I shall deal with it in my own fashion."

"I am convinced that also the leaders of India and Pakistan are unaware of the extent to which they have been misled by this propaganda."

"I shall not hesitate to establish contact with the leaders of the Indian delegation with the hope that by frank discussions I shall be able to enlighten them as to the real state of affairs in South Africa."

"But, while I am prepared to go out of my way in meeting criticism with frank discussion, I wish to state very definitely that I will not consent to fill the role of the accused in the dock."

During the absence of Mr. Louw, Dr. T. E. Donges, Minister of the Interior and Posts and Telegraphs, will act as Minister of Economic Affairs, and Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice, will take the Mines portfolio.

DR. MALAN'S GOVERNMENT CRITICISED IN INDIA

COMMENTING on the introduction in the Union House of Assembly by Dr. Malan of the Bill to amend the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, repealing the provisions in that Act providing for representation of Indians in the South African Senate and Assembly and the Natal Provincial Council, the 'Hindustan Times' writes:—

"Neither the people of this country nor Indians in South Africa will be unduly perturbed by the move to repeal provisions which implied a slur on the community. But the intention of the Union Government is to deny Indians even the limited franchise which the Act conceded while retaining the segregation laws. This is the Union Government's reply to the appeal of the United Nations Assembly to the two Governments to get together to settle the dispute. It may be that because last year's resolution in the General Assembly did not have the requisite two-thirds majority, it has no legal validity. But the resolution of December 8, 1946, is on record and the issue is bound to come up before the Assembly again in one form or another.

Dr. Malan's Government by introducing the new Bill have given notice to the world that not only are they not prepared to take positive steps to bring about a settlement of the dispute but they are going to take the quarrel one stage further by depriving Indians in South Africa of even the few rights they still possess. The issue before the United Nations is not the narrow one of the status of Indians in South Africa but the broader one of racial inequality and white supremacy on the basis of which South Africa aspires to build a Fascist State in that continent. This conception of Government being controlled and carried on by a small white minority in a country inhabited by a large majority of non-white races who are to have no voice in the Government and who are treated as sub-humans, not entitled to even ordinary human rights strikes at the very root of the principles of human brotherhood and racial equality on which the U.N. Charter is founded. The United Nations must find a solution of the problem based on justice and fairplay or be false to the very principles on which it has been established."

Indian Government's Attitude

The Government had no intention of taking any steps about the repeal of part of a South African law which Indians in South Africa considered obnoxious, the Prime Minister, Pandit

Nehru, told an Indian Parliament session in New Delhi. Pandit Nehru said the Bill sought to repeal the chapters in an Act providing for a limited franchise on a communal basis.

"As the Indians have been opposed to these provisions since they were enacted repeal will make no practical difference to them," he said.

On the general safeguarding of Indian interests he recalled India's stand in 1946 and 1947 at the General Assembly of the United Nations and added that the Government had already asked that the subject be included in the Assembly's agenda in Paris later this month.

'Cape Times'

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Government is introducing the Bill to repeal Part II of the Indian Act with the intention only of embarrassing the United Party, says the 'Cape Times'. The manoeuvre might or might not succeed. But whether the Nationalists succeed in this world little party political intrigue is of little importance. We do not think that the United Party is going to oblige the Nationalists by splitting itself into fragments; and even if the Nationalists manage to succeed, the Nationalists will be buying their little bit of political fun at too high a price.

The Indian Act is one of the most important and significant Acts on the Statute Book—significant because it deals fundamentally with South Africa's racial problem, and important because it is one of the few Acts which have a direct international meaning. In amending this Act, the Nationalists ought to be fully aware that they are acting in the Government of South Africa and not as a political party seeking cheap party benefit. The facts of the situation are clear enough.

A South African Government imposed heavy restrictions on a section of the community totally unrepresented in the councils of the nation and on grounds solely of race and colour. A policy of naked racial discrimination thrust on an unrepresented minority is a policy which the outside world in its present mood regards as obnoxious. The discrimination was made less obnoxious by the grant at the same time of certain political rights which represented a distinct advance. The South African Prime Minister of the day made it quite clear that the restrictions would not be passed without the benefits, and it was on this basis that Parliament passed the Act and on this basis that it was defended to the outside world.

In this form the Act is a contract between the dominant White people in that country and the 250,000 Indians who are affected. That groups of Indians claiming to represent various sections of the Indian community have for reasons of their own rejected the Act, is totally irrelevant. Part II was South Africa's gesture of good faith to an unrepresented racial minority, to remove it after the restrictive part of the bargain had been fully implemented is simply bad faith. We do not claim that this Government should be bound by a policy of its predecessors with which it disagrees. But if it disagrees with a policy, let that policy be repealed and replaced with another which the present Government can frame, and with which it can face its critics in the country and the outside world. If the Government intends nothing more than merely to repeal Part II, Mr. Te Water is going to be loaded with a task which party political expediency will have made vastly more onerous than it need be.

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

WHEN the Gandhi murder trial was resumed at the Red Fort on August 16, the Special Judge, Mr. Atma Charan announced that he had rejected the application filed by counsel for accused Madanlal praying that judicial notice be taken of Mahatma Gandhi's actions, movements and speeches and writings that, for that purpose, the Court should recognise the compilation known as "Delhi Diary" as a standard book of reference in the Court.

After this the cross-examination of Mr. Anand Singh was continued by Mr. Dange, counsel for

Kackare.

The next witness was Mr. Bhimrao of Matunga, Bombay. On August 17 Shanker Kistayya, one of the accused being in default, the hearing of the case was adjourned till Friday, August 20.

Mr. Charandas Meghn Mathuradas, a partner in the Bombay Union Dyeing Mills, was further cross-examined. He said he had given Rs. 1,000 to Apte to meet the Razakar menace. He was not interested in politics.

When asked by Mr. Dange whether he had given to the Mahatma Gandhi Fund, witness

went on to say that it was a personal matter, but the Judge said that there was nothing personal in Court and he would have to reply. Witness said he had not donated as yet but he was going to do so.

After minor witnesses Doot Maharaj came to the witness box. On January 22 Apte, Badge and Godse, Madanlal and another person went to Dixit Maharaj's house.

Badge was showing him a league certificate of a bag, when witness was out of the room. On returning he saw these articles and also hand-grenades. Witness asked them what the object of their coming to his house and exhibiting these articles was. He told him that they were coming on an important mission and that they wanted a revolver from him. Badge would not disclose what the mission was.

They asked witness, Doot Maharaj, for a revolver, saying that it was dangerous to proceed beyond Delhi without a revolver.

Although witness said he could not help owing to ill-health, Godse and Apte insisted that he should help them by the evening.

The Court then adjourned.

(To be continued)

New Organisation For Coloured People

A new organisation known as the Transvaal Coloured People's Vigilance Council has been formed to represent Coloured opinion in the Province. Mr. Albertus Popp, organising secretary, is reported to have said that the council had been set up following the vote of no confidence in the African People's Organisation passed at a recent Kliptown meeting. Meetings were being held in various towns and a branch was formed at Grahamstown. It is planned to hold a conference soon when it will be decided whether the organisation should remain provincial or become national. "The Council will not subscribe to any foreign influence or ideology, but will foster the spirit of Coloured nationalism," said Mr. Popp. It is proposed to approach the Government on the subject of extending the franchise. The Council dissociates itself from any movement calling for unification with the Indians and will not take part in the week of prayer against apartheid. Mr. J. N. Jacobs, of Bloemfontein told a representative of 'The Star' that he is shortly returning to the Free State to set up a vigilance council there.

PANDIT NEHRU ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

IN the course of his speech at the first Local Self-Government Minister's Conference held recently in Delhi, the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru said: "We have got independence for all practical purposes. Independence is a high privilege; but it is sometimes forgotten that it is a very great responsibility, a very great burden. It should be a pleasurable burden, a desirable burden but it is a burden. If you are not competent to discharge that responsibility, to that extent you fail, the country fails."

"In India you still had the pre-independence mentality flourishing a great deal, that is the mentality of opposition, the mentality of putting forward negative and not positive policies. Every free Government must necessarily give full weight to critical opposition. No Government will function well however good it is, if there are no critics to point out the errors. Therefore, a constructive critical opposition is an essential part of good Government. At the same time opposition for opposition's sake is futile. When there is the national movement facing a hostile executive of foreigners that was a completely different matter. The only possible thing to do was to fight the Government. It is only after we got independence that we could use the constructive side of our work. It is not good enough to have a free democratic country in name but attitude. In fact and in practice the Government is a removable Government, relying on popular will, votes, etc. The opposition must be a constructive opposition, a critical opposition. It may be a friendly opposition or it may not be, but it must be constructive opposition. When an opposition feels that it can never become the Government, it becomes completely irresponsible and it is only interested in breaking the Government and not in making the Government themselves. To-day, there is a tremendous spirit of negative opposition and criticism everywhere, whether it is our home policy or whether it is our foreign policy. There may be many things which deserve criticism and condemnation. What I wish to point out is the approach to the question, the approach of irresponsibility. Every citizen is supposed to be a sharer in this task of Government. This approach of irresponsibility can be countered by each citizen feeling a certain amount of responsibility in his field of work, however limited it may be. He should start feeling responsible for his town or village."

"It is essential," he said, "that every person must have the freedom

to do the work; then he becomes responsible. At the same time, we have to guard against errors. Whatever the sphere, give freedom to work. If you like to have some kind of check, check later on when the errors go far enough; do not check at the start. Do not look to somebody else for guidance."

Language Problem

In the earlier part of his speech, the Prime Minister referred to the language question. He said, "We all know, there is some controversy going on in the country about the language question. All countries do not do the same thing from above. A living language has to be a part of the common life of the people, and all that the Government and the educational system can do is to give a little impetus to it. Although Government's activities will have to be conducted more and more in Hindustani, still the English language will have to be used for many purposes. There is no reason why we should look upon this question as one of high principle or of prestige. From the practical point of view it is clear that we will have to use Hindustani more and more, not excluding English, but using it wherever necessary, because English is not only a language that we have used for a long time, but it is one of the major languages of the world. Also, I do not see why in using Hindustani we should not encourage the use of well established English technical terms in Hindustani instead of trying to translate them into heavy understandable words. There are many such terms which have become common in Hindustani,

just as there are a number of Hindustani words which have become current even in English. I once took the trouble, when I had some leisure in Ahmadnagar, to collect the Hindustani words in the English language. I could not complete the task, but I was myself surprised to find such a number of Hindustani words current in the English language. Every living language must take words from whichever source it can. So we need not fight shy of taking words from English or from any other language."

Two Forces At Play

Dealing with two forces at play in the country Pandit Nehru said, "We have had suddenly to face vast problems. There are in India, as in the world, two forces at play—two contradictory forces. One of them is a unifying force and the other is, what I may term, a disruptive force, encouraging disruptive tendencies. There is the force working towards construction and co-operative effort and there is the force working towards destruction and destructive happenings. We see these forces at work in India. The destructive forces have done a great deal of injury to India. At the same time, they have made many of the people think deeply and work consciously towards establishing an essential unity. We had disruptive forces in the past under the name communalism. And although a very big change has taken place during the past few months since the partition of India, still the fact remains that communalism in a different guise still acts as a disruptive factor in the country."

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Indian National Congress writes:—

"A World Pacifist meeting is to be held in India at Shanmuketan in January, 1949. The original object was to enable a group of international pacifists and others to meet together under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi to find a way out of the present darkness. Unfortunately, his death has removed that possibility. However, the plans for the meeting have which Gandhi fully entered, are being pursued for we felt that it is all the more necessary that peace-workers can meet the close associates of Gandhi and take counsel together."

"World Wars and the present trend of world events point to the fact that the spirit of man has

gone away. It seems that it is only by the mobilisation of the powers of the spirit of man that a way can be found to free mankind from oppression and violence. It is our hope that a meeting, as proposed, of peace-workers from all over the world—who will have an opportunity for close personal intercourse with each other—as to strengthen their own conviction and the common mission—will generate new spiritual power in the world, so that a satisfactory way of life may be found for mankind."

"An All-India Invitation Committee, and an Executive Committee representative of the various communities in the country, have been formed with Horace Alexander and Hiralal Bose as secretaries and Bhagimath Kanoria as treasurer, to make the

arrangements for this meeting."

"Fuller details about this conference can be obtained from the Secretary to the Committee for World Pacifist Meeting, 1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta 16."

"It is estimated that for expenses in connection with the conference in India a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 (two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees) will be needed. In view of the importance and international scope of the conference, I have no doubt that the public will not grudge a contribution. The object of this meeting, namely to find ways of achieving peace, concerns everyone. No donation therefore is too small and every anna will be gratefully accepted. Contributions may kindly be sent to Shri Bhagimath Kanoria, Treasurer, World Pacifist Meeting, 8 Royal Exchange Place, Calcutta."

C.R.'s Radio Message To Rural India

FOR the first time, the Governor-General of India spoke to rural areas in Hindustani in a message broadcast on Independence Day in the rural programmes of A.I.R.

His Excellency said: "Anger and retaliation cannot give us happiness. The history of the past 12 months is a record of attempts to achieve happiness through anger and retaliation. If happiness could be achieved by retaliation, the people of Pakistan and India must both be very happy. We know how far away we are from happiness. This should teach us a lesson."

"Anger and retaliation are the devil's weapons to keep evil going in this world. Through them the devil is counteracting the teaching and defeating the purpose of the prophets and the saints."

"We should forget what has happened and pray to God that from now on we may live like human beings and brothers to one another. You should look upon every woman as your own sister and every child as your own child. By hating one another we cannot achieve satisfaction or happiness in our lives. It is only when we begin to help one another that we shall achieve true happiness."

"If something wicked takes place somewhere, treat it like plague or cholera and think of the means to isolate yourself from the infection."

"For Governmental purposes, our country has been divided into two, but in trade and economic affairs there is no conflict between Pakistan and India. We should help each other and advance trade and commerce in both States. If we help each other we shall both rise in the world and attain great prestige and influence."

NEWS ITEMS FROM INDIA

The U.N. Kashmir Commission issued a statement in Karachi on September 6, saying that the resolution which had been passed by them on August 23 could not be put into effect until the Govts. of India and Pakistan had given their answers.

The resolution has three main points: (1) Cease fire. Both parties should give instant orders for the cease of fire. This order should be given four days after the resolution had been accepted.

(2) Truce-Pakistan should remove her troops from Kashmir. India could keep some troops, enough to keep order in the state. The removal of troops would be supervised by U. N. Commission to see that it was done properly and fairly.

(3) That Pakistan should come to a permanent understanding with the state.

If India and Pakistan accepted the proposals, the U. N. Commission would take steps. At present it was waiting for both the parties to make up their minds.

Sir Archibald Nye the Governor of Madras relinquished his duties on September 1. The Maharaja of Bhopal is the Governor of Madras from now on. Sir Archibald Nye said that it would be over a source of pride and satisfaction to him that although he was appolated by a foreign power, the people of India had asked him to stay on with them even after becoming independent.

The admission of Pakistan to the U. N. Kashmir Commission, that they were fighting against India in Kashmir, aroused another statement from the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru. He said that the case of India was as clear as crystal before the U. N. Commission. It was inevitable for India to take action. If she had not done so, it would have been a measure of disgrace to her. But the case of Pakistan was based on deceit and falsehood. Pakistan's admission that the denial of their troops being in Kashmir, was false was important not only to the standard of practical politics, but to the standard of morality and behaviour that should subsist between nations.

Referring to the U. N. Kashmir Commission's proposals the Prime Minister said that the Government of India had accepted the proposal, but Pakistan had laid down such conditions that were equivalent to not accepting the proposals.

The Prime Minister said in Parliament on September 7 that the Government of India had asked the Nizam for the last time to disband the Razakars and to facilitate the return of Indian troops to Sikandarabad. This was necessary to ensure the safety of the people of the State, whether they were Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. Governor-General had asked the Nizam to allow the Indian troops to remain in Sikandarabad but the Nizam replied that he did not think it necessary, as matters were normal in the state. The Prime Minister said that the Government of India had time and again laid proposals before the State, but Hyderabad would not accept any of these, and they continued to make preparations for war. The Prime Minister said that he knew that they were being criticized for being too patient and forbearing with Hyderabad. But Pandit Nehru said, the Government of India tried every means to avoid war or conflict and tried to maintain the ideals to which they had pledged themselves at the beginning of the struggle for freedom. But the Government could no longer be blind to the numerous atrocities committed in the State so far. He asked the people of the State and people living on the borders not to migrate, but to stay on and maintain peace and calm and try to face difficulties bravely as this was a great phase in the history of India.

The Congress Working Committee has decided to form new Congress Committees for those States that have joined the Indian Union. The Working Committee has called upon the nation to observe the period between September 25 to October 7 as a period of celebrations for Mahatma Gandhi's birthday.

On September 8 it was learnt that the River Ganges had risen 12 feet above the danger level in Benares. People from 49 villages were successfully rescued and measures were taken for the prevention of diseases.

It is learnt that members of the Health Committee of the United Provinces go by aeroplanes to villages with medicines etc., and Doctors fly each morning to give treatment to the villagers and fly back to Lucknow.

COLOURED LEADER SPEAKS

MR. G. J. COULDRING, chairman of the Coloured Advisory Council and president of the Coloured Peoples National Union, when he opened a Dutch Reformed Church bazaar at Crawford last Saturday said:

"The action of the Government in enforcing segregation on the trains and its statements on the line of action it will follow in dealing with the franchise privileges of the Indians, Africans and Coloured people, indicate that it is suffering from a fear complex and it is introducing into us people a feeling of insecurity."

"The Government appears to be intent on destroying those small rights enjoyed by the Coloured people, and, while the Government has the legal right to do so, I am sure there will be repercussions the result of which will not be in the interests of the country as a whole."

We the Coloured people, together with the other non-European groups, are deriving benefit from the show of cowardice on the part of the Government. It

has strengthened our morale and will continue to do so to know that our potentialities are so great that we have to be oppressed and kept from developing to our fullest extent by the Government."

"When one considers that segregation was introduced in the Cape suburban trains by the Government without previous discussions with responsible Coloured people, it indicates to what extent the Government is afraid to face enlightened and advanced Coloured opinion on the matter."

"In the past we felt that the Government could solve our problems and encourage our development. Today, however, we are forced to seek assistance in the outside world. If the Government deprives us of our entrenched rights we shall have no other course but to appeal to the United Nations."

"In addition, we shall have to close ranks and join hands with our fellow South Africans in a struggle to free ourselves from the yoke of oppression and the stigma of being segregated."

M. K. GANDHI LIBRARY

The M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsee Rustomjee Hall Committee celebrated the 37th anniversary of the Library, at the Parsee Rustomjee Hall, 140 Queen Street, Durban, on Friday, September 3. Rev. A. J. Choonoo presided. The secretary's annual report showed that there were 6,419 books and 206 newspapers and periodicals in the Library, for the use of the public. The Parsee Rustomjee Hall was used by the Public for meetings, lectures and other gatherings. Both the Library and the Hall were free and on charge whatsoever was made for the use of same. Last year 45,299 persons attended the Library and 1,706 books were issued to readers. The chairman said that there were some who were asking, and very rightly too, whether reading facilities were provided for the Indian community by the City Council, something like the Municipal Library and Reading Rooms which were for Europeans only. With the large number of students from the primary and secondary schools turned out annually there was every need for such a Library for Indians in Durban. Not so long ago, he said, promises were made to the Indian community,

by the Mayor at the time, at a meeting of the Gandhi Library, that the City Council was contemplating establishing a Hall, Library and Reading Room for the benefit of the Indian and non-European community on the site known as Nicod Square. But much water has passed under the bridge since this statement was made and nothing had been done. What had become of this scheme, one cannot say. Perhaps like most non-European schemes, it still awaits some better day. It was true, however, he said, that the City Council treated this matter seriously and carried out their many promises to the Indian community, who as Ratepayers were entitled to some consideration. In the meantime we have to be content with the one we have. Among those who spoke were Messrs. V. Lawrence, Satya Deva, B. M. Patel, N. N. Desai and Manilal Gandhi. The pupils of Mr. N. N. Desai's Gujarati School entertained the audience with specially composed songs for the occasion. Mr. Jalljee Rustomjee in thanking the audience for their presence and the several speakers for their good wishes for the New Year, moved a vote of thanks to the Chair.

1997



"The road's my life..."

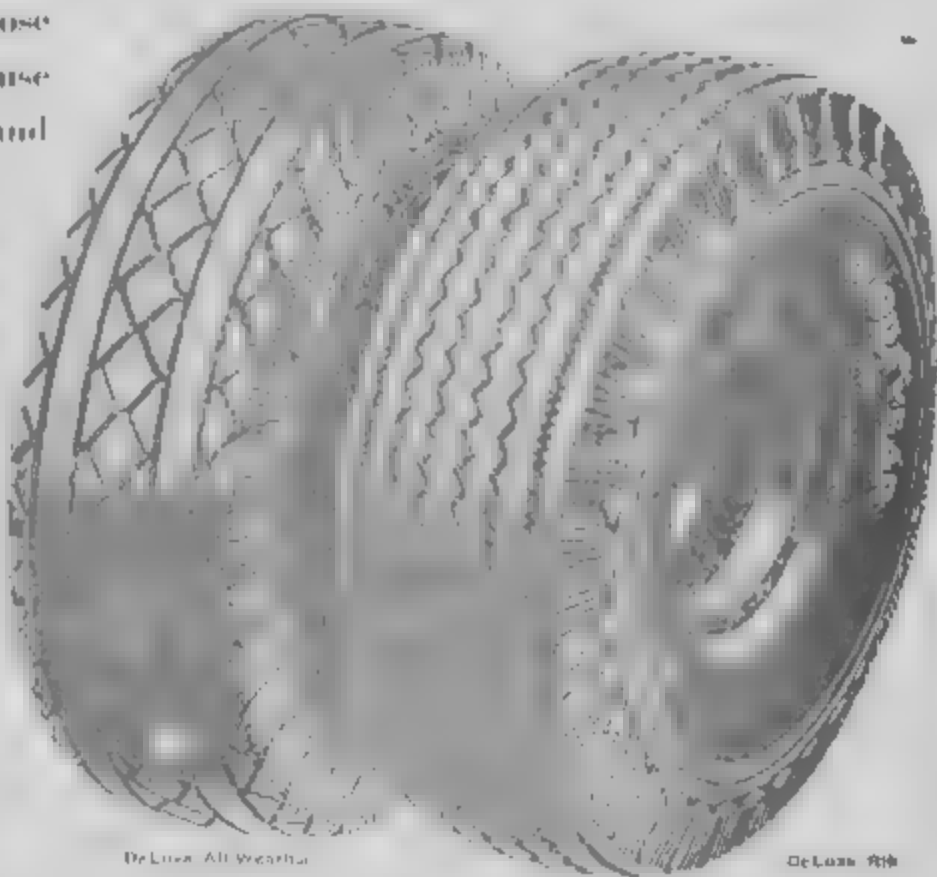
..... says the
Commercial Traveller

".... and tyre trouble means loss of LSD
to me in my earnings, so I've just got to be
fussy about my tyres — only the best will do.

I've tried all kinds in my time
and of them all I choose
Goodyear Deluxe because
they're so dependable and
last so long. It means I'm
getting something extra
in the way of tyres at
nothing extra in the
way of cost



These Deluxe Rib and All-
Weather tyres — as well as the
famous Super-Cushion — are pro-
ducts of the Goodyear factories
at Uitenhage, C.P.



Deluxe All Weather

Deluxe Rib

GOODYEAR

MORE PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER RIDE ON GOODYEAR TYRES THAN ON ANY OTHER MAKE

ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન

પ્રકાશક મોખીચંદા દસ્તા
સને ૧૯૦૧માં સ્થાપાયું.

પરનાં ૬૬ મું—અંક ૩૬

શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૦ સપ્ટેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮.

પ્રકાશક મોખીચંદા દસ્તા

“ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૦ સપ્ટેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

કાણું અવિષ્ય

તે રસ નીરીહાઈ જે સુનીયત પાત્રોમિન્દમાં ચાલી રહેલી અચાંચિત પર ક્યાંત આખી રહી. હશે તેને એવી છાપ પડ્યા વીના નહીં રહે કે રાજકર્તાના પ્રજા ના હીનમાં કામ નથી કરી રહ્યા પ્રજા સત્તાની રાજનીતી રહી રહ્યા છે. દેશના એ સમજવાના પદો—આજે જે સત્તા પર છે એ પદ અને વીરોધ પદ—અર્થ. જે જેનું હોત તેમનાં સેવાનું છે, તેને સત્તા સવાલોએ ઉકેલ સત્તામાં એક બીજાને મદદગાર થવા ને બદલે એક બીજાના ને પા એકબીજાના અને એક બીજાને મુઠ વળુમાં મુકવાના પ્રયત્નના કરી રહ્યા છે. ક્યારેક કુકાલે હશે એવું થાની રહ્યું છે.

વીરોધ પદને નોંધી મહત્વને સવાલ એ છે પરથી કે નેત્રી પાનુ પ્રતિનિધીત્વ આશય ના નથી જ ને સત્તાવાની એકવાચક મહુ માત્રી એકવાચક સીવાય સારા બહુ સનીથી નાબુદ કરી દેશના ગાંધારણની સીદાંતની કલમોનો બંધ કરવાની સરકારને સત્તા છે કે કેમ? એકાંચિત તેઓનામાં સવાલની નેત્રીક ગાંધુ નેવાની નાબુતી આવી મર્યાદા, નાબુતી ની વાત એ છે કે વીરોધ પદ અપાદે સત્તામાં ફરો ત્યાં તેને એ ચીંતા કેમ ન થઈ? ત્યાં નો નેત્રીક દ્રષ્ટીએ સરકારે જવાલ કયા વીના નેત્રી આશયોના મત જીતવાને બાવરજ તેઓની રજીસ્ટ્રી કાગળીઓને નાંખવા બીન-ગોરાઓના વડેને કચડી નોખ્યા છે. કાલની ગરજ એ કરતાં કશું જોણું કે વાધાને નહીં કરી રહી. અને નાબુતી સરકારના બચાવ નથી કરતા પરંતુ ના આખી બાજુને ફેરવી કાલ

અનક કરી મુકવામાં આવી જે એ બાવાવવા મંજૂરીએ છીએ.

કેપની સમર્પણ દેનોમાં લેજે-મેશન દાખલ કરવામાં આવ્યું છે તેના દાખલો લઈએ. એ નીની કંઈ નથી નથી. બુલકાળની મરુ કારે અત્યાદ મુખી જે નીવીન અનુસરવી આવેલી છે એજ નીતી ને વીરોધવામાં આવી છે. વીરોધ પદ સત્તા નથી તેથી સરકાર પદને કાલે છોડી દે છે. આજે જે તે સત્તામાં આવે તે જાજ કરતુ તે પણ કરતાં જવાપ મોકો આપ નહીં; જેમ બુલકાળમાં કનાં નોકિઆયો નથી, એટલે હવે કોણ કેને હોય કે આખી પ્રધાન જાનીવ છે અને નાબુત થવ ની જરૂર છે. પાત્રોમિન્દમાં કોઈને એમ કહેતાં સંબળવા નથી કે મેજેશનનો મીદાંતજ નાદો છે. કોઈ ના સમજનું પણ જાણતું નથી કે વળુએદના રીવ-લો હવે ગરા છે અને આજના પ્રકાશના રીવલોમાં એ દુર થયો જ એકબીજા અને એઓ સત્તામાં છે તેઓના તરફથી રહેજાએ જેમ બને તેમ વહેલો દુર કરવામાં આવે તેમાંજ કાગળા વગરના સપાળાનું હીત રહ્યું છે. જે વપાલ સર નહીં કરવામાં આવે તે કચ કાયેલા કોકોના વેપના વુવાય ને વૃક્ષીગરની કાંઈ પણ સત્તા રાકી નહીં રહે અને તે કશિવ આક્રીકાપર નહિ પરંતુ સારી દુનીયા પર કરી વળશે. જે ઓની આંખા ઉપાડી છે તેઓ એ આવી રહેલું જોખમ જોઈ શકે છે. કેવું સ્વરૂપ પડશે તેની કલ્પ નાથી મરથે છે.

મી રીવોદર અનંબી, એટીક કો, રાષ્ટ્રપદને સુનીયગની બરી રીથ

તિથી વાકેક કરવાને અને બેજાનને અને માર્કેટલ રોકોટાએ કરેલા કામ નો વિરોધ કરવાને બાલે ચાહે તે કરે પરંતુ અત્યંત તેઓ ફાંટી રાખી નહિ રાકે, એક યા બીજા સ્વરૂપ નાં તે પ્રકટયા વીના નાક ને. રાષ્ટ્રપદ મી રી રાદર મુ કાં છે અથવા મી, કો શુ કાં છે એ નહિ આજે. કો, મલાને આ કોકા વીપની કશિવ આક્રીકાની વીતી વિશે કશું છે તે વાંચશે. રાષ્ટ્રપદમાં દીલના પ્રતિનિધી મંદાને મી, કો જે કો વળુ મમતને તેના કરતા એ રહીકત પ્રાયેક એટીયાવાસીના અને પ્રાયેક દીલના હથેલાન રહી જશે. કેપમાં દેનામાં જાજ કરવામાં આવેલા સ્થિતિઅનથી બીન-ગોરાઓની ઉરફાસેલી કાગળીઓ પણ પાતાની કચાની બાલેક કહેશે. મી, જોરીક કોને ન કહેવાની જરૂર નહિ ને. અને હવે આપણે નુહીલેન્ડના રીઓ રીઓ ત્યાંના કાગા કોકોની દુગાદ કચની માંબળી રહ્યા છીએ. નુહીલેન્ડની રાખી રીસ તે આ વતી સાલ કશિવ આક્રીકા સવાલ આવનાર છે. તેમથી મેજોરીના ક બાવલ રાખવામાં આવ્યા છે. આ રીસ “આલ બેકન” ના ના ની જોખાયા છે. પરંતુ કાગ ના નારાઓને તેઓની આમલીના ન મ ના કરતુ જાલ મવના નેચ માં આવ્યા છે. નુહીલેન્ડ દન ની સુનીયન દાવે, કને છે કે વડા આક્રીકામાં વળુએદના વોગ રીઓ ને નહિ થવું પડે એ મુખ હિનુથી તેઓને જાવલ રાખવામાં આવ્યા છે. કો જે ખર હાથ અને કશિવ આક્રીકા એ જાણતું હોય તે કા-ધારણ મલવતાના રીયાને અનુ સરીને તેણે તેઓને પાતે મદદ આપકાર આપવા બુધી છે અને તેઓની કાગળીઓ ન દુભાય તેની કાગળ રાખશે એવું જાણુ વળુ જેઈનું હતું, એટલી એવો

ની કલ્પ તેની કાલની મનોદશા માં કશિવ આક્રીકા પાસેથી આ રાખવી વધુપડતી બણાય આના પ્રભાવાતે માત્ર નુહીલેન્ડમાં અને કશિવ આક્રીકામાં જ નહીં પરંતુ આખી બીન ગો રી આલેમમાં હવા પડશે એ બાવેજ સમજવામાં આવતું ન જાય છે. મી, કો તેનું નીવારણ રી રીને કરી શકશે?

આ બધું સાચા પરીણમશે? અજાદ કરી મેવામાં નથી આવ્યું તેવા સમર્પણમાં કેમકે દુનીયા બરની બીનગોરા પ્રત્યેક હવે મુનેલી નથી. ન વળુ પાલે જાજત છે. અને દુનીયાના સવાલ મર-વવા કોકોની તેઓને આજાનુબતી નામશે. મુદના વાદ્ય, વરવા કાવ્યા છે. કયા કેપમાં તે કાદો એ સવાલ છે. મુનામરકી નેવા કાંઈ નથી મિત્તનું. આશા મદારમાં મોખી જીએ દુનીયાને આપેલા મુજમાં રહેલી છે. કો સવાલનું કાજ છે. સવાલ કચકાયેલા કોકોનો ઉદ્ધાર વચન અને કર્યામાં આવ્યા જાણી બરી બાવના કેપવામાં મળે છે, તરફકાર, દેવશ, અચલ, મુખનાને તેમાં સ્થાન નથી જે સત્તાના પ્રયત્ન જે મળતા માને છે. જેને તેનાપદે અને પ્રાયનાપદે કાદો છે નજ કરી રહે. બીન કરશે મા સકળ નહિ થાય. દુનીયા ના સર્વજ સાંતીને માટે પ્રાયના વવા અરો ઉચ્છીએ છીએ વળે અટલુ પણ સમજ એ છીએ કે કયા ઉચ્છરને બુદી જવામાં આવશે. ત્યાં સાંતી થવી આજાનુબત છે. પ્રાયના અને આરમ્ભોગથી એ સાંતી સ્થાપશે. “આપ મુવા વીના નજો” નહિ પછોઆય” “હિમતે મરદાં તે મદદે પુદા” એ કહેવતા ખાટી નથી, સવાલ પીડીત કોકોને એ શકિત મળે અને સત્તાપીઓને સન્મતિ મળે. એજ અસારી નમ પ્રાયના છે.

ગે અરવાદીયે પાસાસમાર્થે જાણ કરતાં ૧૫૨ પ્રધાન ડૉ. મલાને પરદેશમાં વર્તતી પરિસ્થિતિ વિષે સરકારની નીતી. પ્રોમલવેલ્થ સાથેના સંબંધો સંબંધી તેની નીતી અને અન્ય આફ્રીકન પ્રદેશો સાથેના સંબંધો તેની નીતીની રૂપરેખા દોરી હતી.

તેમણે કહ્યું કે સરકાર સમ્પ્રવાદી દેશો વીરૂદ્ધ પશ્ચિમ દેશોના સંમતનની સાથે કે પરંતુ પશ્ચિમ દેશોના સંમતન તો સમ્યે તે જોડાઈ નથી હોય તે મુદ્દા પતેજ સ્પષ્ટિત છે.

સમાવેશના ૧૫૨ પ્રધાનોની આવના માસમાં મળનારી પરિષદમાં તેમનાથી હાજર નહિ થઈ શકાય પરંતુ ત્યાં પરિષદમાં હાજર થવામાં તેમને હશે. ગાંધી નથી અને લે દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના કિંતિયા હોય તો તે જરૂર હાજર થાય.

સરકારની આફ્રીકાના પ્રદેશો સંબંધી નીતી કહાંતતાં ૧૫૨ પ્રધાને કહ્યું.

દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકામાં અમે આફ્રીકાના અન્ય જાતિઓના નિરક્ષર રહી શકતા નથી. અમે આફ્રીકાના એક ખાસ જાતિએ. મોટી સંખ્યામાં મોટી વસ્તી ગાંધી બાબતે જોઈએ. આફ્રીકાના ગાંધી ના બાગમાં જે જાતે તેની અદિ અસર થવા વિના નહી રહે. અમે ગાંધીના આફ્રીકા સાથે સારા સંબંધ ટકાવી રાખવા માંગીએ છીએ.

યુનીયનનો ગાંધીના આફ્રીકા સાથે સંબંધો પણ સંબંધ છે પણ અમે અવિચલ ગાંધીના આગમી સાથે સંબંધો ટકાવી રાખવા માંગીએ છીએ. બેલ્ગિયમમાં જે પીરુ અમલની પાળવ છે. યુરોપ સાથેના સંબંધો બલકારે આફ્રીકા દ્વારા થાય છે.

આપણા દિલો સોદે બાગે અરસ પરસતા છે. આથી આફ્રીકાના અન્ય જાતિ સાથે અમે નજીકના સંબંધ ટકાવી રાખવા માંગીએ છીએ.

ગોરનો મુલક

એક ગોરનો મુલક નરીક, ગીન-ગોરા સંબંધી નીતીના તીસામ અનુભવ ગી આફ્રીકા ખંડમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકા ખાસ જાન થઈ છે. આથી યુનીયનને આ જાતિમાં આફ્રીકા જોડાવે સમાવકાર અને નેતાની સ્થિતિ બાગવાની અવિલાયા રાખવાનો દર છે.

સરકારની દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાના પ્રદેશો ના સંબંધમાં સરકારને ઇરિશ સમમ આફ્રીકા અને પાસ કરી યુનીયનને બજવા સ્વાયત્તમાં સંઘાનની સંબંધો પરિષદમાં સરકારનો સંપૂર્ણ સરકાર સમ્પ્રવાદો છાદિ છે. સમમ આફ્રીકા ના સંબંધમાં તેમણે અણખુલું કે મુદ્દા ના સમમ દેશો. જેને આફ્રીકા સાથે સંબંધ હોય, અને યુનાઈટેડકેટસ જેને ગાંધીવીયા સાથે સંબંધ છે, તેઓએ સાથે મળી આફ્રીકાની સમાન નીતી પાડી જોડે.

એટલાંનીકની પેલી પાર પેન અમેરી

પરદેશ અને આફ્રીકાની નીતીની ડૉ. મલાને દોરેલી રૂપરેખા

એશીયાટીક પ્રવેશનો લાગી રહેલો બચ

કા રચાયવાની નીતી વર્તી રહી છે અને હવે પશ્ચિમ સંગમ કરવાનો પણ પ્રયત્ન ગાંધી રજો છે. હવે જે સવાલ ઉપસ્થિત થાય કે કે પેન-આફ્રીકન પરી તો કરવાની પણ જરૂર નથી રી.

આ મુદ્દાના કદાચ આદર્શસદી અનુભવ પરંતુ તેના અગમના પરિણામો નિષ્પ જવા સંબંધ છે. જેમાં આફ્રીકા સાથે થયેલ સંબંધ રહેલો છે તે સમયા લોહો વચ્ચે કંઈક ગાંધીયુ થઈ અનુભવ અમલની છે.

આફ્રીકાના જે લોહો હજુ ગાંધી વિકાસ નથી પામ્યા તેઓને ખાસી સુધારાને માટે દોરવા જોઈએ. આફ્રીકા આફ્રીકાના ગોળોને સારે રહે તે જોઈએ અને એશીયાટીકના પ્રવેશ ના મંજૂર જોઈએમાંથી તેનું રક્ષણ થવું જોઈએ. આફ્રીકાના કેટલાક જાતિ-ગાંધી કરી કેનાયામાં મોટી વસતીને એશીયાટીકો માટે અને ખાલ કરી દોડીએ માટે રજાવે

મુલકો રચાવા વિષે પરોણ ૨૨ જાગેલો છે.

એ પ્રવેસ સીધા વિશેષ સંબંધ પ્રાપ્તતા બાગેને મદિલ નહિ પરંતુ સમમ આફ્રીકાને મદે મંજૂર સવાલ ઉભા કરી રજો છે. જે ખરીવાનું કે અનુભવ કરી રજો પૂ તેમાં એ પ્રવેશની સામે આફ્રીકાના સંરક્ષણ ની બચવઃ થવી જોઈએ.

ખાસી અગમનો સવાલ આફ્રીકન (નરીક) લોહોને પ્રવેશમાં રાખવા કરવાનો છે. આ સવાલ યુનીયનને પલોજી થઈના ઉપગતવી રજો છે અને આફ્રીકાના ગોળોને તેની સામે રક્ષણ આપવાની દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાની રજો છે.

વળા દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાને એ પણ ગાંધી છે કે સેડીટીનીયનમાં સવ સતા કેમ પરવરી અને સુચિત્રતી નદેરનું અવિ છે મફ.

૧૫૨ પ્રધાનને ચોખ્ખા સવાલો

અગતા ખેતી ખાતાના પ્રધાન થા. જી. ડૉ. મલા રજાવેલો અમે અરવાદીયે પાસાસમાર્થે ૧૫૨ પ્રધાનને નીચેના મેળખા સવાલો પૂછવા દવા: ૧. સરકાર કદાચ મતાધીકારીની પાસેથી ગના હકો જીતવી પ્રદ કેપતો નેરીકો જે જાતન પ્રતીનીધીત્વ બાગે છે તે આપવાની જો મુ સરકાર નેરીકો નું પ્રતીનીધીત્વ આ સમામાંથી નાણુર કરવાની છે જે તેમ હોય તો કે કેરશ રો કેની રીતે કરવાની છે.

ગોરને નીલાના ગોમલોટ સમ્પ ન જે એક કેનરાસીએ કે મા. રજાવેલના સવાલો બાગા જે લોહો એ હાલની સરકારને સમાવા મુલ છે તેઓએ સવાલ આફ્રીકા કીધો છે. નજી લોહોએ લોહોને મુ દાના પદસાજ જવા વ્યુ હતું કે કેનદ એઓને તે જુદા મતા ધીકાર આપવાના દવા અને હાલનું નેરીકોનું પ્રતીનીધીત્વ નાણુર કરવામાં આવશે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે ૧૯૩૭ના એટ એકટમાં અણખુલું છે કે પાલીમેન્ટ સવ સતા પદોરનારી છે અને હોય પણ અગાઉ પાસ થયેલો કાપો એક ની બહુગામીથી પણ રદ કરી રજો છે.

એક અગાઉ એ સંસરકારની નીતી છે—મી કેનરાસીએ ન્યે—પાતી થઈ રજો એકે એકેએ અનુભવ નીતી અગિ

લીજી પદાર્થો સેકેએ રજાવું જે અમે અમે સવામાં મુલકો છે અને નેમો કદેશો તેમ અમે કરીશ.

મી. રજાવેલ એક મુલકાનમાં અણખુ વ્યુ ન નેશનલીસ્ટોને પાન હતી કરી લોહી છે. લોહોએ કદાચ નાતીકાર તેમ દક જીતવી લેવાનું સરકારને મેનદ ટ જાગેલું છે એમ કહેવું એ નોનસે ન્ક છે. આદી પદમતીથી ગંધારના મુલ રજાવેલો કેરકાર કરવાના સવા મ પર મુદ્દાથી રજેવ નેશનલીસ્ટોને મનદારી પામે કેલ વખત ટોકો માંપા નથી. ૧૨ી ક્યુપરરીંગ પત્રમાં તેનું પ્રથમ મુલક મુદ્દાથી ગાંધી સમાવતા લેવામાં રજુ હતું. ગી. કેનરાસીનું કપન તેમની પારીની નીતી રજોવા: હોય તે મંજૂર મેંકલનું ફાલ અણખુ

કસોના મતાધીકાર વિષદોત સાદિથ આફ્રીકા એકટની સિદ્ધાંતથી મુખ્ય ફલ મો અજોઇ અને આફ્રીકાનું સરકારી નાત નરીકે રજાવ કરનારી છે. પ્રોસાસવાના બાગા કરતા મી. રજાવેલે જે પાળવ્યુ હતું કે જાનરશ નદેજાગ, કો. રજાવેલ ની રજાટ અને કો. જી. કેનરાસીએ સમ્પ્રવાદોએ ૧૯૨૨ માં સિવલોટી હતું કે સિદ્ધાંતની મુખ્ય કમોળા અને સવાલોના બેલતોસ કરતા

જોહા મતથી ફેરવવી એ તીસાસવાન અણખુ.

કો. ડી. એ. રજાવેલ હરદકોનના મુદાપરેડ પારીના સમ્યે કહ્યું કે નેરીકો વાનું પ્રતીનીધીત્વ પણ પાર્લમેન્ટની સાદી પદમતીથી નાણુર કરી નહી શકા મા. તેમણે આ મુદ્દાઓ કદાં દવા:

૧. ૧૯૨૬ના નેરીક રેપ્રેસેન્ટેશન એકટ ની ૪૪ માં કદાચ સાદિથ આફ્રીકા એકટની સિદ્ધાંતની કસો મેરીકોની મન આપવાની છુટને સાથ પડનારી છે.

કેપના નેરીકોના મતાધીકાર જીતવી નહીં સલ શકાય અથવા તો પાલીમેન્ટ માં નેમોના પ્રતીનીધીત્વોની સમ્પ્રવા પણ જાનને સમાઓની બેલતોસ અણખુ મતા રીવાળ કેરવી નહીં શકાય, પાલી મેનદને એટલ એકટની કસો ૧૯૩૭ના કાપદારી ૪૪ની કસોને અવગમવાનો દર છે કે તેમ એ કાપદારો અવાલ છે પરંતુ કોઇ પણ સરકારે ૧૯૩૬ના કાપો પાસ કરી તે વખતે ખના નેરીકો પ્રવેશ લીધેલી નેરીક અણખુદારી ની અવગમવા કરવી એ નહો તીસામ પાળવ થયા.

કારણનાઓમાં દક્ષિણના પણ મારે કમીશન

મજુર પાળના પ્રધાન થા. રજુમો યુનીયનની આગમી સવામાં સવાલના અણખુના અણખુ હતું કે કારણના યોગમાં છાપકાપણું નાખવ કરવાની નવાસ મારે સરકાર નરદેશી એક કાં સન નીચવામાં આવશે.

મુ મરપુર્મે

—કેનરાસી મહારાજનમે મળા રાની વારે રજાવની પ્રગતે સંપૂર્ણ અણખુદાર રાજનરેજ પાસ રજાવેલો મારે સોંપુ.

—દક્ષિણ આફ્રીકાવાસીઓને પાળખર ૩૨ અને ગાંધીના મર્લીઓ દરમા પાન મંજૂર વજુ સરેનું થઈ પડે એટ તે મરકુરી એરવેલો જોહાનીસબગ મુર્લીનું જવા આપવાનું પાડે પા. ૧૯૨૬ કસો ને. ચોરીય જોવસીસ્ટ એરવેલ કરતા ન પા. ૬૨ એલુ છે.

—કેનરી યુનીવર્સીટીઓમાંથી રક્ષણ આપવામાં અજોઇ બાગનો વિષયના નાણુર કરવાનો લીન સરકારે રજા કરી છે. પરંતુ પાળ વર્પની મુદન બાક સાવ નાણુર થઈ. ન રજાવાન કમેકમે નેરીક વિષયોના પદાર્થમાં આવશે.

—ગર રજોના કેનીયા અને મુલનાના વેપારના આંકડોએ આગેલો કેકોર લોહ છે. આપાન અને નીકાસના કસ આંકડા પા. ૧,૮૦,૦૦,૦૦૦ની થવા દવા ને. નાગાના ૧૨ કરવા સમવાય પા. ૧૫૦, ૦૦,૦૦,૦ ૪૨ના લવા દવા.

—ડીસ્ટ્રીનનો બીયા નવ ૧૯૪૮ નું તીગમયત કેટલોગ હવે મળી રજો છે. ડીસ્ટ્રીનને મોસસ ૨૦૧૦. જોહાનીસ અગ સંગળાથી ન ગોકલી આપવામાં આવશે.

સ્થાનિક સ્વરાજ્યના પ્રધાનોની દીક્ષા માં મળેલી પરિણામો પડીત નેદરે આપેલાં મનનીય આપણાંથી એનો મોટો ભાગ આપણે જીએ.

અંધપણને આપણી ભોગ આપણી એક મોટી પુટ છે. પરંતુ તે સાથે જો એક પાણીર મોટી જાણવાવાળી; એક પ્રધાન બોલે છે એ વસ્તુ કોઈકવાર ખુલી જવામાં આવે છે. એ બોલે અંધે આનંદાપા કોય. મંદિ કોય. પરંતુ જોલે ના જેવ એ બોલે કમકવાની જો આપણામાં નાકાલ ન કોય જ તેરસે રસ્તે આ પછે નીચળ નીચડીયુ. દેશ નિષ્કળ નીચડી.

દીક્ષામાં હવે આપણા પુરેની અને દશ પ્રવર્તની જીવાના આવે છે. એ વીરોધની મનોકલા કે ન કરાવતક અને દેશરક્ષક નીચીની જામળા ધરવાની મનોકલા.

પ્રત્યેક આપણ સરકારે વીરોધી દીક્ષા ને જરૂર મહત્વ આપવું જોઈએ. તેની મુલો જાણવાને દીક્ષાકારે ન જોય તે કામ સરકાર નાં તેથી યાદી મેળ તે પણ બેરોગર આવી નહિ સકે. કોઈને રચનાત્મક દીક્ષા કરનાર રીશિયા પણ એ રાષ્ટ્રી સરકારનું જાણવું જોઈ છે. એ સાથે વિરોધની જાણવત વિરોધ ન કામે છે. વિરોધીઓમાં કાંઈવાળીના રાસમેલ દરવાજો મારાજગ ચળવળ આવી રહી હતી તારે વસ્તુ નિયમિત મુકી હતી એ વખત સરકારની સામે કડવું એવ સકર વસ્તુ હતી. નાગરિકો મળવા પાદ ન આપવું રચનાત્મક રાજ વાજા કરી રહ્યા. એક આપણ દેશકાલી દેશમાં એવી વચળા લેવા જોઈ નથી. દેશકાલમાં અને અમદામાં સરકારે પ્રવર્તની જાણ, મત વિરોધેપર નિર્ભય કોલ તેને ગમે તે સમય નક્કાવી સકામ છે. વિરોધ રચનાત્મક લેવો જોઈએ. માત્ર દીક્ષાને આનંદ નહિ, માનવ બંધી કોય ના ન પણ કોય પરંતુ ન રચનાત્મક લેવો જોઈએ. વીરોધ પહોં એમ કામે કે તેનાથી કદા સત્તામાં આવીજ નહિ સકામ ત્યાર ન બીજાકા પાન-મળાવનાર બની ગય કે અને સરકારને નાહી પાડવાનુંક મંદિ છે તેને રચવાને નહિ.

આપણ નકારાત્મક વિરોધ અને દીક્ષા કરવાની પ્રવળ બાવના ભરત પ્રવર્તી રહી છે, પછી ન આપણી સ્વદેશની જાણની નીતી કોય કે પરદેશ નીતી કોય. એવી વળી વસ્તુઓ દર્શ કે જે દીક્ષાને અને વળાદી કાવવાને પાડદર્શ, હું જે બાળ નેત્રમાં કમકું હું તે તેની નેપરવાઈથી રચો થાય ને તેવું. આ તંત્ર અધાવવામાં પ્રત્યેક નાગરિકનો નિષ્કા કોયો જોઈએ. પ્રત્યેક નાગરિક પાત્રધાવાના ક્રમમાં પોતાની જવાબદારી નાચક પ્રમાણમાં સમજતો કોય તે એ પાત્રધાવનારની જાણે મળી રહે. તેજ પોતાના કપરે કે માન પ્રત્યે

લોકશાહીપર પડીત નેદર

ના પોતાની જવાબદારી સમજતા થવું જોઈએ.

તેમણે કહ્યું કે મહાજનો રામકરના ની કુટ કોવી જોઈએ એ અજલ્યનું છે. ત્યારે તે જવાબદારી સમજતો થાય છે. એ સાથે આપણે જુલોની સામે સાવચેતી રાખવી જોઈએ, અને ને જોઈમાં તેને રામ કરવાની રચનામાં આપણી જોઈએ, ને જોઈ વાંકસની જરૂર કોય તે જાણ સુધારવાની જરૂર ખાસ જવાબ ત્યારે ને મુકવો જોઈએ. સરખાવતીજ મુકવો નહિ જોઈએ.

આપણો સવાલ

આપણની રાજ્યાતમ વિષે આપણા સવાલપર મોક્ષા દતા તેમણે કહ્યું: આપણે સો જાણીએ છીએ કે આપણા સવાલપર દેશમાં તકરાર ચાલી રહી છે સમજામ. જીવંત બાળા પ્રવળા જીવંતો એક જામ કોવી જોઈએ અને સરકાર અને જાણની સંદેશાઓ નાં વેગ આપી રા એટલુંજ નેત્રોથી થાય એ સરકારની પ્રવર્તિમાં જો કે વસ્તુ વસ્તુ દીક્ષાત્મકમાં અધાવવી પડે જતાં પણ કામમાં અગ્રિજના કૃપયોગ કરવો પડે એ સવાલને આપણે કોમ સિદ્ધાંત પ્રવર્તિમાં મળવો નહિ જોઈએ. અર કામ દર્શીએ એના એ રાજ છે કે દીક્ષાત્મકમાં આપણે વસ્તુ વસ્તુ-વિષયમાં કરવો પડે અને અગ્રિજ સાવ જાણ નહિ કરતાં વસ્તુ પડે ત્યારે તેનો પણ વિષયોગ કરવો પડે. કારણ એ નહિ કે અગ્રિજ આપણો વિષયોગ આપણે જાણા સમજવી કરતા આવેલા છીએ. પરંતુ દુનિયાની વાદ વપરાતી બાળાઓ માંની એ એક છે તેથી, વળી દીક્ષાત્મકમાં આપણાં રૂદ મનોકલા અગ્રિજ પરિભાવના સાપ્તેજી નહિ સમજ સકામ તેવા તરજુઓ કરવાને બદલે, રચનાત્મક વાવરવાનું કોલન નહિ આપવાનું હું કહ્યું કારણ તેનો નથી. એવા પછા રાખે છે કે જે દીક્ષાત્મકમાં સામાન્ય થાય ગયા કે જેની રીતે દેશકાલ દીક્ષાત્મકમાં સામાન્ય થાય ગયા છે, અને મહત્વમાં એક વાદ નવરચનાને વળાંકે અગ્રિજ આપણાં વપરાતા દીક્ષાત્મકમાં રાખેને હું મણી રહી દતો. એ કામ હું પૂર ન કોતો કરી સકાય પણ અગ્રિજ આપણાં એટલા બધા દીક્ષાત્મકમાં રાખે વપરાવા જોઈને મને પોતાને ન તાવળી યાદ હતી. પ્રત્યેક જીવંત આપણની સાથે ત્યાંથી રાખે લેવા જોઈએ. એટલે આપણે અગ્રિજ કે બીજા કોઈ પણ બાળામાંથી રાખે લેવા સંજોગવા નહિ જોઈએ.

કામે કામેલા એ તત્વા

દેશમાં કામે પ્રવર્તે એ તત્વોના સંજોગમાં પડિત નેદરે કહ્યું: આપણે અજાણત મહાન સવાલોનો સામનો

કરવો પડી રહી છે દીક્ષામાં એ દુનિયામાં એ આજ ને વિરોધી તત્વો કામે કામેલા છે. એક તત્વ સંજલ કરનાર છે અને બીજું અંતમાત્મક છે જે અંત કરનારી જીવિઓને કોઈક રહ્યું છે. એક તત્વ રચનાત્મક અને સહકારીતાનું કામે કરી રહ્યું છે અને બીજું અંતમાત્મક કામે કરી રહ્યું છે અંતમાં

દીક્ષામાં દે. મલાનની સરકારની દીક્ષા

એથીમોટીક તેનું રેનુર એન: મિન્ટ અને રેનુર-રેસન એકટમાં દીક્ષા એને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની પારાસમાં અને સેમેટમાં અને પોલીક કાલિન્સીમાં પ્રતીતીપિત આપનારો બામ રદ કરનાર બીજા પુતીપતની પારાસમાં કામ કરવાના મુતીપત સરકારના વગથ પર દીક્ષા કરતાં 'દીક્ષાત્મક દાખલ' થાય છે કે:

દીક્ષા કોમને અપમાનજનક દત્તા તેવાં પોતાનો કામમાંથી રદ કરવાના વગથમાં આ દેશના સેમેટ કે દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના દીક્ષામાં બદ તાતા થાય નહીં પરંતુ પુતીપત સરકારના હરોડો મેનમાનના કામ રાખવાને અને દીક્ષામાં ને મહોદત મતપ્રકાર કામમાં આપણમાં અજાણ છે તેટલો પણ તેઓની પાસેથી જાણવી સંવાળો છે. અને સરકારને સાથે મળી પોતાની તકરારનું સમાધાન કરવાની પુનાઈક મેસાનની સેમેટમાં કરેલી આપણનાં આ પુતીપત સરકારે જાણ વાળે છે

જનરલ એસેમ્બલીમાં આવેલા મળા પડના દરવાજો વડે મેનમાન પડમલી નહીં મળી એવા કામ કામસર એ દરવાજા વળાવનાર નહીં થાય. પરંતુ ના. ૮ દીક્ષા ૧૯૪૮ ના દરવાજા પર છે અને એક ના બીજા રીતે નહીં એસેમ્બલીમાં આપણા વગથ નહીં રહે. નવું બીજા વાળા કરેને પ્ર. મલાન ની સરકારે દુનિયાને મેનમાન આપી છે કે એ તકરારનું સમાધાન કામમાં તે કોઈ પણ સેમેટ મળા જેવા તકરાર નથી એટલું ન નહીં પરંતુ દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના દીક્ષામાં જે કામ સેમેટ પણ કોમ હવે જોમલી રવા છે તે પણ તેઓની પાસેથી જાણવી અને એ નકારને આજળ વધારવાની છે. પુનાઈક દેશ નેસાનની માંને દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના દીક્ષામાં રચનાત્મક માત્ર સંજોગ સવાલ નથી અને પરંતુ જાણીય અસમાનતા અને ગોરી સર્વોપરીતાનો વધારે જોઈએ સવાલ કે જેને ના પાળ પર દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાએ એ અંતમાં દેશી જા રાજ્ય રાખવાની અજાણતા રાખે છે. બીજોટી પ્રવર્તિમાં ગોરી વસ્તુની વા વસાયેલા દેશમાં જેમાં રાજ્યમાં

તેક નામેએ દેશને પણ નુકસાન થયું છે. એ સાથે નેમેટોએ પણ લોકો ને સર્જન કરવાની અજાણતા કોઈ વિચાર કરતા અને એ રીતેએ પ્રમાણીક પણ કામે કરતા પણ કરી મેલા છે. પહેલાં અંતમાત્મક તત્વો કામમાં નામે એલા જાળા દતા. અને એ કે હક્કા થામ માસમાં મેટા દેરકારો થયા છે જતાં કોમમાં બીજા રચવામાં હવે દેશમાં નુકસાન કરી રહી છે."

કશી અધાજ તરી અને જેમાંને સાધા રજુ માનવ કશી જોમવાને પણ માવ નહીં એવા અધા મળી મળવામાં આવે ને દેશમાં એક નક્કાની મેટી મુલમળીના કામમાં તંત્ર રાખવાનો અવીચાર રાખેલો થયો. અરીજો રેનાપર રચના છે એ માનવસાત્ત્વ અને જાણી ન સમાનતાના સંજોગમાં મળામાં પા કરવાનો છે. પુનાઈક નેસાને આ સવાલ પાળવી સમાધાન સવણુ પડે નહીં તે ને નાકાલિપર તે રચાય છે તે મોટું રહે.

દીક્ષા સરકારની વલણ

પુ દીક્ષામાં જેથી દાનની પારાસ જામા વડા પ્રધાન પડીત નેદરે જાણા બુ કે જે કામમાં દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાના દીક્ષામાં અપમાન જરૂરો મણી કોલે છે તેને રદ કરવાના પુતીપત સરકારના વગથમાં અગ્રિજમાં બીજા સરકાર દશ કરવા પાત્રી નથી પડીત નહીં એ જાણા જાણા કે બીજા કામમાં થી મોટીત અધિકાર આપનારો નામ રદ કરનાર છે. એ વીજાને તે જાણા વાવાયી દીક્ષામાં વિરોધ કરેલો કોય તે રદ થવાયી રહી વ્યવહાર કરવા થવાનો નથી. દીક્ષામાં સામાન્ય દીક્ષા અંતમાત્મક અગ્રિજમાં નેમણે પુનાઈક નેસાનની એસેમ્બલીમાં ૧૯૪૧ અને ૧૯૪૭માં દીક્ષા લીધી વગથ વિગે જામ મળી જાણા કે સરકાર એ આજત પેરીસમાં થાય માસમાં મળવાની એસેમ્બલીની મેસાના કામ કામમાં કોમેર વાની સામગી કરેલી છે.

અમારાં નવાં પુસ્તકો

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| સંસાર ખર્મ. | ત્રે. રાશીરવાલ મહા | કી. ૬૦ |
| સમજી કાંતી. | રાશીરવાલ. | પ. |
| વલણાં | કી. ૫૦ | |
| સત્યાગ્રહ આસમનો | કાંતીદાસ | |
| મંધીક. | કી. ૩૦ | |
| દીક્ષા લાયરી | | |
| મંધીક. | કી. ૧૦૦ | |

આ મોટીટી મળી

મી. લો. શું કરશે?

ઈંગ્લેન્ડના કોર્ટેસ અને આર્થો ખાનાના પ્રધાન મી. એટીકે તે કોમ્યુનિસ્ટ સમ આપણને બુદ્ધિ આપી રહ્યા છે તેમજ કેપટાઇનના આ પહેલાં એક નિવેદનમાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે દોહના ઇન્સિસ્ટનના નેતાઓને બુનીયતમાં ગરમ ની ખરી રિશ્તિથી પાકે કરશે.

તેમજ કહ્યું કે ઈન્સિસ્ટ આફ્રિકાના ના જાંબુઓને કે આર્થો આપણા મંત્રી કે મુન્નાની એસેમ્બલીમાં હું જ્યારે બોલીશ ત્યારે એક ઈન્સિસ્ટ આફ્રિકાવાસી તરીકે જ બોલીશ અને આપણા દેશમાં હિંતા વધારવા અને તેનું રક્ષણ કરવાના હેતુથી જ બોલીશ.

આમણા ટેલીગ્રાફ તરીકે બુતોની એસેમ્બલીમાં ગયેલા જનરલ સ્પેટસને તેમના જ સંબંધમાં દેવેલી દિવાલને સામંત કરશે પણ હવે એ દેવેલ કેટલેક અંશે ઈન્સિસ્ટ આફ્રિકામાં ગઈ તો રિશ્તિ રીતની આગળનાં લીંબુ દળા પરંતુ મોટે અંશે વિરોધી પ્રચારના કારણે હતા.

મોટે પ્રમાણ સુખાતે કરી માફતી આપીને એ દેવેલી દિવાલ તેની પાસાનો રહેશે એ કિસ્સાને હું કરતાં. ખરતાં તે લાક મુક્યો હું જેને એ કદ પવિત્રાસ આપવાની કે આશા રાખું. વિરોધી અને પાંખી પ્રચારના પરિણામે જે કલેસ કલેસ થયા છે તેને લીંબુ અને પોતલ લાગમે તેવા પસલા થાશે.

મારી ખાત્રા છે કે દોહ અને પાકિસ્તાનના નેતાઓ પણ આ પ્રચારથી નેઓ કેટલા ખમાપ છે તેની તેઓને ખબર નહિ હોય. જોહન ઇન્સિસ્ટના નેતાઓ સાથે પરિચય પામ્યાં તરત સંજોગપ્રક નહિ અને મારી આશા છે કે તેઓની સાથેની નિખામસ ચર્ચાઓથી ઈન્સિસ્ટ આફ્રિકાની ખરી પદ્ધિ રિશ્તિથી હું તેઓને વાકે કરી શકીશ.

પરંતુ નિખામસ ચર્ચાથી રીકાઓનું નિવારણ કરવાને ને કે હું મારી હતી મહાર પણ જમણા નેમ હતાં એટલું તો મોકલપણે કરી દેવા હજીકું ૧૬ કે ૧૭ વરસમાં ખડા ચળેલા આરોગિના બાગ વાળવડાને હું ખીલકલ સંમત હોઉં શકી.

મી. લોની એટલેજની દરમ્યાન સુસ્તી પ્રધાન ડા. ડી. જી. ડામીસે મી. લોના કોર્ટેસને ખાતું સંબાળશે અને જ્યાં ખાતાના પ્રધાન મી. મી. આર. સ્ટાટ આજીનું બાળ સંબાળશે.

આ-માર્થો જરૂર પડે
જાગેડો કિલે કેમ કરશે તે જાણું હોય તે જાણે
અમારી મનુકું મી. જી. જી. ૨
કન્યાને પત્રો મા ગમે અને
અમારો પત્રો પાંચમા નંબર ૨ ૦

વિવિધ

ટુનેશિયા એસેમ્બલિ સાથે વીરોધ

મધ્ય રવીવારે કેપટાઇનમાં ઘણા વર્ષો થયાં નહિ મગેલી એથો કસ્ટો ટેલોની મોટીસ લાંબી સળખાંન ટુનેશિયા એસેમ્બલિ દાખલ કરવામાં આવ્યું છે તેની સાથે વિરોધ કરાવવા મળી હતી. મોટીસ બાર કસ્ટોની મોટી સંખ્યા મારનાં જંગ કરી મોટાઓ મોટી આસ રાખવામાં આવેલા આઓમાં દાખલ થયા હતા. તેમને મોટીસના પત્તા માથાએ લાગે હતા પરંતુ ઊપવા જ્યાં સુધીમાં કોઈની સાથે પસલ લેવા પાતા બાપર આવ્યા નથી.

કસ્ટો એસેમ્બલી કોલેસીસના પમ્પ અને કલક ધીપસ તેમજ પુનીયત ના મોટીસના મી. જી. જી. જી. મોટીસે ગયા રીનીવારે એ રીફાઈડ અગાની ખબર પુસ્તી મુકતાં કરેલાં આપણમાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે ટુનેશિયા એસેમ્બલિ દાખલ કરવાનું સરકારે ને પમલું સીંકું છે અને દોહીઓ, કસ્ટો અને નેરીવા ના મનાપાકારના સંજોગમાં જે નીતી અખાતર કરવાનું જાહેર કમું ને જીવે થી નિમ રાખા છે કે ન કેટલી ખબ ખાત વાત નાં છે અને પોતાના લોકો માં અરેજીનતાના પામણી પેદા કરી રહી છે. કસ્ટો મોટીસે મોટીસે છુટ હાંડા ખામગે ને તેને પમ્પ કરી નાખ પાતા સરકારના પ્રદેશ અખાત છે અને સરકારને નેમ રજવાતો એ કે જાહેર નર લક છે હતાં મારી ખાતી જે કે તેના પરિણામો આ દેશને એકલ રીતે નિત કારક નહિ થાય.

અમે કસ્ટો ટેલોને અને આમ મોટા વર્ગો સાથે સરકારની આ નામ દોષથી લાગણ થશે. આગામાં એથો દોષિત આવી ને અને અમારી આપી શકતાંઓ એટલી થયા છે કે તેથી સરકારને અત્રે લાગના રાખવાની અને અમારા લોકાસ થતા અટકાવવાની જરૂર પડી છે એ ખાત્રા એ હોસનમાં પસા રો થતા રહે.

તરતે કસ્ટો ટેલોને જાણવાદર નેતાઓ સાથે ચર્ચા કરી રીનાજ કેપની સળખાંન ટુનેશિયા એસેમ્બલિ દાખલ કરી રીકું એ આ ખાત્રામાં સમજાવે કરક મળ્યા ને કેટલી કરે છે એ કિલક થયું છે. મુલકાળમાં અત્રે નામનું કમું કે સરકાર અમારા સુવાનિનાં કિલક થાવી શકશે અને અમારા લોકાસ કેરોજન આપશે. પરંતુ આજે અત્રે પદાર ની ગદદ નવાની જરૂર પડી છે, જે સરકાર અમારા મુખ કહી હોતવી થશે ને રાજકીયને અગીય કમો પીતા અમને છુટા નથી.

પમ્પા અમારે અમ્મ સહાય આફ્રિકાવાસી જાંબુઓના સાથે જાંબુ તેઓ સાથે નિર્માણ વસનાની મુકરીમીયા અને એસેમ્બલિના કમકોમીથી મુકત થઈને અત્રે મડન કરી પડશે.

પરવરણ

—મિસત્રી વર્ગોના કમાડીએ દોહ સાથે એસેમ્બલી રાજોમાં નવી કમાડીઓ રજાપવાનું જાણ્યું છે.

—મિસત્રી કમાડીએ રજાને સપ્ટેમ્બર ના ૨૫થી અક્ટોબર ના ૨૫ થી ના પાંદર દીવસ મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીની વર્ષ માંહની જીવવણીના દીવસો તરીકે જાળવા કાલક કરી છે.

—ના. ટવીના ખબર છે કે મંત્રા નવાના પાણી ખબરસમાં નોખમકારક કક વેપરના ૧૨ કુટ તથા મધું હતું. મામના લોકોને સહી સત્તામનીથી પચાવી લેવામાં આવ્યાં હતા અને રેગો અટકાવવાના પદતાં પમલું લેવાક થયાં છે. વુકન પ્રાંતની લેલ્ય કમાડીઓ મામ પ્રાંતમાં લીસાન કારા દવા તીજે પુરાં પાડશે. કાકતરો કોરોજ સપારે મામ-પ્રાંતમાં છેડી જશે અને અખતજ પાડા જશે.

મહાત્મા ગાંધી રમારક અંક

મહાત્મા ગાંધી રમારક અંક ના ઓર્ગાસે અખતજ સળસી તેમજ નામે અખતજ અખતજી મળા કાકો :

રજાનમાં પતજ કસ્ટરસ

જેકાનીસઅર્ગ

કેપટાઇન

મી. ખી. ડી. ગાવડા, ૧૦૪ ગેન રહાદ મોજી.

કોમલ રી. ર. પોરોજની પેની કલુટી

ધી. પી. ૩ કુશાર ઓર્ગાસે ખાત દેવામાં નહિ આવે.

બુનીયત જકારના બાલકો રૂપ કરી મોષ લે કે માત બુનીયતનું અસંખ્ય સ્વિકારવામાં આવશે.

અમે અગાઉ જણાવી મુક્યા છીએ કે આ અંક ના. ઓ. ના માલકોને મકત મોકલી રાખા તેમ નથી.

દિવાળીના ખાસ અંક

કોર્ટેસના નામમ મુજબ આ સલા દિવાળીના ખાસ અંક અલિલ કવવા ના અમે અકસા રાખાએ છીએ.

અમારા અનેક વાચકોને અમે રસીક જાણાએ અને મિત્રો જેમ અને તેમ વહેલા મોકલી આપવા વિનંતિ કરીએ છીએ.

ખાસ અંકને મોટે ભાગે અખતજા રહેર મોટે અંકોજમાં અખતજ મળવા વિનંતિ છે.

આશરમ બજાવડી
નામલખા આજગાર જાતા સુંદર અખતજાં અંકમાં મી. ૧-૩.

“આપુના બાને પત્રો”

અહાર પડેલી નવી પુસ્તિકા મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ કરતુર અને લખેલા કેટલાક પત્રોના આ પુસ્તિકામાં સંમલ છે. ગાંધીજી સંસારથી વિરહત હતાં કેટલા સંસારી હતા અને તેમાંના પ્રેમ કેટલા નિર્મળ હતા તેની આ પત્રોપરથી ઓખી થાય છે અને ને સાથ ને અતિ બોધકાયક છે. આ પુસ્તિકા આ આફ્રીકેથી મળશે.

ટપાલ ખર્ચ માટે કમિત ૨-૩.

મોંધા વી. પી. કે કુશાર

ઓર્ગાસેને ધ્યાન દેવામાં નહિ આવે.

INDIAN OPINION, PHOENIX, NATAL.

ગાંધી પુસ્તક માળા

ગાંધીજી અહીં હતા ત્યારે તેમજે લખેલા અને લીલા કેટલાક પુસ્તકો જે કીનીકસ સંસ્થા તરફથી પ્રગટ થયેલાં છે તેવા રર પુસ્તકોના એટલી પોસ્ટેજ સાથે કમિત રૂકલ રી. ૧-૬.

બેનને વિનંતી

દિવાળીના ખાસ અંકમાં કાંઈક જાણી મોકલવા અમે બેનને વિનંતી કરીએ છીએ. બેનને જમતા પ્રસી એ નહિવા તરકલા અલીય નેર જી એને માર્ગ દર્શક થાય. બેને અમને સાથે આપશે એવી આશા છે.

વેબકાને ખાસ મુજબ

અખતજા કુક અકાસના અને સાર રાખાને અહારે જાણવા હોવા એપેસ. અખતજ પાણું એપેસ ને પોસ્ટેજ મોકલવા મહેનતની કરવી.

વેબવાના નામ પુસ્તક, અખતજા મો

| | રૂક | ૧ |
|--|-----|---|
| સુસીકાના પત્રો | ૧ | ૬ |
| સોના કમાડી | ૧ | ૬ |
| પીળા પજાસ (સંવાદ) | ૧ | ૦ |
| અખતજના વાંધવા | ૧ | ૬ |
| અખતજાનીવળી | ૨ | ૦ |
| ધી. પી. ૫૦ નાકલ ખાત દેવામાં નહિ આવે. આજરે નાકલનાસાથે એરર સાથે એક અખતજ પોસ્ટેજ એરરર મોકલવા રાકેજાની કરવી. | | |
| બેનને, મહેનતિઅન ઓર્ગાસેને | | |
| જમણા કુલપી મળવા કાકો | | |
| INDIAN OPINION, PHOENIX, NATAL | | |
| કમણા પુસ્તક રજાવના નીચેના મળેલી મળી થાશે. | | |

આ ઓફીસથી મળતાં પુસ્તકોનું સુચિપત્ર

૧૧. પી. આ. ઔરંગઝેબે બીજાકલ જ્યાન દેવામાં નહિ આવે. સંવત્ ૧૨૩૨ મેઝકાનાનારોએ ઔરંગઝેબ સાથે શેર અલખા પાસેના આલેદર મેઝકાના
 મલેરબાની કરાધી.

મેનેજર, 'પ્રવિઝઅલ એક્ઝિઝિટઅલ'

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શ્રાવણ સંવત્

[illegible]

ક્રિશ્નારજ્જ્ઞાન મરાઠવાળાની પુત્તીઓ

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 કીંદુ ખર્ચ

ପ୍ରକାଶନ ସାହିତ୍ୟ

[illegible]

સોદ નેતાઓના ચરિત્રો

[illegible][illegible]

ਕੋਲਕਾਤਾ ਵਿੱਚ ੧੯੫੫ ਵਿੱਚ

[illegible]

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હેડ ઓફિસ:
૪૦૯, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રિચાર્ડ.
ફોન ૬૪. પો.બોક્ષ ૧૦૬.
ટેલિગ્રાફીક એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—હોલસેલ વેપારી—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

સર્વે પ્રસંગો માટે ઉત્તમ વસ્ત્રાલંકાર ખરીદવાનું
જનતાનું માનીનું મઠ.

જોરજોરની બરત બરેલી સાડીઓ સુઢર બરત
સીકની બરત બરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડીઝાઇન
જરી બરત જોરજોરની સાડીઓ કમીઝો બાવ
જરી બરત જોરજોરની સાડીઓ વધુ બરત
બનારસી સાડીઓ, અલગ માત્ર

પા.શી. રૂ.
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૧૩ ૧૦ ૦
૮ ૧૦ ૦

કાપેલું બેમનગી સીક, સાડી પનો
કાપેલું ડીનજલ, મારેલીસ, સાડી પનો
કાપેલું આસામ કુશુલ, સાડી પનો
રંગીન જોરજોર બારી માત્ર, સાડી પનો
કાપેલું જોરજોર, સુઢર ડીઝાઇન, સાડી પનો

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૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧

૨૫૨૧ તથા સોનેરી સાડીના ખરા, ખીનાકારી બેરીંગ, ફલ વીધે મળશે.

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પેકીંગ. બાવનો સેટ. પા. ૧૦-૧૦-૦

પુરા ખબર /

સ્વેચ્છા કાપેલાં વાસ્ત્રાલંકાર કાપેલાં સેટો
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૫ વાર બાવ રી. ૪૨-૬. (નંગના)

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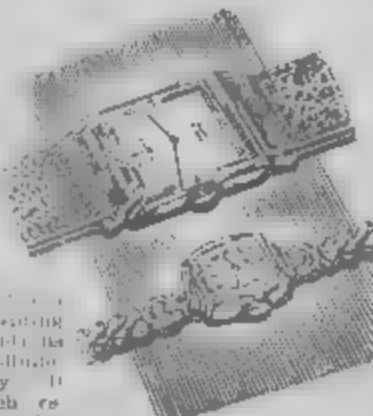
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તા. ૨૧ મીના અરસામાં ઉપડશે

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૩૬૪ બાકે મુરલીમ વીરલી સાથે પા. ૧૮-૧૩-૬.
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 17TH SEPTEMBER, 1948

The Late Mr. Jinnah

It is news of the death of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah has come as a shock to all. He has played a momentous part in moulding the destiny of India. The tragedy of his life is that he began his career as an ardent nationalist and ended it as a rabid communalist. Had he but lived up to the career he commenced with he would have been the hero of the Indian nation and would have been worshipped. Mahatma Gandhi is worshipped. But we are damned otherwise. Every one in this world has to play the part that is destined for him and Mr. Jinnah had to do likewise. It could certainly be said, though not so creditable, that even Mahatma Gandhi failed to realise Mr. Jinnah's succeeded in realising. Mahatma Gandhi failed to realise his dream of winning over Mr. Jinnah and making India a free and undivided country. Mr. Jinnah realised his dream of tearing India into two parts and of establishing Pakistan. This may have satisfied Mr. Jinnah's soul and of his many followers. It has certainly not satisfied India, which is still a land open to and inhabited by all nationalities and where their religious and racial sentiments are equally respected. With due respect to the feelings and sentiments of Pakistanis it must be

said that every true Indian will and must yearn to see one day when India will stand under the sun as one undivided country where all the peoples inhabiting it will be living in peace, prosperity and happiness and both our antagonists who choose to dignify that great country by referring to it as Hindustan. Thus when we think of Mr. Jinnah to-day we think of him as the architect and founder of Pakistan. That Dominion can only play a worthy part and turn to good. Mr. Jinnah's labour and thus prove their loyalty to him. May God grant them the strength and wisdom to do so. We tender our deepest sympathy to the late Mr. Jinnah's sorrowed to the people of Pakistan in the great loss sustained by them. May the departed soul rest in eternal peace.

No Loss To Us

THE confiscation by the Government of the passports of Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Sankar, who intended to proceed to Paris to be present at the U.N. General Assembly, where the South Asian Indian question is being again to be discussed is no loss to the Indian community. On the contrary it is a tremendous gain. The

loss is all on the side of the Government. Firstly their case is weakened owing to the fact that while the Government will take the fullest opportunity of laying their case before the world tribunal, they are deliberately denying that opportunity to the Indian community who being the injured party, are directly concerned. Then per se apartheid policy seems to be applied even to secondly, they will lose in prestige because an enlightened Government such as they claim to be, are denying a small voiceless and misrepresented minority section of the population the elementary human rights of freedom of speech and freedom of movement.

One would have thought the Government might perhaps have learned from committing the same blunder that the provinces one had committed and had then seen the wisdom of correcting it. The injustice done is so glaring that even those who are not so sympathetically inclined towards the cause of Indians have strongly criticised the action of the Government. That is in itself a sound reason why we should not lose our heads over what has happened. We have rather to be thankful to the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Darges for having unwittingly strengthened our position and weakened his Government. The

absence of our representatives at U.N.O. will speak more eloquently in favour of our cause than Mr. T. T. Water and Mr. Eric Link could ever do in favour of the Government. The best possible thing we can wish, therefore in our own interests, is that the Government may repeat such blunders over and over again—which would be the surest way for them to commit suicide. Besides this the gain to the community is the saving of money, time and energy. There are able people to champion our cause at U.N.O. But they can do very little for us if we are weak at this end. We can therefore well utilise what has been saved for us by the Government in strengthening the home front. Unless we are strong in our own home all the money, time and energy spent abroad will be sheer waste. Our advice to our people, therefore is that we should be calm, cool and collected and not indulge in any needless criticism of the Government and in litigation which is all against the spirit of Satyagrah. We should rather exercise control over our tongue and pen and strengthen our spirit and do our duty at our own post here. If we are calm and sincere in doing that much we are more than equal to that on our

DRS. DADOO AND NAICKER'S PASSPORT IMPOUNDED

DR. V. M. DADOO and Dr. G. M. Naicker presidents respectively of the Transvaal India Congress and the Natal Indian Congress, who had been elected as delegates of the Congress to U. N. O. to advise the delegation from India on the South African Indian question, have been prevented by the Government of the Union from proceeding, by impounding their passports. Dr. Dadoo was removed from the London-bound Skymaster at mid-night on Thursday, when the plane was about to leave from Johannesburg and Mr. Naicker was refused his passport on Saturday by the Durban Immigration Officer.

The Department of the Interior in a statement about the impound of Dr. V. M. Dadoo's passport, said "It was understood that Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker intended proceeding to Paris by air on September 17. As both these men are active Communist agitators,

and also because of their record of persistent law-breaking and un-South African activities, both at home and abroad, the Government was not prepared to accord them the privilege and protection of Union passports, and thus to facilitate the further prosecution of their un-South African activities abroad." A telegram protesting against the Government's action was sent to a large number of P. S. by the joint secretaries of the Transvaal Indian Congress. It states: "When asked on what authority the immigration officer had confiscated the passport, he replied that he was acting on telephonic instructions from the secretary for the Interior, in Cape Town. Dr. Dadoo then requested written acknowledgement for the impounding of his passport but this was refused and, when he tried to board the aircraft he was prevented by an airport officer and the plane left without him."

CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN COLONIES

SOUTH AFRICA has accepted an invitation by the British Government to attend an important British African Colonial Conference in London starting on September 29. It will last until October 4.

Dr. P. J. du Toit, the former Director of Veterinary Services at Onderstepoort, Pretoria, still vice-president of the S.A. Council of Industrial and Scientific Research, and Dr. C. Naude, the Political Secretary of South Africa House, will attend as observers.

Southern and Northern Rhodesia will also be represented.

The following territories will be represented: Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia.

There will be five delegates from the East African Central Assembly and observers from the Sudan, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal.

A Colonial Office official said it was hoped that Mr. Amies, the Prime Minister, would open the conference, and that Mr. Creech Jones, the Colonial Secretary, would preside.

Sir Stafford Cripps would outline the Government's economic policy towards the colonies, and later Field-Marshal Montgomery, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, would address the conference on the part African colonies would play in defence of Africa as a whole.

Although no agenda had yet been drawn up, no arrangements had been made for a discussion of

the Union Government's pan-African charter as recently put forward in the South African Parliament by the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan. That, however, did not mean that it would be excluded.

The British Government's invitation to the Union was based largely on the recognition of South Africa's prominent place in the development of Africa as a whole and many of the problems to be raised and discussed at the conference are familiar to the Union.

The conference would be attended for the first time by "unofficial" members of the African Colonial Legislative Assemblies: Africans and Indians—as well as official members.

Among the items to be discussed will be the recent reports by a select committee on estimates by a commission which inquired into the Gold Coast disturbances. Both these reports emphasised the urgent need of Africans themselves playing their full part in Colonial development.

Successor To Mr. Jinnah

Mr. Khawaja Nazimuddin, the Provincial Prime Minister of East Bengal has been appointed acting Governor-General of Pakistan. Mr. Nazimuddin is 54 years old, and has long been a leader of the Muslim League. He was educated in England, where he was admitted to the English Bar. He was sworn in on Tuesday.

DEATH OF MR. MAHOMED ALI JINNAH

THE news of the death of Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan came as a shock to all in South Africa on Sunday morning. The death took place on Saturday from heart failure. He had been ailing for a considerable time and was not

250,000. Mr. Jinnah was buried in Karachi, the city where he was born, the capital of the State he had created.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was born on Christmas day, 1876, the eldest son of a wealthy Karachi dealer in gum and hides. At the age of 16 he was admitted at Lincoln's Inn to read law. But soon after he returned to India, his father lost his money, and three hard, jobless years followed until brief and money started to come in. In 1910 the Bombay Muslims elected him to the Supreme Legislative Council, and his political career began.

He became so popular that a hall was built bearing his name in the city. He was recognised and respected as one of the national leaders of India. From 1930 onward, however, a sudden change came about and his whole attitude changed from nationalism into communalism and then he launched out into the formation of Pakistan. At an important meeting in March 1940, Mr. Jinnah first publicly supported the Pakistan idea. In August, 1947, he assumed office as Governor-General of Pakistan, and there ended his career.



The Late Mr. M. A. Jinnah

able to attend the Independence Day Celebrations on August 15. Bedecked with flowers and wrapped in a white sheet Mr. Jinnah lay in the portico of his home where thousands of men and women went to pay their last homage to their beloved leader. The crowd was estimated at about

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT (CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

THE Prime Minister in Bombay Mr. Mohanji Desai, giving evidence in the Gandhi murder trial on 25 August, declared that he had informed Sardar Patel on January 22 of the plot to kill Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Desai said that he was informed of the plot on the afternoon of 21 January by Prof. Jain of Ramnarayan Ruia College in Bombay. Immediately after hearing this he issued orders for the arrest of Karkare, one of the accused, for a close watch on the house of Savarkar and finding out who else was involved in the plot. The next night, the Minister stated, he left for Ahmedabad. The following day, 22 January, he met Sardar Patel and disclosed to him the plot. The witness was then cross-examined by Mr. Daphthary chief prosecution Counsel.

Dixit Maharaj was then further examined by Mr. Mengle, Counsel for Apte. On August 24 Mr. Desai was further cross-examined by Mr. Bhopalkar, Counsel for Savarkar. N. V. Godse wished to cross-examine Mr. Desai himself. The Judge asked Mr. Oak, Counsel for Godse, "What difference would it make if the questions were to be through you? Your client can suggest particular questions to you and you can cross-examine accordingly." Mr. Oak replied "There would be sentimental difference."

The Judge asked him if sentiments were recognised by law. Mr. Mengle Counsel for Apte, cross-examined Mr. Desai. He was then cross-examined by Mr. Bannerji, Counsel for Madanlal, after whom Mr. Oak, Counsel for Godse began cross-examination. He cross-examined Mr. Desai on the resolutions of the A.I.C.C. in 1945, Rajaji's proposal for partition and the resolution of A.I.C.C. accepting the British proposal for partition. Mr. Daphthary remarked that it appeared to him that there was a sort of political stunt in the court. His learned friend indulged in party politics he remarked. Mr. Oak replied saying he had nothing to do with party politics. On August 26 the court adjourned after a taxi-driver had given evidence.

The Congress Office at New Delhi was closed on Monday as a mark of respect for Mr. Jinnah. The Legislative Assembly of Madras, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces observed two minutes' silence by standing up as a mark of respect for Mr. Jinnah.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit proceeded to Europe with other delegates to U.N.O. on Tuesday.

S.A. PRESS COMMENTS ON PASSPORT REFUSAL TO DADOO AND NAICKER

'Natal Witness'

IN recent weeks the Government has perpetrated a series of blunders which must have excited ill-feeling against South Africa overseas, and can hardly be considered likely to further the internal progress of the nation. To these has been added another. Drs G. M. Naicker and V. M. Dadoo, presidents of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses respectively, have been deprived of their passports the purpose being to prevent their attendance at the United Nations meeting in Paris, where their intention was to support the campaign against South Africa on the Indian issue. However critical one may be of the policies pursued by both Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker, the Government has made a first-class mistake, and has done more to foster their cause than they could have had they been permitted to go to Paris.

"In its statement, the Department of the Interior has sought to justify its action on the grounds that the Indian leaders are 'active Communist agitators, and also because of their record of persistent law-breaking and their un-South African activities' both at home and abroad." The scope at Paris open to Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker does not justify drastic action, and the dangerous possibilities and definite disadvantages of the Government policy are such as to make it disagreeable.

In attempting to muzzle Indian opposition, the Government has delivered itself into the hands of its international opponents. If it is so certain of its case as it claims, its obvious course was to give Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naicker and anyone else of their kind a free rein at Paris, and then confound them with what it presumably considered an incontrovertible argument. Instead, it has surrendered itself to India and to Russian nations which now have another concrete example on which to pounce. What the Soviet does is no excuse. South Africa claims to be a democratic State, and in applying a control characteristic of Nazism and Russian Communism, she cannot square pretensions with reality.

Her passport policy, moreover, will seriously embarrass her friends abroad, and an inequitable reaction will be that the Union has something to hide. Altogether the Department of the Interior has produced a pretty kettle of fish, and not even retraction would save South Africa from international reprobation.

'Rand Daily Mail'

Dr. Donges, the Minister of the Interior, a highly intelligent man. To become Vice-Chairman of the Broadbent one has to be. But he has not done a very intelligent thing in confiscating Dr. Dadoo's passport and withdrawing that of Dr. Naicker.

There seems to me to be no doubt that the law allows him to take these measures. In the case Sampson v. the Minister of Justice (C.P.D. 1942) a woman whose passport had been withdrawn sued for its return and for damages. The Minister accepted the declaration on the ground that he was entitled to withdraw the passport at any time, and Mr. Justice Jones and Mr. Justice Hovell upheld the exception. Giving judgment, Mr. Jones said that the granting or refusal of a passport was a prerogative of the Crown and therefore entirely within the discretion of the Crown or the Government. It followed that the courts had no jurisdiction over the matter, and that the privilege which accrued to an individual through the granting of a passport could be withdrawn at any time without giving any reason.

Further, it may be remembered that only last year the Union Government acting through Mr. H. G. Lawrence, then Acting Minister of the Interior, refused passport endorsements to Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker. Mr. Lawrence did not, it is true, take away their passports, but the refusal of the endorsements amounted to very much the same thing, for, had it been maintained, it would have prevented the doctors from attending the All-Asia Conference in India, just as Dr. Donges now proposes to prevent them from attending the meeting of the United Nations Assembly in Paris.

In the end, wiser counsel prevailed. The endorsements were granted, and the two Doctors attended the Conference without, so far as we can see, causing irreparable damage to the Union or South Africa. But Mr. Lawrence, in his earlier refusal, had bluntly re-stated his view. After referring to the previous activities of the applicants, he said, "they must now come and ask for privileges which are not given as a right."

Thus, indeed appears to reflect the correct legal position.

But it is noteworthy that, in defending his action, Mr. Lawrence was much more cautious than Dr. Donges. Emphasising that the decision had been made

by the then Government as a whole, and not by himself, he remarked that it was founded not on political but on personal grounds, the applicants having repeatedly flouted the laws of the land.

"It must be obvious," he said, "that this decision was not based on any fear that either of these two persons might make propaganda adverse to South Africa in India. The mere stopping of persons leaving the country will not prevent propaganda being made, and the Government has no intention of trying to maintain its standpoint on the Indian question by suppressing criticism."

Dr. Donges was perhaps more frank but certainly less skilful when he permitted the issue of an official statement which makes it perfectly clear that the object of his action is to prevent the two people concerned from "further prosecuting their un-South African activities abroad." This was an exceptionally unfortunate choice of phrase. Its admission that South Africa is now prepared to maintain its point of view on the Indian question by suppressing criticism is a tactical error which will be fully exploited by South Africa's critics in other countries; and the words "un-South African activities" have an unpleasant ring. Who is to define such activities? Do they mean the propagation of views repugnant to the majority of the people? If so, the doctrine is extremely dangerous, for later on they might come to mean the propagation of views repugnant to the Government of the day.

The decision itself is, of course, a strategic error. We do not think that the presence in Paris of Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker could do much to swell the stream of criticism which South Africa will have to face; but their absence through administrative action will undoubtedly do so. A shrewd politician would have carefully avoided this. But it seems that Dr. Donges is not much happier when he keeps people in the country than when he tries to keep them out.

'Natal Daily News'

Over the week-end, the Government gave another demonstration of White ascendancy in action by confiscating the passports of Dr. V. M. Dadoo and Dr. G. M. Naicker. The Indians will gain more abroad by this piece of petulance than ever they would if the two men had been allowed to complete their joy-ride to Paris. Further, what is to happen to the delegates the South African Indian Organisa-

tion contemplate sending? It will be difficult to sustain that of "Communism" against them, and yet, unless all principles are thrown aside, equally difficult to let them go and thus make flesh of one and flesh of another. Does the confiscation of passports also mean that these Indian leaders are prisoners, without a right to visit any country? It is an unpleasant business however it is looked at.

What of the moral and deeper political considerations? Here are issues that do not concern the Nationalist-Afrikaner Government alone, but Governments and governments everywhere. Every Government is vulnerable; particularly in this age of internationalism. Every Government strives to avoid being bound to laws, and yet, for their own sake, the people must insist on such laws or see themselves betrayed into slavery. These are part of the fundamental problems of government - how to reconcile, without perpetual resort to force, law with liberty, progress with stability, the State with the individual. To these ancient problems, we in South Africa have accepted solutions founded on the rule of law and certain inalienable human rights. None of these should be abrogated lightly or without challenge, whatever Government is in power. This no policy becomes more and more imperative when a violent, unrepresented minority is concerned. If we allow Ministers or officials, without proper checks, to deny leaders of any given community the right to appeal to the highest tribunal upon to them we deny our own freedom and humanity and degrade White authority.

Increase In Blind And Old Age Pensions

Supplementary estimates of expenditure from revenue for the year 1948/49 totalling £5,648,766 were tabled in the House of Assembly last week by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Havenga). This brings the total estimated expenditure from revenue for 1948/49 to £129,706,266. This provides for an increase of £4,000 in the pensions for Coloured and Asiatic war veterans, bringing the revised estimates to £17,500. The vote for civilian blind pensions increased by £17,000 to £75,000 for Europeans and by £13,000 to £62,000 for Coloureds and Asiatics. There is an additional £250,000 for old age pensions for Coloureds and Asiatics, bringing the revised figure to £1,071,000.

INDIA INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION IN LONDON

Sir Stafford Cripps, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking at the Albert Hall, London, on August 15 at the bi-centenary celebration of Lord Linlithgow's birth, said India had already made a great contribution to the world, but he hoped that the new India may become a part to play at solving the problems of Asia.

He also paid tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, the architect of India's freedom, and expressed the hope that certain "troubles" would be overcome so that both India and Pakistan could go forward to bring to their peoples the practical benefit of their independence.

"I would like you to bring back your minds to the events of August 15, 1947, a date which will always rank among the great historic dates of the world," Sir Stafford told the large audience.

An event had happened without parallel in the mind of the world. Two great nations, separated for more than a century, been so long linked as rulers and ruled agreed to re-visit their relations on the basis of the fullest equality and independence for both of them, while yet maintaining close and friendly relations with the same Commonwealth of Nations.

Unprecedented Result

"Though the broad common sense and common desires of the people produced an almost unprecedented result, it was the result of the courage and the industry of the Indian people, who made the task of the British Government very difficult, but always necessary, and whom I am sure the Government will ever remember."

He also paid tribute to the outstanding personalities, the Indian and the British who made the result possible.

"Lawabhai Netaji and Vallabhbhai Patel showed themselves great statesmen and leaders of their people, full of that decisive courage which alone can carry through to success a great enterprise such as this."

The British Lord and Lady Mountbatten interpreted to the Indian people the message of the Government of the British people to carry through to completion the duties which have been decided upon by the Government in the patient honesty of purpose they make misunderstanding impossible.

In the result to-day there is an almost universal feeling of goodwill towards India in this country and that same feeling is reciprocated towards us by the Indian people.

The independence of India has been established for all time, complete and unquestionable, and a new relationship has been established between our two nations on the basis of absolute equality—a healthier and happier relationship than has ever before existed in our history.

Outstanding Tragedy

"To me the most tragically outstanding fact in this first year of India's independence is the violent death of

Mahatma Gandhi," Sir Stafford continued. "He was in every sense the architect of India's freedom; he was the inspiration of that peaceful and friendly transition which took place and it was in personal attendance in Bengal in particular—that prevented the spread of communal excesses which so unfortunately occurred in the Punjab."

"He died a martyr to extremism, to those who chose violence rather than reason and who hated the patient endurance of his non-violence. But by his death he re-emphasised the teaching of his life, and though the world is poorer by the loss of his personality it is the richer by the memory of his life and labours."

"Few of us can have imagined that with all the disruptions that have occurred, the Government of India could have settled down as it has to the tremendous task that faces it."

"We have done our best to help where we can, but our own position of difficulty makes it impossible for us to do much as we should have liked to help India through these initial stages of her independence."

"One of the problems that I do not anticipate would have been so great, certainly, with a united India was that of the Shikhs. Here again, with two unfortunate exceptions a great job has been done."

The Shikhs' Problem

If the two exceptions it is better not to speak at the present time. We are all aware of the difficulties which still and must be solved in India and not by grateful advice from outside."

"We are all aware of the difficulties which still and must be solved in India and not by grateful advice from outside."

"We hope that these troubles which still persist will be rapidly got out of the way so that India and Pakistan can go forward untrammelled by external or internal difficulties, to build up their economies and so bring to their peoples the practical benefit of their independence."

"We shall do our best to help whenever our Indian friends want us to, within the limits of our capacity limits which are in a very real and often very frustrating way."

"So on this first anniversary of the independence of India let us help ourselves, let us continue to work and co-operate hand in hand with the people of India, doing our utmost to understand their difficulties and to make our own plans to them."

"India has a great contribution to make to the world. It has already made a great contribution and the new India will

be a more and different part in the world affairs, particularly perhaps in solving the many problems of Asia."

"I am sure on this her first anniversary of independence and with her godspeed on the road that lies ahead."

At India House

Nearly 1,000 Indians and British friends of India gathered at India House, London, to see the High Commissioner, Mr. Krishna Menon, hoist the Indian flag.

In a short preceding ceremony, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, had spoken on behalf of the British Government and the Duke of Palatinate, the Portuguese Ambassador on behalf of the Portuguese Diplomatic Corps.

The Duke of Palatinate said: "I know I am interpreting the wishes of all members of the Diplomatic Corps when I extend to India heartiest congratulations on the first anniversary of her independence and her most welcome entry into the family of nations."

"The contribution which India, with her vast resources, the wisdom of her rulers and her age-old civilization can make to the progress of mankind is unlimited."

Although I am not addressing you as a Portuguese Ambassador I feel it would be out of place if I did not say that Portugal is for the part committed by the desire to work with the new India as closely as possible to the promotion of their many common interests."

Noel-Baker's Speech

Addressing the audience, "Dear Indian friends and friends of India," Mr. Philip Noel-Baker said: "It is indeed an honour to speak to you on the anniversary of India's freedom."

"It is my belief that nothing like it ever happened in history. India was her freedom a year ago after four decades of struggle. In that struggle the guiding rule was that no violence should be used (cheers). And on the other side freedom was granted with the full support of every part of the State which had formerly been the ruler."

"That I think was something not less new and important because the rulers who thus handed over were of another race, religion and creed and from another continent and had imposed their rule by the methods of the past. That transfer of power was something the benefits of which will last for all time and not for India alone."

Though there had been tragedies during the past year there had been great achievements, not the least of which was the growing friendship between the Indian and British peoples. Ten months ago Mr. Krishna Menon had predicted to him that there would be more friends working in India after independence and they would be happier. Yesterday the correspondence of "The Times" confirmed that Mr. Menon's prediction had come true.

Leadership of Asia

"We know," he went on, "that India is bound to play a great part in world affairs. There is a new Asia and that Asia needs leaders. India must lead and India will lead (cheers). The policy of your government, the philosophy of the movement which brought you freedom is that tolerance and understanding are the foundations of democracy. Your government stands for both. If you establish true democracy in the East you will play a great part in bringing peace and happiness to your country, to Asia and to the world."

"I bring you from the government and people of this country our unlimited goodwill."

S.A. Indian Congress

THE eighteenth session of the South African Indian Congress will be held in Durban. The conference will be opened by the Rev. Michael Scott of Johannesburg at the M. K. Gandhi Library and Parsonage, Rustomjee Hall, Queen Street, Durban on Friday 17 September 1948 at 7.30 p.m. The Conference will thereafter adjourn to the Pine Street Madrasa for deliberations on Saturday and Sunday. The Conference will thereafter consider the serious implications of the refusal of passports to Dr. Dadoo and Naicker by Dr. T. E. Douglas, Minister of the Interior. The two most important matters that will come up for the consideration of the Conference are the continuing deadlock between the Governments of India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa and the methods by which the South African Government could be made to change its stubborn attitude.

Delegates from the Transvaal, Cape and Natal will deliberate at the Conference.

[INDIA has produced leaders and administrators, Ministers and legislators who can compare favourably with any other in the world said His Excellency the Governor-General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, replying to the civic address of the Madras Corporation on August 23.

"We have a country of which we can be proud. We have men and women of whom we can be proud. You have only to send some of them abroad and you will see in the international press what reception they get, what appreciation they receive from capable men all over the world.

"We are suffering from an illness which makes us take things and men whom we know as if there was nothing remarkable about them. The achievements we have so far to our credit are themselves, let me tell you, events which have won admiration from impartial observers elsewhere."

His Excellency said there was no need for them to become exultant that one among themselves had become the Governor-General.

Continuing, he said, "No first-classman will come to take up the office hereafter. One after the other, one or ourselves must be appointed and must accept the office. It is not by your will that you will get used to it and you will make no more of it than you may when one Prime Minister is appointed in Madras or another man loses his Prime Ministership. It will all be in the normal course of things.

"God knows how difficult it is for people of ten millions to pull up together in one democratic government. It is easy to govern with troops, it is easy to govern through force, but it is difficult for a large body like our nation to govern itself through self-restraint, which is another name for democracy. It is not easy to run democracy in India as we can in any small town in State. Much more understanding is necessary in our country than in smaller countries. We have to learn, therefore, how to govern ourselves.

"We have excellent material, but we must know how to use it. That is why I put it in a common language, that we must make the best use of those who come to serve us."

Mountbatten's Tribute To C.R. And Nehru

Addressing a large audience on the occasion of the opening of the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, Lord Mountbatten referred to India and said: "I have faith in India's leaders like Mr. Rajagopalachari and Pandit Nehru. Most of the burden of Government falls on the Prime Minister, and in my opinion, Pandit Nehru

OUR INDIA LETTER

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT]

Bombay, August 21.

AS GOOD AS ANY OTHERS IN THE WORLD

is the greatest living statesman in the world."

India's Reply To Hyderabad

The following is the text of the letter sent by Mr. V. D. Menon, Secretary, Ministry of States, on August 23, to Mr. Lash Ali, Premier of Hyderabad replying to the latter's communication to the Prime Minister of India dated August 17.

Dear Mr. Lash Ali—I am directed to acknowledge your letter No. 7807 EA, dated August 17, 1948, to the Hon'ble Prime Minister.

The letter repeats allegations which the Hyderabad Government has made on previous occasions regarding breaches by India of the Standstill Agreement, the imposition of an economic blockade, border raids into and violations of Hyderabad territory and, finally, threats by India of military aggression against the State.

No useful purpose will be served by a detailed repetition of the charges that you have made. In the Government of India's White Paper, there is enough material to satisfy any impartial person that it is Hyderabad, not India, which has repeatedly violated the Standstill Agreement, that border raids, incursions into Indian territory and large-scale victimisation of the non-Muslim inhabitants of the State are being perpetrated daily by the Razakars who dominate the State Government and by their sympathisers in the State military and police.

The so-called economic blockade is no more than the Government of India's just and necessary policy to prevent, by all legitimate means, the smuggling into Hyderabad of arms for terrorising its innocent and helpless non-Muslim subjects who constitute a majority of the population and, ultimately, for waging war against India. The entry of necessities of life such as salts, medicines and drugs has never been prohibited by the Government of India.

Perhaps the greatest travesty of truth in your letter is the charge against India of military aggression. Had the Government of the Union contemplated any such move, it could hardly have agreed to remove its troops from Secunderabad. Nor would it have continued to maintain all these months such patient forbearance

in the face of the gravest provocation. What you call preparation for aggression is no more than the readiness and resolve of the Government of India to discharge their paramount obligation to ensure that the tranquility of the Union is not disturbed by the prevalence of a State of lawlessness and injustice in a territory which socially and economically and, therefore, also politically is inextricably intertwined with their own because of its geographical position.

It must be clear to everyone that what is now, and for some time past, has been happening in Hyderabad cannot fail to have the gravest repercussions in India. India cannot, for humanitarian reasons, remain a passive spectator of the atrocities in which the non-Muslim majority of Hyderabad and Muslims opposed to the Razakars are being daily subjected or indefinitely tolerate the disruption of communications by brutal attacks on railway trains, equally, India cannot allow this situation so to shape events in India as to jeopardise the safety of South India as well as the large Muslim minority throughout the Union.

In support of your charge against India of threatening aggression against Hyderabad you have torn from their context a few sentences from the speeches recently delivered by the Hon'ble Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister. You have conveniently overlooked their repeated declarations of goodwill and friendliness towards Hyderabad, declarations the genuineness of which has been proved beyond doubt by their desire, manifested again and again during the protracted negotiations for a settlement, to go to the limit to arrive at a friendly and lasting arrangement with Hyderabad.

"The Government of India have taken note of the decision of the Hyderabad Government to apply to the United Nations and seek their good offices for a peaceful and enduring settlement. I am desirous to point out that the Government of India regard the differences between them and Hyderabad as a purely domestic issue and cannot admit that Hyderabad, considering its historical as well as its present position in relation to India, has any right to international law to seek the

intervention of that or any other outside body for a settlement of the issue."

Hyderabad Villages

Two hundred and fifty villages, situated in the Hyderabad State have proclaimed their independence throwing off the Nizam's sovereignty, stated Mr. D. G. Bindhu, chairman of the Action Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress at Nagpur.

These independent villages, Mr. Bindhu added, were making their own administrative and had indicated their resolve to join the Indian Union.

Describing the present phase of the peoples' struggle in Hyderabad, Mr. Bindhu said that the State Congress head office in Madras continued to receive daily reliable reports of the intensification of the struggle and the growing resistance of volunteer organisations and the State Congress workers to onslaughts of armed bands of Razakars and the Hyderabad State police.

First Indian Cruiser Welcomed In Bombay Harbour

THE Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, while welcoming the HMIS Delhi, the first Indian Cruiser, to arrive in the Bombay harbour on Wednesday, said it was curious that a peace-loving nation should be so proud of a warlike weapon like the Cruiser, but, he said, there was nothing curious about it if they understood.

He said, that in the world of to-day, it was enough to wish for peace. It was at times necessary to strive for it and at times to fight for it. A country, he continued, that had struggled so much for peace should be strong enough to maintain it, and therefore, the Royal Indian Navy was using increased.

He said that the peace-loving people of India wanted no domination and no exploitation. They wanted freedom of opportunity, freedom of life and freedom of all people.

The Prime Minister said that anyone could come across the seas to India. If they were friends the Royal Indian Navy would welcome them, but if they came as enemies they would be driven back. Not only would one ship go over the Indian Ocean, but they would go over the waters of other seas proudly flying the flag of free India, he concluded.

INDIA DEALS WITH HYDERABAD

Sept. 13.

INDIAN troops marched into the State of Hyderabad from three sides at 4 a.m. (India local time). This news was first issued by a statement from the Defence Ministry from India in New Delhi. It gave as the reason for these operations the fact that the Government of Hyderabad had declined to accede to India's request to disband the Razakars (militant Muslims) and to facilitate the return of Indian troops to Secunderabad, the former British Military base, which the Indian Government has demanded India should re-occupy.

The Indian troops entered Hyderabad from Chanda, in the Central Provinces, in the west from Sholapur, in the south-east from Bezwada and on the southern border local operations started. In these border operations the Indian troops captured three important bridges over the Tungabhadra River which form the southern border. The bridges captured were those at Hospet, Kurnool, and the bridge known as Tungabhadra, south of Raichur.

Within two hours of the operations starting, the Indian troops occupied the important railway town of Belthangali, near the Central Provinces in the north of Hyderabad. From Sholapur the column of Indian troops marched 100 miles into the Nizam's territory and took Nuldra, another important junction of road and rail communication. The column advancing from the south-east at Bezwada occupied Bomakali.

The Indian garrison in Mangala in Indian enclosure about 10 miles inside Hyderabad's south-eastern border (entered our) and headed for Secunderabad. In addition to this three pronged attack, a column of Indian troops, marching into the Aurangabad district in the north-west corner of the Nizam's territory covered 30 miles, and was within sight of Jalna, an important railway junction. Chanda from where the northern troops entered Hyderabad state, is an old walled town of the Gonda Kings.

Sholapur, in the Bombay Presidency is an old military cantonment. Bezwada, the southern point of entry from Madras Province, is the terminus of the Nizam's state railway. It is an important trading centre and in ancient times Buddhists went on pilgrimages to the age-old shrines. The Indian troops were under the command of Lieut. General Maharaj Rawendrasingh, the General Officer commanding Southern Command, who won D.S.O. in Desert campaign during the recent war.

In a special order of the day to his troops General Rawendrasingh said the Government of

India had decided, as a preliminary measure, to restore law and order in Hyderabad and to occupy the Indian-owned barracks at Secunderabad, Trimulgherry and Bolaram.

He said: "You will therefore march into Hyderabad territory and bring back peace and prosperity to the lawabiding population of the State. You will crush with all the weapons at your disposal any resistance met."

General Rawendrasingh issued a proclamation to the people of the State promising that "as soon as our task is completed the people of Hyderabad will be given the chance to decide their future, both as regards their internal Government and their relations with India."

Until then the administration will be carried on by the operational commander in collaboration with the civil administration of the Government of India.

Sept. 15.

The Indian troops took to-day the second largest city of the Hyderabad state, Aurangabad. The enemy troops had withdrawn and the collector of Aurangabad handed over the administration peacefully to the Indian troops and the people were going about their work normally. Orders have been given to Indian troops to keep intact all old historical monuments.

Troops going south-east toward Secunderabad, took the two important railway towns of Suryapet and Khammet.

Governor-General's Telegram To Nizam

The Governor-General of India, Sir Rajagopalachari, on Sunday night, telegraphed the Nizam of Hyderabad "India can no longer be a silent spectator just maintaining a position at the border. Indian troops were withdrawn from Secunderabad in a measure of trust when the standstill agreement was reached, but law and order have now broken down inside the State. Your Government has not been able to deal with either the Razakars and Communists, whoever it may be that is causing the trouble."

Muslims Support India

Prominent Muslim leaders in Delhi issued a statement conveying to India the full support of the Muslims in India. The statement said that this was entirely a political problem and religion had nothing to do with it. The Nizam's policy, said the statement, was all wrong and to support him would mean support to the evil attitude of the Razakars.

Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Kashmir, said in Srinagar, that the steps India had taken

were very wise. India, in the first year of her independence has for the second time sent her forces to fight against tyranny and terrorism. Her actions for peace and goodwill, will be appreciated by all the peace-loving people of the world.

Further Muslim Support

Further support has come from Indian Muslims to the action taken by the Government of India in Hyderabad.

The Nawab of Rampur, Sayed Muhammad Raza Ali Khan said in a statement, that trouble had been caused in Hyderabad by the short-sighted policy of Nizam and his advisers. The Government of India had very wisely taken action.

Begum Iqbal Razvi, a member of the Constituent Assembly said in a statement in Delhi, that the policy of the Nizam was a suicidal one, and the Government of India had acted wisely. She called upon all Indian Muslims and others to maintain peace to strengthen the Home-front.

Mr. Muhammad Ismail, president of the Indian Muslim League said, according to All India Radio, that they will stand with India, in the action they have taken against Hyderabad State. He said, they were loyal citizens of India and would give their all and even their lives if necessary.

Other Muslim leaders also spoke

in favour of India. They called upon all Muslims in whatever part of the world they may be, to support India's action to put down anarchy.

Sir Zafrullah Khan's Threat To India

Two days before India took action against Hyderabad, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Sir Zafrullah Khan after referring to the fighting in Kashmir, told a Press conference:

"Today India is threatening Hyderabad with open aggression. Has it taken stock of the consequences?"

"Here India does not make any pretence of morality. It is just a case of might is right, but if the threat were carried out the consequences would, at the very least, be that India would be plunged into a communal blood-bath."

"Unfortunately, it would spread far wider and have consequences many times more disastrous than the occurrences in the Eastern and Western Punjab last year."

Pakistan was under no obligations, international or otherwise, which prevented her from sending her troops into Kashmir, said Sir Zafrullah.

If the objective of India's summer offensive had been achieved, the whole of the Western Punjab and the new frontier would have gone up in flames.

Things In General

Two Indians To Be Deported

A deportation order against an Indian has been issued by the Minister of the Interior. The Indian is being detained by the immigration authorities at Durrban, en route to India. The Indian, who was born in India, was recently released after serving six months as prison for fraud. This is the second case of deportation against India-born Indians since the Nationalist Government has come into power. The first was that of a man of 65 who has also been detained by the immigration authorities for deportation. He has been in South Africa for more than 30 years. Representations have been made to the Minister to cancel the order.

Democracy In Danger

Democracy is in danger in South Africa with the Nationalist Party in power, and the people must act if they are not to lose their constitutional rights, said Mrs Jessie McPherson, speaking at a lunch hour rally of the Labour Party on the Johannesburg

City Hall steps last Friday. She said that the Government intended to tamper with the constitution. "We cannot wait until we have lost democracy before we take action," she said. "Unless we stop the power that we are going to find ourselves in a very serious position in the near future. To-day it may be the non-European people of South Africa, but tomorrow it will be the European democrats who are caught up in this vicious circle."

Labour Party's Attitude To Indian Vote

Mr John Christie, parliamentary leader of the South African Labour Party, announced last week that his Party would move an amendment to the Government's proposed measure to repeal Part Two of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. In a statement Mr. Christie said: "The Labour Party's non-European policy as adopted at the Party's national conference in 1946 provides for:—(a) Representation of Indians in the councils of the nation by Europeans, South Europeans, to be selected by

Indians on a communal roll.
“(b) A full and unbiased investigation to be undertaken into the participation of the South African-born Asiatic in our country's affairs. The Labour Party will, therefore, move an amendment to the Government's present Bill in conformity with that policy.”

Segregation Policy Causes Unpleasantness in Church

The Moderator (Executive Church Council) of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in South Africa has appealed to the Government to act “prudently and wisely,” with its policy of “apartheid” because of the “unsettled feelings” of some members of the Mission Church. The appeal, which was made to the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, said the Moderator decided to make this request to the Government because so much unpleasantness had already arisen between European and non-European. Many of the members of the Mission Church, the appeal added, were alarmed about what had already taken place. Agitations were strongly exploiting these things against both the Mother Church and the Mission Church, and the Mission had already suffered great damage in its uphill fight.

Dr. Donges Helps Mecca Pilgrims

The Minister of the Interior Dr. T. E. Donges, has come to the aid of 140 South African Moslem pilgrims mostly from the Cape—who have been stranded in Mecca without a ship to bring them home. It is learned that, after a guarantee by Dr. Donges of a cargo for the return voyage, the Egyptian authorities will place the Miss, or her sister ship El Sudan, at the disposal of the Pilgrims, who will leave Jeddah, the Port for Mecca about October 20. Mr. E. Silberner, secretary of the Moslem Progressive Society has expressed his Society's appreciation of the Government's generous act.

Asiatic Bill Will Be Passed This Session

The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, announced in the House of Assembly last Friday that it was the intention of the Government to proceed with the Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Bill during the present session. It was hoped to complete the business of this session not later than the first week of October.

Parliament To Meet Again On January 21

The next session of Parliament will begin on January 21, 1949. The announcement, it is said, is being made exceptionally late in

advance to give those concerned time to arrange accommodation in Capetown.

No Intention Of Oppressing

In a message issued to all members of the Bantu peoples in South Africa the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. E. G. Jansen says: “I want to assure you that the Government will do all in its power to bring about conditions under which both you and the White man in South Africa will be able to live happily and in safety.” It is, however, expected of you that you, on your part, will also assist in that endeavour. Many things are being said of the Government that are untrue. Sensible people will not believe everything told them by irresponsible persons seeking merely to further their own ends. You should be careful and on your guard against the attempts that are being made to sow bad feelings towards the Government in your hearts. Rather try to help in the effort that will be made to improve condition for you. The Government has no intention of oppressing you, but it will not tolerate the breaking of the laws of the land without punishment, and offenders will be prosecuted and punished. It is your welfare as well as that of the White man that is contemplated. It is not the Government's intention to allow the education of your children to be neglected, but it desires that the education shall be of such a nature that it will help to prepare and equip your children for the life they must enter upon later. The children must also be taught to honour and respect the good characteristics of their own people and not easily to run after bad habits and teachings that are foreign to them.

Dr. Vellebbhhai Patel

Dr. Vellebbhhai Patel of Johannesburg, who went to England at the end of last year, after obtaining the degree of M.D. went to India, where he got married and has returned to the Union with Mrs. Patel by the Aronda, which arrived in Durban on Wednesday. Mr. Patel will take part in the S.A.I.C. Conference in Durban during the week-end and will thereafter go to Johannesburg.

Does Not Favour Union With South Africa

“The answer is definitely no,” declared Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, when asked at an election meeting in Bulawayo whether his party was in favour of union with South Africa. “I believe the same to be true of the other parties,” Sir Godfrey went on. “These things come up as a general elec-

tion, when it is fashionable to accuse the other party of being pro-Union.”

Oxford University Gets Anonymous Gift Of £1,500,000

An anonymous French millionaire has donated to the Oxford University the sum of £1,500,000, of which £250,000 is to be spent on new living quarters for between 50 and 60 undergraduates in existing colleges, and the remainder on the foundation of a new college for 51 post-graduate students, one-third of whom are to be French. The College is to be open to men only, who are to be working for higher degrees.

S.A. Indian Cricket Union

Our Port Elizabeth correspondent writes: There was a good attendance at the fifth bi-annual general meeting of the above Union held at Port Elizabeth recently, over which Mr. B. D. Pavalai presided. After the secretary, Mr. M. R. Varachia had submitted his report on the past years' activities, and the treasurer's

financial statement was adopted the following office-bearer—was elected for the next two years during the Board's headquarters at Port Elizabeth. Patron: Advocate A. Christopher; president Mr. N. P. Unley; secretary: Mr. G. Ranchhod; treasurer: P. S. Vandayar; auditor: Mr. G. Vasu-thevan. The meeting also discussed the holding of the next Tournament at Port Elizabeth, and it was agreed to hold it in the second week in February 1949. As this is the first time the Eastern Province will be holding the tournament, it is hoped that the project will be a successful one.

ગાંધી પુસ્તક માર્ગ

ગાંધીજી અહીં હતા ત્યારે તેમણે કબીલા અને બીજા કેટલાંક પુસ્તકો જે ફીનીક્સ સંસ્થા તરફથી પ્રગટ થયેલા છે તેવા ૨૨ પુસ્તકોના સેન્ટ્રી પોસ્ટેજ સાથે કંમિન શકત

શી. ૪-૬

ગાંધી સ્મારક ફંડ

| ફંડે સરવાળા | મા. | ૧૦/૧ | ૧૧ | ૦ |
|------------------------------|------|------|----|---|
| મેસ. કે. પટેલ, | ૧૨૫૫ | | | |
| ગુણસલાહ દાદરાબાઈ બેલકર | | ૧ | ૧ | ૦ |
| માણેકલાલ ગરમુખાઈ શ્રેઠમરદાસી | | | ૨ | ૦ |
| મીસ. એ. ડી. ચેરટ | ૪૩૫ | ૧ | ૦ | ૦ |
| નયુબાઈ દાલા | ૧૨૫૫ | ૧ | ૦ | ૦ |
| કેટર લડની બેને તરફથી | | ૧૧ | ૦ | ૦ |
| ફંડે સરવાળા | ૧૨૦૧ | ૧૧ | ૧ | ૦ |

પૂર્વ પંજાબની સરકારે ૧૯૨૩ થી ૧૯૪૭ સુધીમાં રાજદારી ગુનાઓને કારણે જેઓની યોગ્યતા જાન કરવામાં આવી હતી તેઓને ગુજરાતી આપવા માં ફરિયા કરી છે. જ્યાં માનુસ અને પ્રમાણ નહીં હોય ત્યાં તેમાં વારસદારોનો સાબ મળશે.

—કુલીયનના વડા પ્રધાન ડો. મન્મોહન મોહનલાલ બાલગંજીએ જાહેર કર્યું હતું કે એક પાર્ટીક લેન્ડ ૨૦-પુર એગ્રેન્ડમેન્ટ બીસ આ જ બેકમાં પાસ કરવાનો સરકારે નો હરકો છે. પાર્ટીમેન્ટનું કામ આ-રોમરના પહેલાંઆવાડીઓને પોડે પુર્વ નહીં જાય.

—જાવતી પાર્ટીમેન્ટની બેક ના. ૨૧ જાન્યુઆરી ૧૯૪૮ ના બેસસે આ જાહેર શાન આટલી વહેતી કરવાનું કારણ એ જાણવાય છે કે જેથી કામના વળાંકના એ કંપાઉનમાં રહેવાની સમયકો કરી મો.

સાહિત્ય આફ્રીકન હીંદુ મહાસભા

પ્રાર્થના પ્રતિગાથાની આથી ફક્ત આફ્રિકાના સમગ્ર હીંદુ એને તેમજ હીંદુ સંસ્થાઓને લીધે કરવામાં આવે છે કે રવીયાર ના ૧૦ થી આફ્રીકન ૧૯૪૮નો રાજસ પ્રાર્થના પ્રતિગાથા દીન તરીકે ઉજવવા, તે લેવક દેક રથે અને સભાઓ બરી સામ-દાવીક પ્રાર્થના પ્રતિગાથા વાચન અને પ્રાર્થીક પ્રવચન કરી ઉજવવાને આ પ્રતિગાથા પ્રતો દેક વાવામાં નીને પ્રેક્ષા સરનામે મદદગારના સંચી સખવારી લીના મુખે મેળવી સચાઈ. પી. એ. બેકસ રજાડા દરમિયાન નસાડા. ડો. એન. પી. જેસાઈ માનુષ એસ. એસ. સીંદ, આર રમુનાય, શરત્તિલના અધ્યક્ષ, બંધી છ. બી. મેરી, મોહનલાલ મોહન, સંયુક્ત મેળાવેલ

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જાહેરમાં મોંખીયુના દરેને
સને ૧૪ = ૧૫૧ એક પામુ.

부속 1-1-1

[illegible]

નથી. આમાં જોડ, ત્રીતામ બહુજ આવી નામ છે.

અસંગ્રહ-અંગ્રહ ન કરવો તે. પૌરો. અનાજ, વસ્ત્રની વર્ણવણી રીતો કરી સંગ્રહ કરવો એ વાત છે. કલ્પ સંગ્રહ કરી આપણે અંગ્રહને નામા-અપ્પા રાખી એ જીએ. માનસ જેમ પોતાનો વીસાર કરવાનો હોય તેમ બીજાના સ્મર કરવો જોઈએ. તમે નમારી જાણની વસ્ત્રો પાતો, ગોજ, મળ લાગવવા પૈસાનો સંગ્રહ કરવાજ રહો અને બીજાની રોડીની પાખ ચિંતા ન કરો. આજે "વન યુગ" માં આપણે જમીએ જીએ. માનસ કહે છે કે અંગ્રે પત્ર નથી મક્કા વળા પળ વન અમને ચમકે છે. અંગ્રેક વનમાં ભેગાં કરી બેઠારમાં રહી કરવી. તેની રોડીની ચોંટા ન કરવી, પોતાના મજાસની અને જાણીબની ચોંટા કરી સંગ્રહ કરવો એ પણ આમાં સમાય છે. મજાસને વન ચમકે એમાં મન લેવા નહું નથી. માનસ આજે કરેલ ઉપર કાણ પડાવવાનો કામ કરે છે. તેજ માનસ રૂ વનના મુદ્દામ મુદ્દા આપના કાણ વમર માણસ ઉપર એક ઉપરના કુદમ કામ કરી શકે. બીજા કોઈનો નહીં.

શરીરસમ-માનસ માં શરીરને જમ કરાવે-ધામ એવા કામો કરવા જોઈએ. રૂપ જુકીયાઈ પોતાનું શરીર પોષણ અને શરીરને અપંગ કરી પીળા ઉપર જાણીએ રાખવું નહીં. આજના જમાનામાં આપણે એક બીજા ઉપર આધાર રાખવાનો છે. પણ શરીરસમ આપણાથી ધાન નહીં મળવો આપણી જરૂરીયાતો માટે ન હોઈ કરવું પડે તેમાં નાનકડા સમસ્યા એ ન શકે જોઈએ. રાખસા નહીં એકાદ દિવસ તોફાર ન હોય તે પડેના પુરવ ધમધી મધ પાકા એ સરવું પણ કામ કરવામાં નાનકડા ન સમજવી જોઈએ.

અસ્વાહ-મોરક શરીર માટે ન સારો હોય ન લેવો. પાન ન ખાવ અન્ય ન હોય અથવા કોઈકામાં ઓછું હોય. પાનમાં અમુક દાનુજ રંધાવ નહીં જોઈએ. અમુક દાનુજ વમર સાથેજ નહીં. આજે પાન-દાનુ-અને રોજનો મોરક આપ આવી નામ.

માનસ-અન્ય મનસ સોધાવ કોઈનો ન રાખવો. જેનો રક્ત જમર છે તેને વામ કરો. કાળીબમાં રૂ મેડા રૂ આજે રૂ પીકીયાઈ તેનો આજની વીસાર કરીસંગ્રહ કરવા નરદેહુ કાચની ચિંતામાં ન પડવ અને બધી મુકત થવું. માનસે પોતાને સુક ન પુરવાય કરવો. તેની ચિંતા કરી વામ વામ દાનુનો કાચુ ન કરવું.

સવધેસમાનતા-પક્ષા ધમ્મોના આ રસ્થો જોવા. બીજા ધમ્મોના તોરકાર ન કરવો. ક્રિષ્કર એકલ છે અને તેના જાત જાતના નામો છે એમ સમજ વનન રાખવું.

સ્વદેશી-દેશને નકસાત ધાવ જેવી ચાલે વાપરવી. એનો ઉપયોગ કરવો. અને ઘેરી. વેગવી એવું જોઈએ. એવું વનન રાખવું નહીં. આજે દેશને કાપી ધાવ તેવી ચાલે વાપરવી, જેવી જોઈએ. વનન રાખવું. કાપસા નહીં દેશનો માધ : પેની એ રતમનો હોય અને બીજો : પેનીના વિદેશનો હોય તે ન નેના દેશનાજ લેવો. ખાદી વાપરવાના અમંગી આમાં સમાવેશ થાય છે. આજે દેશને અથ : દેશ આપણો પોષક ને પળ મળે.

અસ્વસ્થતા-દેશીજન ખાદી મેળા : જે આપણે સાવ તોરકારો છે. તેમની સાથે સાંઠ મળવું વનન રાખવું. તેમના સ્વસ્થતા ખડકવું નહીં.

અ અગીયારે તીપમેળું વણન આપણે. એમાં પીંગે પીંગે આગળ વધવાની પ્રતીતિ જેવી પ્રવલ કરવો અને કરાવવો એ રીતે આપણે આખી જાણી જોઈએ.

નાંધ

લોકસાસન જોખમમાં

મેટાનવીર પાર્ટી સવામાં આપણા વી સાક્રિય આક્રિયામાં લોકસાસન જોખમમાં આવી પડ્યું છે અને એ જો પોતાના જાણરક્ષીય કાર્ય ક્રિયાવત્ર નહીં હોય તે પોતાને જાણી વમરો મેળું પડશે. એમ મળા શુકારે જોઈનીસમગ્રના સીટી જોઈની જાણર લેખરકારીની સખા મા આપણ કરતા નામીસ ને. રી. મેકરકરને કલું કલું. તેમણે કલું કે સરકાર જાણરકારમાં પાખોતર કરવા માટે છે લોકસાસન આણું તલસ ત્યાં સધી આપણને મિરડી રહેવું પોતાને નહીં જે હોય પણ હામાં હોય તેજોજ આપણે આક્રિયામાં નહીં તે નવકતા બીજાપમાં આપણે મંગીર ન્યોનીમાં આવી પડીશ. આજે તે સાક્રિય આક્રિયા નામ-મુદાનીવનોપર તીવી રહી છે પરંતુ આવીકામે લોકસાસન ધરાવતા મુદાનીવનો પણ એ મેડી વમરમાં સપાક કશે.

આપણો વારસો

શ્રી. પીનાવાટએ અત્યેરમાં હું કુલપતર પ્રાપ્તના સમામાં કરમ મળવનમાંથી.

આપણો હિંદુસ્તાન પણ મેરડા મુકક છે. કુલિયાજરમાંથી અંગ્રેક માનવ સમાજને બાકી આપણે મેકક રહ્યા છ. તેથી આ દેશ ને દાનુ કે. સમય જેથી ખમ્મો કડ આપણ મુકક પર એક મેડી જાણરકારી છે. પ્રધિકારને આપણને અધિનામ સરેશો આપ્યા. એ જ હિંદુસ્તાનનો સરેશો છે આપણ પણ એ પર્વોચાવણ નિર્મિત ખમ્મ. ને દેશમાં અંગ્રેક જમાના અધિકા સમાજને વન છે અને ને એક ખંડ જેથી વિસામ ને તેમાં આધિકાર વડ ને રમતના નમર માનવ સમાજ ખમે દાનુજ, દુ પોતે એવું માનવોરો છું કે જાણના કરે આપણ અને તેની કરે દેશમાં અધિકારો જ ઉપયોગ કરવો જોઈએ પણ એ વન અંગ્રેક નમારી આપણ રજુ નથી કરે. મનોદિત જમર કુ અધિકારની સાવ નમારી આપણ કડ છે. ને દેશમાં આદલા આદલા ખાદી ને સમાજને કહે છે ના આપણે સ્વતંત્ર રેવી રીતે રાખા સકામ એ વાળતો વિચાર કરે. એનો જમાન એક જ છે કે અધી જે રાખ્ય હોય તેમ કાચના વંચકિયા સોમી રૂ નાપણે અને અધિકાર મળે ને ને દેશમાં આપણે એ રીત નહીં. આજે ને અંદર અંદર હિંસાનો પ્રધામ માણ રાખીયા ના એક ના નામી સમા અધી નહીં દેશ મા નથી કાકિત

દશી નરો, પછી સરકારને કલું કામ નહીં રહે. પછી તેને બીજીનું જમ રોપવામાં આપણે. સરકારના અમલદારો પણ બીજા કાચી વરો. આ જમી આજે સમાજની રમતા લોક આપણે ને સિદ્ધ કરવી છે.

હિંદુસ્તાન ઉભરકા જતાં જોઈએ. એમના પરની જાણરકારી ખળી મેડી છે. હિંદુસ્તાને અધિકારો રહે સ્વતંત્ર ના મેળવી છે. સ્વતંત્રતાની કાચો બીજા દેશોએ નથી કરી એવું નથી. પણ અધિકારો જમાન કાક એ સીધા નહીં. આ સખનાં વિકાસ હિંદુસ્તાન ને કલું રમે કરે છે તે જોવા આખી દુનયા નજર માંડી રહી છે. આપણા નવજીવનોએ સમજ લેવા છે કે પશ્ચિમના લોકો પાસેથી આપણે સમાજસામ્ય ધીવડું નથી. સમાજસામ્યમાં પશ્ચિમના લોકો કલું જમાન છે. હિંદુસ્તાન અનુભવી પુરાણ પુરવ છે. એજે પોતાનું એક જાણક સમાજસામ્ય રમ્મ છે. એને પરિપૂર્ણ કરી આપણે દુનિયાને રરતા બતાવવાનો છે ને પામવપણ પશ્ચિમમાં આજે રહ્યું ને તેનું અનુકરણ આપણે ન કરીએ એનું અનુકરણ કરવા જમા આપણે પશ્ચિમની ધન્યજોના મુદ્દામ બનીશું. આપણી અમલ પાસિયન આપણે મુખાવીશું. એવી આપણા નવ જુવાનોએ અધિકારની રક્તિ ખીસવવી.

આ રીતે એવું મેળવ છે જેથી હિંદુસ્તાનમાં જુવાનોમાં દિલમાં રુકિતે જોઈએ. એમણે હિંદુસ્તાનની મળવનો અમલસ કરે. નેમ્મ. લેલના જમા નામી માંડીને આપણ સુધીમાં જેલના વિચારોનાલો અધી સમજ ન ન પધ આપણને અધિકાર વરે સમ મળ છે. આ એવો સમજાવું જેવું હિંદુસ્તાન ના ન મકાન વારસો મળવા છે તેજે પોતાનું જ દેશને મળવો નથી. ને વારસાને કાપવા રાખી વધારવાની જાણરકારી આપણે માટે છે.

પાટીનાર જનતાનું સાક્રમીય માન્ડીક

પાટીનાર સમાજ

દેશના ઉભરકા જમાન છે નેમ્મોએ "પાટીનાર જમાન" માં રીક મુ મળવકા રહ્યું કરી તેમને "જમાન" આ વારસો મેકકમાં આપણે. સાક્રિય સરેશોને અનુકરણ કુપા કરવી.

દેશના જમાન-કા. પાખ પરકારના કાકિયા ના.

સરકાર- પાટીનાર સમાજ નારાણ નીપાસ. કેલન એમેરિકાએલ સામે. લીમાડા લોક, મુરુજ.

આ ઓફીસથી મળતાં પુસ્તકોનું સુચિપત્ર

ਦੀ. ਪੀ. ਸੀ. ਆਰਕਾਈਵਿੰਗ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਗਈ, ਆਰਕਾਈਵਿੰਗ ਸੇਵਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਰਕਾਈਵਿੰਗ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ।

गैनेश्वर, 'इन्द्रियमन मंत्रिनिमन'

પ્રસંગે મળ્યાગું ડેખણું:— INDIAN OPINION, Phoenix Natal

ગાંધીજીનું સમર્થન

[illegible]

કીચોરલાલ મશાણીનાં ફોટોગ્રાફ

બંનેનું જીવન
 ગીતા અંશન નીતા વિનિતા તેમના વિચારો
 આંખો વિચાર દેહન નામીયાનો વિચારોને રૂપરૂપ મરુત પુરના
 પુત્ર અને અર્ચક
 આંખ અને હૃદય
 અંધારુ અર્ચક આંખ માત્ર આંખ, પુત્રનાં નીવાળી પુત્રો મરુત પુરના
 પ્રભાત અર્ચકનાં ન. આંખો અર્ચકનાં ન તેમનાં અર્ચક

સર સમીપુષ્પનની કૃતીએ

અન્ય પ્રોપોઝિશનના નાકાન કાચક ને લેખના પુરવઠો દિં. ૫૦.
સંસ્કૃતી કચ્છ અભ્યાસી પ્રાંતે ને.

કેકડી અથવા સંસ્કૃતીનું બાળી
સંપીડને જનજનના બાપીઓનાં મનમાં પ્રસન્ન દીવાના પદોના
મોડે લગ્નથી સંગઠિત આખાંચી વંદના
જેહની જિભાએ ખરો નેર કપરના તેમના કાપલોને સંચલ
કુવાનોની સંસ્કારને સંચલના
હીંદુ અંત

चिन्तनी साहित्य

२०१७-१८-१९ को संविधान दिवसको अवसरमा नेपाली गीतकार
 २०१७-१८-१९ को संविधान दिवसको अवसरमा नेपाली गीतकार
 २०१७-१८-१९ को संविधान दिवसको अवसरमा नेपाली गीतकार
 २०१७-१८-१९ को संविधान दिवसको अवसरमा नेपाली गीतकार
 २०१७-१८-१९ को संविधान दिवसको अवसरमा नेपाली गीतकार

સેલે મેળાવ્યાના અરીતો।

[illegible]

ਅਮਰਿੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ

[illegible]

‘உத்தரிக் குகை’ நவது அபிமானம்.

[illegible]

જાનક સાહેબનું અવસાન

કાલે આત્રમ મહાદેવ અલી જાનક સાહેબના અવસાનના ખબર સાંભળી આદિકામી ગયા રવીમરે સુવારે મળતો સીને આપણા ચંપા દત્તા. તેમનું અવસાન હૃદય પાંચ વડા જગાણી સુનીયે થયું હતું તેઓ બિમાર કાંઈ મુદતથી હતા અને એમણેદત્તા ૧૫મીના આત્રમ રિતની ઉત્સવગીયા બાગ સહ શકયા નહોતા.

જાનક સાહેબનું સફેદ આદરમાં બિરુદ અને પુલોધી કંઠકોએનું ગળા તેમના ધરની આગામીપર બુધ્ધિ યુક્તમાં આપ્યું હતું અને લગભગ પાંચ વર્ષ ને આંખો સોજાવર વડે તેમને અતી ૫ નમન કરી રહ્યાં હતાં એટલી અડીલાબની અસહવામાં આવી હતી. જાનક સાહેબની રૂબ કાયા તેમની જન્મ ખુશી અને તેમણે રહેલા રાખાની રાજ ધાની કરાંચીમાં ચર્ચ હતી.

મહાદેવ અલી જાનકાદેના જન્મ કરાંચીના ગ્રાંદે અને આમણના એક મીયત વેપારીને ત્યાં ૧૮૭૫ના ધરત મસના દીવસે થતા હતા તેઓ સોયા વરીંદ પુત્ર હતા મુગળ અને કરાંચી માં શિક્ષણ સીધા બાક ૧૬ વર્ષની વય

સેજી પારીટરીનો અવધાન કરતા વીમા મને મુખ્ય વડા કરાંચીવાન તેમના પીતા ને વેપારમાં બેઠા જવાથી તેમને પાખા રહેતું પડતું હતું વધુ ૧૫ બેઠાંઈમાં પમાર કરતા વડામાં ત્યાર બાદ ૧૫ થાવનું કામ આપવા સાચું અને ૧૯૧૦ માં મુગળના મસાબોએ તેમને રીંદાઈ ધારાસપામાં સુદયા ત્યારથી તેમની રાજકીય કારકીર્દીના આરંભ થયો તેઓ એટલા સોકરોય મજા પડ્યા કે તેમના નામને મુગળ રાંધેરના મધ્ય બાગમાં ઘોસ પડ્યામાં તેઓ લીંદામાં એક રાજકીય નવા નરીંદે મળ્યાયા અને સન્માનવા સાગ્ય પરંતુ ૧૯૨૦થી અવધાનું પરીવર્તન થયું અને તેમની વચણ રાજવાદમાંથી લેખવામાં ફેરવા કરી ગઈ. ૧૯૪૦ના ગાંધીજી એક અમલની નાંદેર સામામાં તેમણે પારીટનાય ને ખુલ્લી રીંદે રોઝ બાંધ્યા અને એ કીરત્યાસને વધી. ૧૯૪૫માં એમણેદત્તામાં પારીટનાય અપાયું અને તેના પૂતેજા મવરનર-જનરલ મળ્યા અને ૧૯૪૮ના સપ્ટેમ્બરની તા. ૧૦મના તેમની કારકીર્દીના અંત અંધ.

વિવિધ વર્તમાન

બે હીંદીમાં દેસ નીકાલને કુકમ
એક હાંદીની સાગ મુજા પ્રમાણે દેસનીકાલને કુકમ કાલે છે. મવરક ર હીંદીની હાંધીસેન ખાતાં નરથી ૧૨૫૫માં હીંદી હતી નીમર આવેલાં સુધી અંધનમાં રાગેલ છે. એ હીંદીનો જન્મ હીંદીમાં થયો છે અને ઉત્તરપીંદી ને માટે હ માસની લેસરી સગ પુરી કરી કમખાત છુટયો છે. નરણસીરક સરકાર સગમાં આવી ત્યાર બાદ આ પીંદી આમે કેસ ગોરોલા અધવામાં આવ્યા છે. પહેલાં કેસ ૬૩ થાંની વધના એક હીંદીમાં છે ને ૪૦ વર્ષના આ દેસનો રહીશ છે. પ્રમાણે તેઓ ની સામેના કુકમ પાછા પંચી સેવા પીંદીની કરવામાં આવી છે. હાંધીસેન કાપવાની કામે હીંદીમાં જન્મોલા રાજ પચ હીંદીને કેસ પચ મુના માર્ક કેર ની સગ ચાક હોય તેને દેસનીકાલ કરી શકાય છે. અંધાંધળા અને જુદાંધાના પંદરાનમાં વધારે
નાચા ખાતાના પ્રમાણ ના. હિંદીમાં એ અને આવાંધીએ વધારાના ખર્ચના આંકડા પાન્ટેદમાં રમુ કમી હતા જેમાં આંધળાઓના પેનસાનની રકમ પુરાવી પનો મટીની પા. ૧૫૦૦૦ રવાઈને પા. ૧૫૫૦૦ તથા કસંદ અને એશીયા રીંદા માટે પા. ૧૨૦૦૦ વધારી તે પા. ૧૨૦૦૦ કરી છે. કસંદ અને એશીયાની

પરકાંચોના પેનસાનમાં પા ૨૫૦૦૦ નો વધારો કર્યો છે જેથી સુધારેલાં આંકડે પા. ૧૦,૬૪,૦૦૦ નો થાય છે. હાલ કરોટનું મુખ્ય દાન
આંકડાકડે મુનીયસીટીને એક નવી ફાલેજ આપવાને એક વનામાં કેન્સ અમરપતીએ એક કાંડ પચાસ માંખ પારીટની બેટ આપી છે. આમાંથી પા ૬૫૦૦૦૦ની રકમ હાલત ફેલેજ માં ૫૦ થી ૧૦ અન્ડર-એમ્યુએશને માટે રહેવાના મકાન બાંધવામાં વધારો અને પાટાની રકમ પોરટ મેન્ડ્યુએટ રહુડને માટે નવી ફેલેજ આપવામાં વધારો. જેમાંના ગાંધ બાગના રહુડનો કેન્સ ફેલેજ લેવેએ, આ ફેલેજ હોમાં હીંદીમાં માટે અવધાસ કરનારા પુરોમાં ને માટે રહેશે.
સર્વન રોડેસીયા પુનીયન સાથે નહીં કંદામ.
મધન રોડેસીયાના ગડા પ્રધાન સર. ગેરકે હગીન્સને બુસવેપોમાં મુદતીની એક મીટીંગમાં પુજારમાં અગ્રણ્ય કે સાંકે આદિકા સાથે સર્વન રોડેસીયા નું નેડામુ કરવાના ને પક્ષમાં છે ને નરી નવા જગ્યામાં વડા પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે મ્યાકસ નહીં... વધુમાં ગમજા કહ્યું નક્કે વરુ પીંદી પહોંને વીંચ પચ ૬ માર્ચ પંડ મુદતીમાં વખતમાં રામ પલ પર આરોપ મુકવાની એક ફેરલ છે નોમ કું માનું ?

મરહુમ મી. જાનકાદની જગ્યાએ

મી. જાનકાદના અવસાનથી પાંચ-૨૫નાના મવરનર-જનરલની ખાલી પડે લી જગ્યાએ પાંધીસાનાના બીજા મવર નર-જનરલ નરીંદે પુર્વે પંચાલના અંદી ૬ મવરનર-જનરલ મો જાનકા નાંદી મુદીનાની નીમજીક થઈ છે. મી. નાંદી સુદાન મર પાની રમતા છે અને મુસીક મ નીંગના રમતા લેતા છે. તેમણે હવેમાં દમા મેરીટરીનો અવધાસ કર્યો છે. મયા મેમખવાર તેમણે મવરનર જનરલ નરીંદેના સોગંદ મીયા હતા સેએમશનની નીતીથી અર્થમાં ઉચ્ચકાયલી કામગીરી.
સાંકે આદિકાના કસ રીંદામાં અર્થ ની એકેકેકુરીવ કાઉન્સીલે સરકારને પોવાની સેએમશનની નીતીના અંધ મ કહાપણથી વાંચા અપીસ કરી છે જેમાં અર્થો ગારા અને ખીન-ગીરાઓ વચ્ચે દાખલ મળી નાં છે. મળવળી માર્યા તેના કાળ સહ રહ્યાં છે અને નંદી પારીટીમાં પોવાના કાપમાં અડમણ નડ છે
હાંદીમાં મુદતી પ્રધાને કરી આંદીલી સગવડ
સાંકે આદિકાથી મકકા હવે ગડ વા મધ્યા ૬૩૦ હાંદીમાં પર મુજા પ્રધાન કે. ટી. હ. કેમીસે ઉપકાર કર્યો છે. તેઓને અલી પાખા અવધાને વધા ન મળતું નહોતું તેથી એક દારો ગોદ અલી આને નો પાંચ કરોડી અલીથી તેને ગાડ મળવાની હો. કેમીસે ખાત્રી આપવાથી છુટ્ટ સુધારામાં મીરવ અમયા અમ-સુદાન મીમનું જગાજ હાંદીમાં લવાને કહ્યું છે ને જગાંઈ અકરોમર ના. ૨૦ થાંના અરસામાં ઉપ હો અ હાંદીમાં મેરે બાગે કેપના છે. મુસીક પ્રાંધસાય સોસાપરીના મેકેટરી એ કે કાંડાસના આ કોદરના મારે અવારે ગાંધો છે.
ફરિદ હાંદીની બેનાએ ઉચ્ચેસ આંકડે દીન
મયા આંકડે દીને ફરિદ હાંદીની બેનાએ નકકા કહ્યું હતું કે હર ગલીના ની મહાશીએ બેનાએ બેગા મળા ધામી ક વાંચા. મરખા. જલગ વીગેરે કરતું. તે મુજા મધુ આગ્રુ વધ ઉચ્ચવામાં આવ્યું હતું અને આ વર્ષેના આંકડે દીન વધુ બેના નરથી આરી રીતે ઉચ્ચવામાં હતાં થાંમલી દીવાળીએ બેના પામે ૧૦ લીધવાનું હતું જે પા ૧૧ ૮-૬ થયું હતું. ને આંખો અમારક કરોડો મારકાપુ હતું.
મરહુ
દરખતના વડા વેપારી મેસર મરજ નરથી એ-૨ કાના બાગીદાર થી કીરો બાન પરમ કુક મુજાની માર્કેથી બેમ થી ૬૦ વર્ષની નમે મયા મેમખવાર સ્વમ તાર પાખા અમરશની હવેકીયા કોસા ૫૩ અસાનમાં નવરીવમ ૧૧-૩૦ વચે થઈ હતી દરખત તેમજ બકારથી પચા

ખાંખો મેમને અંતીમ અંધાંધી આપ વા હાંધે મયા હતા સ્વમરશના પુરા થી. જલેરબાઈ નમા થી. નરમીકવામ લીરબાઈ જે ને બાંધ્યોએ બાર, રહી ફેરફાર પા નાને અંખી હીધસેજા દર્શાવી છે ને સર્વે બાંધ્યોએના આ પત્રકારો આભાર માને છે.

હીંદીની પહેલી કજર
હીંદીની પહેલી કજરનો મુખ્ય બંદેર સરકાર કરના પંદીત નહેરુએ મયા બેધવરે કહ્યું હતું કે એક લાલી પ્રાણ દેસ કજર જેથી એક કસાવક સાંજને વીંચે મપ લે એ વીંચીવ માં છે. પરંતુ સમજાએ નો તેમા વીંચો મયા જેવું રહ્યું નથી. ગમજે કહ્યું આજની ફનીયામાં ગાંધી સાકાથી એટલું ગમ નથી રહીકે વારે તેને માટે મદેનન કરવી પડે છે અને કેટલીક વારે માર્ક પચા વડ છે જે દેશે થાંદીને માટે એટલી બંધેમ ને કોટલી હતી તેનામાં તેને ટકાવી રાખવાની ચકતી લેખીજ એકેએ અને પેલા વળાપ હીંદી મીકાનો વધારો કરવામાં આવી રહ્યો છે
તેમણે વધુમાં કહ્યું કે હીંદીના સાતી પ્રાણ લેકો કોસની મુજામાં કે સોજાય આંધળા નથી. તેઓ નો ની સ્વતંત્રતા, જીવનની સ્વતંત્રતા, અને સપળાં મેડોના સ્વતંત્રતા મારે છે. તેમજે કહ્યું હમુ મારકલે હીંદ આપનાની રીકને છુટ ને એ તેઓ મીમ નરીંદે આવશે તો હીંદી મીકા દમ તેઓને સરકાર કરશે. બે થયું નરીંદે આવશે તો તેઓને હાંધી. તેમજે કહ્યું અગારા જગદાન સામ મીંદી મહાસાગરમાં નહીં ૧૨ પરંતુ આંકડે હીંદીના વાંચો મર થી ફરકાવના અન્ય મહાસાગરમાં પચુ કરશે

મરહુમ
—થાંમલી વીંચાલકમાં પંદીત મુખા મંગળવારે હીંદીની મુજા અવા રેલિંગ નવા મીજ સમયે સાથે રવાના થયા છે.
—પંદીત નહેરુ હિંદીની પહેલી કજર ને બુધવારે મુખ્ય આવી નેના સરકાર કર વા સંરકામ ખાતાના મંત્રી સરદાર ગણેશસીંહ સાથે મુખ્ય મયા હતા.
—નહેરુમર ના. ૧ થાંના ના. ૨ થી ૧૦-૪૫ થાંના મુખી સુધે અઢણ હેખા રો. મધ્ય આદિકામાં ખમાસ ધરો.
—ના. આવાંધાનના પુત્ર પ્રીન્સ સહ દીન ના. ૮ થાંના જોડાનીસપર્થથી ફાંફુર અને સાંચી રીંદાકલેન્ડ અવા કિપી મયા છે.
—બેરના જગ્યાના વેપારી શેઠ રામે-રે આજુકજના મીન રો મધુરાસ દરીસાસ રામેરને હીંદ સરકાર નર થી ને. થી નો અંત્યાય વાખામાં આંધેલ છે.

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| જરી બરત કોરોન્ટની સાડીઓ વચોડો બાવ | ૧૨ ૨૦ ૦ |
| જરી બરત કોરોન્ટની સાડીઓ વધુ બરત | ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ |
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| કાપિલ આ તમ દુધલ, સાડી પનો | ૨૧ | ૦ ૮ ૧૨ |
| રંગીન કોરોન્ટ બારી માલ, સાડી પનો | ૨૧ | ૦ ૮ ૧૨ |
| કાપિલ કોરોન્ટ, સુદર ડીઝાઇન, સાડી પનો | ૨૧ | ૦ ૮ ૧૨ |

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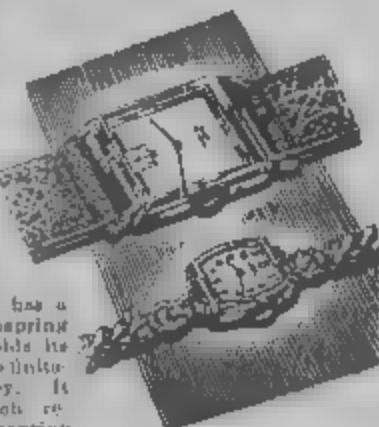
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tion in South Africa is South Africa's domestic question. We think it is a hasty comparison. Where there is travesty of justice there the case remains no longer one of domestic concern. It becomes the concern of the civilised world. In the present case if the Nizam was subjected to injustice he would certainly be entitled to world sympathy and aid. But he played the role of a tyrant and a traitor, and therefore justice was not on his side. Justice was on the side of the innocent, of the people and of India. A tyrant cannot claim his ruthless activities as his domestic concern. The innocent sufferers have to be avenged in his tyranny.

Here in South Africa the Nationalist Party Government has

begun to play the role of the tyrant. It is seeking to tyrannise over a mass of nine million voteless and unrepresented people, of whom two hundred and eighty thousand Indians form a part, nearly five per cent of whom are born in this country. It is seeking to play the role of a tyrant and a traitor before the world tribunal in Paris. But it is not entirely wrong to look at comparisons. If it is indulged in it is fair to compare only the bad things of another and not the good things. What is applicable to one might not be applicable to another. It is not better therefore to hold each case on its own merits. South Africa had better leave its domestic matters to its own people. It is unpleasant than pleasant.

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“We assure you we will fight against the pattern of life in which conflicting groups of white races wield ruthless power to perpetuate racial inequality. We assure you we will make it abundantly clear to the ruling power that the South African Indian people are not here on sufferance—we are born here and freedom is our birthright,” declared Dr. G. M. Naicker, the new president of the South African Indian Congress held in Durban during the last week-end.

Together with Dr. Naicker as President, the Conference elected Messrs. J. N. Singh and A. I. Meer as the joint honorary secretaries and Dr. A. H. Sader and Mr. George Singh as the joint hon. vice-presidents.

After three days' deliberations the Conference passed a number of resolutions including one appealing to the United Nations to “open at its forthcoming session in Paris its authority as embodied in the Charter and to take appropriate action to effect a permanent, lasting and satisfactory solution” of the Indo-South African dispute on the discriminatory treatment of Indian nationals of South Africa. The resolution said that an immediate solution was necessary in the interest of peace and democracy.

The Conference congratulated the Joint Passive Resistance Council on its resistance against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act and called upon it to continue its efforts in that direction until the Act was totally repealed.

The Conference condemned the action of the Government in refusing to grant passports to Drs. Dadoo and Naicker and called upon “the people of South Africa both white and non-white,”

through their national organisations to embark immediately upon a campaign of non-co-operation against this action of the Government in which inherent the germs of further invasions of the fundamental and civil liberties of all persons, irrespective of race, colour, creed or party.”

The Executive of the Congress was entrusted with the steps for closer political and organisational co-operation between the African National Congress, the African People's Organisation and the South African Indian Congress.

South West Africa

Rejecting the contention that incorporation of South West Africa was in keeping with the desires of the African people of that territory, the Conference called upon the United Nations to refuse the Union's plea for incorporation. It asked the United Nations “as will ensure and guarantee all the people of South West Africa, black and white, the fundamental rights and freedoms which are the birthright of all human beings.”

The Conference, by the action taken by the Conference at the statement made by the Minister of the Interior that a Commission is to be appointed to enquire into the acquisition of ownership of landed property by Indians in the Cape Province. The Conference resolved that it was the expectation of the Indian people of Natal and the Transvaal that such commissions were appointed to provide a pretext for the passing of racial laws denying the Indian people the right to own and occupy landed property.

Full support was pledged by the Conference to the people of the Cape Peninsula to their active

resistance to the introduction of apartheid in the Transvaal.

Conference strongly criticised the discriminatory policy of the Government in education, all age pensions and the annuities made by the Minister of Social Welfare that he was prepared to recommend to a Government to discontinue the payment of family allowances to Indians.

The Government was urged to desist from introducing the proposed Bill to extend the life of

certain war measures dealing with the prohibition of meetings and demonstrations on proclaimed land and giving powers to place special guards with powers to arrest, search and open fire in the event of people assembling in contravention of the war measures.

Conference came to observe a moment's silence in memory of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Mahatma Ali Jinnah and Gopal Kherkher, the United Nations mediator in Palestine, the news of whose assassination came while Conference was in session.

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT'S OPENING ADDRESS AT S.A.I.C.

The opening of the S.A.I.C. Conference was performed by the Rev. Michael Scott at the Peace Restaurant Hall, Durban, on Friday, September 19th. Mr. Scott, who had come out spontaneously to take an active part in the Passive Resistance campaign against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. He underlined a term of “incorporation” and subsequently asked the United Nations to “open at its forthcoming session in Paris its authority as embodied in the Charter and to take appropriate action to effect a permanent, lasting and satisfactory solution” of the Indo-South African dispute.

He then turned out to the Native labourers by certain European farmers in the Bethal district. “I was also the one who went to U.N.O. last year to plead for the incorporation of South West Africa before the civilised world. He has association with the opinion that the United Nations is a body of men who are responsible for such conduct perhaps, but I think they are thereby nearer to Christ than they are.” [L.O.]

In the course of his opening address the Rev. Michael Scott said:—“With the future of India based up the destiny of the whole of Asia and perhaps the destiny of our civilisation.”

The controversy which is so prolonging the suffering and anxiety of your people, and has done so much harm so friendly race relations here and elsewhere, is to come again before the United Nations, the only forum that exists for the peaceful and constitutional settlement of disputes. That controversy, unimportant as it may seem to some of the leisured classes in this beautiful city, goes down to the very foundations of our civilisation and even deeper than that.

Probably there was never a time which was not critical for the non-European peoples of South Africa during the last twenty years, and the speaker said it has become critical for the whole

country and its Government whose good faith towards its non-European peoples is being questioned and must face its trial before the other civilised nations of the world.

Despite the outbreaks of violence and bloodshed in many different parts of the world there have been advances for mankind—advances in constitutional reform which have given greater freedom and responsible government to many millions of different races. This has happened within the framework of the British Commonwealth and amongst the United Nations. Do not let us be too influenced by those politicians who have no faith in peace or in human progress.

On to this world stage of complex problems of racial co-operation and the struggle for peace and for fundamental human rights—in the words of the United Nations Charter it is for the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small—have stepped the apostles of apartheid.

“The doctrine which is now being proclaimed in South Africa has been declared against the preservation of Christian and European civilisation. It has been hailed as God's answer to the problems of race which will allow the different communities of South Africa to develop along their own lines. I need not here go into all the misapprehensions and misapprehensions of politicians in parliamentary debates whereby they have tried to disentangle themselves from some of the economic complications of apartheid. No one, least of all the Indian community, would set themselves in opposition to the rightful aspirations of the African people towards nationhood. But no doctrine of apartheid can be reconciled with the Christian faith and the highest aspirations of mankind that are found in other religions if it denies any effective representation to people of other races, and their oppos-

FORUM

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આને તમારો દેશ ખીલીટી કોમનવેલ્થ ના બે કોંગ્રેસીયનોના પદોમાં છે અને સંપદકપના તે સભ્ય રાખ્યો છે. આ મીકાના અન્ય બહુવિધ અને કોંગ્રેસીય અને કુનીયામાં પ્રવર્તીને વિધિના કે અવારોઝેરની રવા છે તેનો સ્વરૂપ આફ્રીકા માણુ વીવિધ કરશે તે તેની સામે બંધિષ્ઠકારના સેવામાં પગમાં કંગાવાતું તે સ્વેચ્છા મેદી રહ્યું છે.

દરમીયાન નમે આ દેશની મોળી સેવા બનવા રવા થા અને કે અનિષ્ટા ની સામે આપણે સૌ સચે રહી ના છીએ એ અનિષ્ટાની સામે આ દેશના બીન પ્રોફાઇનો જાતર લગવામાં તમારી લીધત અને પીરમ છાની રાખશે તે એક દીવસ તેની કસર રહીને પણ પીના નહિવર રહે.

તેથી પૂર્ણ માધીક પછી ચરખા લાં રા પ્રથમપદ આપનારા બા પારિન્દ ભણુ મહાર માપી સજાકની ઉચ્ચવર્ણીમાં રેડિયાની રાન પર આર કો ન વરુન પાયા છે. અને આશા ને અનુભવ રેડિયાનો મત મદન કરી માઇ મણુમદારની કસર પૂરી કરશે.

મહમદ આદેબ આણુ હતા
રાજીરસમ મહાપાળા માધીકની રીપટ વીન થયે છે

દેવ આરે હો રતિ માધીકને ભવ્ય કસર છે. સરકારે પણ તેમના તરફની પેટાની મહિત સ્વીકાર્યામાં પા- બ્ય રહેવા માગતી નથી. તેથી નકકો કેમ કે રતિપતાની પદેની પરસામાં માધીકની કાચવાળી દાસકની ટિકિટ કારીને ઉચ્ચવર્ણી મેલક, દાસકની ટિકિટ વાંદ એરલ દાસકમાં રવાન કરવામાં કસરો આપવા વિના કેમ રહેને ભાત કામગીર નોંધાવી ને પાર દાસકની કસરોમાં ના કામી કાચ માપી વિધાને આ આશા ને તરફ એક માધીકને પડે તરફન મવા છે. માધીકના અન્ય પાર દાસકની કામગીર મદા કસર કામ પડે એ કેમ નહીં.

આમ રિપિટ કરવારે, ના મુરકારે પાતનના પ્રાપ્તિ પામતી શક્તિ જાતર પાત ના પ્રાપ્ત ને વાજના નેપાર કરી ને પીના મહાપા રિપમાં આર વિત કરવાની કસર પછી આમ કાચ વિચારીએ ના બુલ્લુ રા. અનુભવ રિપમાં મુનિપુત્ર રહેમાં એ અને ના મહાતેવળ મુનિની ત્યાપના કરવાની પાત નબત આમળ રાપી છે. પાર મુનિની પાતરેલી કસર એ કસરી પાતના નબત આમળ ના છે. મનુષ્યો કે પ્રાણીઓ કાસરો ને ના નવનો વિવેક જાતરવામાં નામે મવા કરવાપ નાર મહમદ સાદેબ મેલક થાવા દતા.

માધીકની રસ પ્રકારની જાણને આપણે દેવ અથવા મરિયા માકરના કપમાં ન મોખે મુનિપુત્રોનો યમ રિપિટ વળ મેલો ના છે. અન્ય સુધી કોમ પણ દેશની મુનિની વિધિપદ પ્રાણમરિયા ને થામ ના સુધી ન પુરવરે. માલક નાની પાતની, મણુપરિના કોમકે મિમો માવ આપકમાં આવે છે એવુ નથી. આમ ગુજા તે અનેક પ્રવાની કોમોઓ પડે તેમ વિધ કાવ- યામાં આવે છે અને એમાંની કેટલીકે આપર કસરની રાપમાંની કસરે થાવ છે. કાસરવાન રમકડોમાંમાં પણ મણુપરિ ના અને, મણુપરિ નામે ના રહે સોપારી પૂરવ છે ના નિમજન થાવ પછી પાણુ જિલ્લે સોપારી ન રહે છે. મારા કસરવાની મનુષ્ય એ છે. આપણે એકમેકે મિલને કસરનું મહત્વ ન આપીએ. આપણને મહત્વ દેવા તેને આપણે થામ એકકા મહત્વ નામ એકો સાથે પકકે મનાને લેવા કરીએ. કાસરો રિપે વરવા નેરવામાં,

હીંદ રીપર પ્રાકીરવાની પ્રવાર
હીંદની પાપોએ-રવા પ્રાકીરવા રે: પ્રવળના કસરમાં વડા પ્રવાન પડી નેરવેલે આપણુ રતિ કે કસરો-પાપી રવાન કસરના લીધતા નામની કોમ કસરો રાપણ છે. ને કે કસરી આપાની આ પુલ્લીકમાં મહાર પાડી ને કાસ કાસરો રીપે રીપી, અનુભવ. ના અને રસર પાપીરવાનમાં કોડી રવા પ્રમાર કરે છે. સરકારે એ માખન પાન માં લીધી ના અને પાપીરવાન સરકાર ને તે તરન ખાંધ કરી દેવા રાખાવું છે.

પરચુરણ
—પરચુર ના રાજીરેટ સત્તામક કરેવા ન સ્વપર પીરવાવાના નામ કોમક રાન કેટલો માધીક અને આમાર્યાકે પાપા મેળવવાના પચમ મેળવ રવા છે. મહારે માધીકના આપાના એર અપીકારીને આ માધીકના પાપમાં મક નોની કામગીર કરવાવાન કામ લેવામાં મા આપક છે.
—સરકાર માત્રના પાપીરવાન સરકારે એવો કુલમ કાસરો છે કે રવા પપીરવા પાપા મહાતે પીરવારેની સરવાવા પાપીરો કાસી આપાવામાં થામ અને અનુભવ મહત્વ આપતી પછી વીરકન એકકા મહત્વ રીપે મેલો

રશીમાં અંગેરીકાના મહાપાળાએ દેવર એવો આરેવ મુક્યો છે કે અમે રીકાવા રવીષ્વ નામરેલિનું કરેમ ના છે કસરી અંગેરીકાના મહાપાળાએ તે માળવામાં કસરી કરવા નથી. આમ રામકા અટકાવવાના પચમ પચ તેવા નથી.

—પે રસમના આરેવો અને વડુકે નીરપીરવાન મદ કરેસ મારે રીપેરવાન મારેવા મુનિપા કસર કાસર પેરનાકેર ના રા કરે કસરી છે એમાં હીંદ સરકાર ના આમ રીપીઆ આપવાનો નીજેવ કરો છે.

દ્રાસવાલ મયાવંત
શ્રત્રીય
સમાજ સેવા મંડળ
(નેદાનીસમર્થ)

કેપ્ટેન મંડળની કાપીક મહારે મના ના. ૨-૧૦-૧૯૪૮ ના રીપરિસા પેરો રવા ૨-૨૦ વામે હીંદીકાર ૧૯-૨૯ ના રહીટની વચ્ચે આલેસી મહિત રહેલ પરમા દેશન રુકમ કોમના નજામે, રીક થામ કસરો કાપી માકાવાને વેવાસર કામક રહેવા પીના છે

કેમ-૧૯૧૦ નોતરસ (૨૨) અનુભવો ના રાપીકે લીધાવ રીકે પરચુરણ કાપ રવા નામ રાપીકે પીમાની ચુટખી
માકાવારે ના મહત્વ નેરવેલેલો માકા
અનુભવ નામ
અનુભવ નામ

સ્વરાજ્યની સફળતા

શ્રી. વિનોબાભાઈએ એ તા રૂપ ના આપેલ આપણમાંથી નીમે નુ લીટાકીએ છીએ:

હિન્દુસ્તાનને સત્તા મળી, પોતાનો જ્ઞાતિવંદ ચસાવવાની પૂરી સ્વતંત્રતા મળી તો અર્થ એક ન છે કે ગરીબોની સેવાને મારે આજ સુધી છે અથવા આપણને નહોતી ન આપણને મળી છે એ રીત ખરેખર રાજ્ય કામનું સમજ સેવકવિધીને તેના પદીવંદ સંભાળ્યા દતો તેની ન રીતે આપણે સમજાવું નેરવેલે કે રાજ્ય મરીપ બનાવનું છે. અમે તેના નામે તેવા દુશની પની નામને એ સ્વચ્છે પદીવંદ કરવાનો છે. આ મારીના સુરેક કાર કાવવા પછી મરી બોને માયકુ મેલકે, તેમને અનુભવ થયા મેલકે કે રહે નામ આપણી (મરીબોના) સેવામાં મારી પડ્યું ને તેમને એવું નહતે પડ્યું નેરવેલે કે મજીમાગણેલા સીકા પદેમાં આપણી પાસે આવી રાકા નહોતા ને હવે આપણી સેવામાં મારી થયા છે. માય મારે કરકાવવામાં મરીબોને સ્વરાજ્યના અનુભવ નહીં થાવ એમને તરારાવા મુરજની મેન આપવાની કસરો અનુ- અવ થવા નેરવેલે...

પચમ નમાનામા આપણે ત્યાં મ- જુરીની પ્રતિષ્ઠા નહોતી રહી. કારીમરેને આપણે હમકો નાતમાં નામના ને અરકરવ મહત્વ. મનુષ્ય કસરી છે કે સકા કસરી: કસરલ:— એરેસે કે કામ કરવાપાળા હાવ કસરો પચિત રહે છે. પક આપણે એ વાન નથા, નેનાથી પાણુ તેણે કામ કરવાનું કાસર. સન્યાસીએ કામ કરવાનું કાસર, વિદ્યા થીમાએ કાસર અને ગકેનાએ પચ કાસર. એથી કામ અથવા મણુરી કરવાપાળા ને રવા તેમના પર એકો વધી પડી, ગળી, એમના ને એમના કામના. મણુરીની પ્રતિષ્ઠા પચ આસી થતી મહ. મારે સ્વરાજ્યને આપણે સમજ કરેમ તેમ મણુરીની પ્રતિષ્ઠા વધારવા નેરવેલે એરલે કે એરલ મણુ રીના કિમલ પણ વધારવા રહેશે. મુધાર, મોરેસર નામ આપાપીસની રોજીમા રહેલ એક આપણે નાજુક કરવા રહેશે, મુધ નેમ નોમ સરખી ના પ્રકાશ આપે છે, મક નરખી રીતે

સીને પક આપે છે અને પૂર્ણ, હવા માણુ સીને મારે સરખા છે તેવી ન રીતે આજીવિકાનાં સાચન સીને સરખા રીતે સરખા પ્રમણુમાં મળી રહેવાં નેરવેલે.

સીકે રવા મળી પુકે ને કામ સરખા મહ રાશે તે આમારી પ્રતિષ્ઠા કેવી રીતે સરવારી અને તે કામ કામ કરવાપા રવા. હુએ એરેસે પચ કે રીકાવા અનુભવ કરવા ને રહે કામ નમે નામ કસરી પાણુથી રપારે રીકુ નામના આપણને રીક એ આપણું નથી. એ પચ ન કરેલે દતો નેમાવિપામંત્રી સામે માપે મારેલો કતો. પાતને અરેસે કરેલે હુએ મક રામના રાજ્યવા પામી એરલે કાસરવાન કામ નેરવેલે મારી કીકું દતું. હિન્દુસ્તાનને પાતર મીનાની થાવ માથાને નથી પરંતુ આરે પાંચ નકાર. મનુષ્ય 'અવ મોપાતકાજી' ને પીકારેલે આપે છે. એ કેવી રીતે પામું કોલે નેમ ને મોપાતકાજી નામના આપણું રાજ્ય કસરી અને મણુરીનું કામ પણ કસરી.

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શ્રી. દારોરસામ મહાપાળાએ નામ નાતી મારે નામે મુરલ્ય કસર છે: આપણા જન્મકિરસા અને તેમની મુરુનિમિલા મહિતની પાખામાં કાન રાંકો છે. એમનું મુરુ પણ એક મહાન વિજયમાં દતો એ રાખું કામ રાખરિત તરીકે તેમને જન્મકિરસ અથવા તેમની મુરુનિમિલામાં મે ન એક પાળવાનું વડેવાક માનિક ના અને પોતાને સરલે રાકો નથી કે તેમને જન્મકિરસ ના પાળવો નેરવેલે.

પોતાના રાજ્યાસિક કામનાથી માધીકને રોમાના જન્મકિરસે પણ એક અનુપમ કપ આપુ છે. એમાં સ્વયંમ રેડિયા સાથે લોડી આપી પોતાના જન્મકિરસ નામ પણ તેમણે રેડીવાપાસ પાડી આપ્યું. એમના અવિષાવ એવો દતો કે એકકા કિલ્લે ન નહીં, કુનિયાની બધી રિમિત પ્રવત્તને રેડિયા મારી સીધી મણુર ને સીધી મક મક છે. એ નામ ના સુધી આપણ સમજાવું કે તરીકે મકા કરીએ ત્યાં મુધા પામના ના ના માલ વિમિતે આપણે એમની નામ કરીવા નેરવેલે રવા નેરવેલે.

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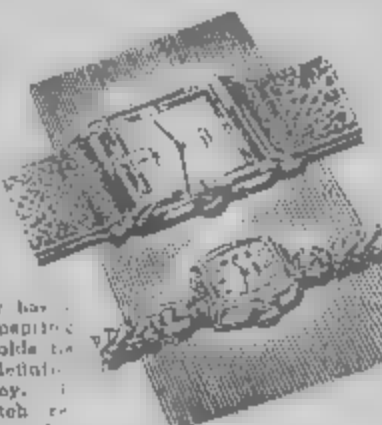
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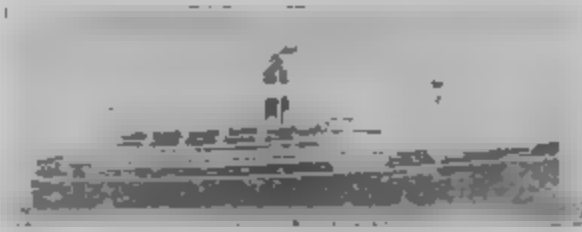
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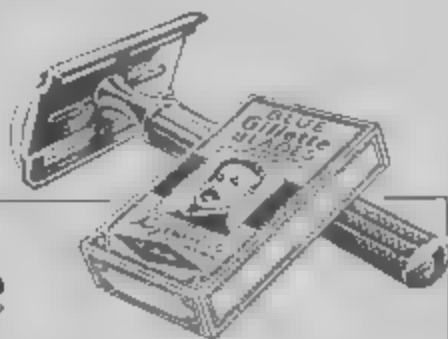
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 1ST OCTOBER, 1948

Death Knell Of Democracy

THOUGH we do not subscribe to all that Mr D. L. Mitchell, ex-Administrator of Natal, and the United Party member for South Coast Natal says, we do fully endorse the statement made in the Union House of Assembly last week during the debate on the second reading of the Apartheid Bill. South Africa stands on the threshold of the most pitiable degradation of democracy ever known. He said, "was the true meaning of the indecent haste with which the Government was attempting to deal with the present issue."

The Bill which has just passed we believe sounds the death knell of democracy in South Africa. Dr Malan had one startling thing during the debate. Indians, he said, were a foreign element in this country. They had occasionally been brought to this country for temporary purposes. This is the only and chief reason they had been allowed to remain. But they had always been regarded by the community which did not belong to South Africa.

History Does Not

Say So

What history tells us, however, is that Indians were invited to South Africa for the

development of this country and were given definite promises that they would be allowed to remain here as free as any other people. Had they been treated as a foreign element who had come only for temporary purposes, they would not have been given Parliamentary and Municipal franchise which they enjoyed for years a number of years. If they were here for temporary purposes they would have been on negotiable terms. As regards the Indian question in South Africa with the Government of India and Indians would have been summarily sent back to their own country. But the fact is that there have been negotiations and treaties between the two countries and to respecting the legitimate rights of Indians in South Africa. One such treaty was the Capetown Agreement.

Past And Present

Referring to the Round Table Conference, which resulted in that Agreement in 1927, it was Dr Malan who in the Union House of Assembly at the time said:

"Throughout the Conference there was remarkable absence of the spirit of bargaining, and the decisions taken were arrived at solely and wholeheartedly with a view to a comprehensive, effective and peaceful settlement. The results achieved cannot, therefore, be looked upon as reflecting a diplomatic

victory in whole or any particular point for either side, but as the fruit of a common purpose carried out in the spirit and by means of friendly collaboration. It will be obvious that the agreement which has been reached is more in the nature of an honourable and friendly understanding than of a rigid and binding treaty. By their decision not to proceed with the particular legislation which was contemplated last year the Union Government have not in any respect or to any extent surrendered their freedom to deal legislatively with the Indian problem whenever and in whatever way they may deem necessary and just. Nor on the other hand have the Government of India bound themselves either permanently or for any limited period to co-operate with us in the practical solution of our problem in the manner agreed upon."

The position truly described in the above quotation has since been changed in a solution which to some, indeed, may not seem ideal, but which is at least practical, and peaceful and which holds out every hope of lasting efficacy, and that both have made it possible by means of mutual goodwill and co-operation to give this solution a fair and reasonable trial. The chief and most satisfactory method of dealing with the problem has obviously been found in an approved scheme of limited migration to be initiated by the Union Government with increased facilities and safeguards, and with proper safeguards against abuse. The one essential feature of this scheme is well known of every other part of the agreement which has been arrived at is that no step shall be taken to interfere in any way with the maintenance of Western standards of life remain unimpaired and absolute, and has not been confirmed. Indian who are willing and able to conform to these standards will be enabled to do so. (Italics are ours).

In these circumstances there seems to be no reason why any section of the community should be otherwise than friendly disposed towards the working of the scheme, which if successful and effective will go very far to ensure the peace and happiness of the Indian community, which will

remain permanently settled in the Union and to establish lasting friendship, and goodwill between the two great nations on either side of the Indian Ocean."

We have quoted extensively from Dr Malan's own speech in 1927 to enable the reader to compare his present attitude with his past. His Government's whole policy today is to stigmatise the Indian community as an inferior race. That is the purpose of the present legislation and of the Government's apartheid policy.

General Smuts

When we fully appreciate the difficulties with which General Smuts had to grapple on his Government when he was in power, we cannot help feeling that he was more concerned about his own position than of upholding the high and noble ideals embodied in the United Nations Charter, of which he was one of the architects. He has now put the whole blame on hardening the hearts of the Europeans in Natal and on producing a complete change in the situation, on the policy of opposition on the part of the leaders of the Natal Indian Congress. We are not prepared to accept that charge. The anti-Indian agitation in Natal was being carried on long before Congress had raised its voice and it is common knowledge that General Smuts succumbed to the agitation, ignoring not only the voice of the Indians in South Africa but of the whole of India.

Overlooking Real Issue

We do deplore the extreme and offensive language used by some of the Congress leaders but after all are not the actions of the Government offensive and provocative enough to justify the use of such language? And is the main issue to be lost sight of because of offensive language used by those who are afflicted? Is justice to be denied them on that score? General Smuts should be the last person to fail to appreciate the fact that instead of emulating the example of force and lawlessness which is so freely indulged in in South Africa by the ruling class

Indians have adopted the inner and more civilised way of quietly undergoing self-imposed sufferings for the redress of their grievance.

Dr. Malan's Government should realise that the world is fast advancing to the end and South Africa will have to keep or step with it. The world is not in the mood to tolerate today what might have been tolerated ten years ago. There is an earthly reason why a honourable settlement of the Indian question should not be found even today if it were tackled in the same spirit of goodwill and friendliness as it was in 1937.

"INDIANS ARE A FOREIGN ELEMENT"

—SAYS DR. MALAN

THE following statement was issued by the President of the S.A.I.C. in reply to Dr. Malan's session in the Union Parliament last week that Indians were a foreign element in South Africa:—

Dr. Malan's statement, that Indians were a foreign element, who did not belong to South Africa, is a complete repudiation of the letter and spirit of the uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement.

The uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement accepts the fact that a considerable number of Indians "will remain part of the permanent population of the Union" and that they should not be allowed to lag behind any other section of the people. The Union Government expressed the firm belief that it was the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the upliftment of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacities and opportunities.

Dr. Malan now states that Indians had no right to regard themselves as part of the settled population who belonged to South Africa, and his Government's solution to the Indian problem is repatriation.

South African Indians will never accept Dr. Malan's repatriation scheme. They regard themselves as South African citizens ninety-five per cent of them being born in this country. Historically, Dr. Malan is ignoring

for Indians came to this country on invitation and have at no time agreed to be regarded as a foreign element. In fact they had the Parliamentary franchise up to 1934 and the Municipal franchise up to 1936. Had the Indians continued to enjoy the franchise, no question of their appealing to India would have arisen, and even as a disfranchised section of the South African community, they have at all times appealed first to the Union Government for redress before taking any other measures.

The same procedure was adopted when the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill was before Parliament. A big and representative deputation of the South African Indian Congress made representations to the Prime Minister and only when their appeal was refused, India intervened and the question was raised at the United Nations. The responsibility for the action of India and that of the United Nations rests entirely upon the Union Government and is a logical consequence of the Government's attitude towards the Indian people.

The Nationalist Government cannot ignore the changed political situation in the world today. It cannot pursue a policy of restricting basic freedom when the whole world is advancing towards greater freedom and the United

Nations is championing the cause of fundamental human rights, an international covenant for which is scheduled for adoption at the present Paris session of the United Nations.

Let South Africa take heed of

Knows Too Well To Be Deceived

Mr. Waterson's Indictment Against Nationalists

SPEAKING in the Union House of Assembly on Wednesday, on the Electoral Law Amendment Bill, which seeks to deprive the Coloured people of the vote, Mr. Waterson, member of the United Party, said the main object of the Bill was so far as possible to prevent Coloured people from getting on to the register. It was the first step in the Government's general policy on the Coloured people.

It was the policy of the Government to kill the Coloured people politically. It intended to deprive them of political rights they had enjoyed for 100 years. That policy was a form of political persecution and suppression never before seen in a democratic country.

It was a technique of dealing one by one with political minorities which did not support the Government. At ready this session the Indians had been dealt with. The first step was now being taken to deal with the Coloured people and the Natives would be dealt with next. When the Natives, the Coloureds and the Indians have been dealt with, the Jewish community will probably come next, and when the Nationalists had finished with the Jews, Mr. Waterson said, they might set against the English speaking section.

During his 41 years as High Commissioner in London, Mr. Waterson went on to say, he had met many people driven from their countries by the Nazis, and reduced by sheer habit to whispering whenever they spoke about politics. He had met many National Socialists, too, and their attitude was unpleasantly similar to that of Government—a bland denial of any evil intention. He knew it too well to be deceived.

the warning that the attack on the Indian people is the first step towards the complete abolition of democracy for both the white and non-white people of South Africa.

The South African Indian people totally reject repatriation.

They rightly regard themselves as South African citizens and they are pledged to strive for the attainment of this goal.

Press Comment On Nationalist Policy

COMMENTING on Mr. Golding's speech in Cape Town the 'Natal Daily News' in its issue of September 29, writes:—When Mr. J. G. Golding told the Coloured Advisory Council yesterday "we go forward with hate in our hearts" he spoke for all now in this land whose rights are being filched or whittled away. . . . One of their most sober and even timid leaders voices the anger that is growing among them. This is serious enough in itself, yet it is but a pale reflection of the anger and hate that are spreading throughout considerable sections of the African millions. With the Coloured and with all non-Whites, they are now being humiliated and denied almost everyday. The Government's attitude, consciously or unconsciously, is far too often crudely insulting. Measures affecting the life and liberty of every non-European man and woman are being regularly taken or debated. Yet those more directly concerned are not consulted. Let it be thought that this is a Nationalist responsibility alone, it should be emphasised at once that Natal has its own great responsibility. Too often it is forgotten that oppression and deliberate withholding of rights are not originally Afrikaner policies. Under the leadership of Stallard the Dominion Party was quite willing to see the Commonwealth sabotaged rather than give an elementary concession to South African Indians or Natives. The late Mr. Madley shattered the Labour Party rather than countenance the training of Natives as artisans to serve the needs of their own people. At the present moment, much of the chauvinism we are experiencing is being asserted in order to bribe votes from Natal. Thus it is not a question of blame. It is a question of every responsible South African taking thought for a situation which is arising and which is shaking the financial structure as much as it is undermining our moral stature in the world. Those who truly care for our country will hear and give heed to the warning bell now tolling everywhere on the other side of the colour line.

INDIANS ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES TO COMPLAIN

"WE GO FORWARD WITH HATE IN OUR HEARTS"

—MR. J. G. GOLDING

"WE go forward with hate in our hearts" said Mr. J. G. Golding, the chairman, when he addressed Tuesday's session in Cape Town of the Coloured Advisory Council.

"We have come to the stage where we have to consider very seriously our further services on the Council and the future of the Council itself," he declared.

"The happenings of the past month or two, which culminated in the passing of the second reading of the Electoral Laws Amendment Bill, are the darkest in the history of the Coloured people," said Mr. Golding. "The Coloured people are intensely perplexed at the attitude of the Government."

Mr. Golding said they had no alternative but to infer that the Government did not require the services of the C.A.C.

"It would appear that under the present circumstances, the Government regards the Coloured people as 'harmful' not worthy of

the rights of citizenship, and who must be eliminated from the Parliamentary voters' roll. We do feel very bitterly at the Government's recent treatment of the Coloured people. The Nationalists, who have involved us, have chased out of our hearts all feelings of goodwill and love towards our fellow Africans. We go forward with hate in our hearts.

"I plead to our people to keep cool and level-headed in this time of crisis. All is not lost. Our leaders will find a way out. Whatever plans are made will not be divulged, but we shall grow from strength to strength in our adversity."

"I appeal to those in South Africa who have the power to change the viciousness of the Government to do so now. We, the people of South Africa, must live together in peace and harmony. As things are going on at present that peace is impossible."

Things In General

At U.N.O.

THE United Nations General Assembly on Tuesday decided unanimously to submit to its Political Committee South Africa's claim that the Indian complaints against the treatment of Asiatics in the Union constituted interference in the Union's domestic affairs. The Political Committee must now first decide the competence of the United Nations to intervene in the domestic jurisdiction of South Africa in relation to Indian complaints before it can go further and examine the merits of India's case. The Assembly decided to keep on its agenda the Indian complaint but to refer the matter of competency to deal with the complaint to the Political Committee.

Mr. Louw had protested to the Assembly against the competence of the United Nations to discuss India's complaint on the ground that the matter was essentially a domestic one, as defined by the provisions of the Charter.

Dr. Malan On Repatriation

The Prime Minister Dr. D. F. Malan, said in the Senate on Wednesday replying to Senator A. M. Conroy (U.P.) during the debate on the second reading of the Asiatic Laws Amendment Bill

which was carried without a division, and taken through the Committee stage without amendment, said if the Opposition felt Natal was in favour of the legislation for representation of Indians they could test that at the Provincial Council elections. Senator Nicholls, he said, had thrown the blame on Malan, but for the people of Natal it was a question of self-preservation, the first law of nature. The European could not withstand the deadly competition of the Indians. It could not be said that Natal accepted the 1946 Act as a whole. Let Chapter Two of that Act be repealed, and there would be acclamation all over Natal. If the liberal policy of Mr. Hofmeyr was followed, it meant that gradually there would be complete equality between the European and non-European. There was the example of what England had done for the advancement of India, and what had happened? The white man had been compelled to leave. International co-operation would first be required in this question of repatriation before any progress could be made. The Government would then be prepared to discuss the Indian question with the Opposition. The Prime Minister said there had been, and not only in war-time, large-scale repatriation between warring countries.

Repatriation had been carried out on a friendly basis between countries.

[Note: We did not think Dr. Malan would begrudge India acquiring her freedom from a foreign yoke. To say that the white man had been compelled to leave India, was not stating the fact. Not a single white man has been compelled to leave the country. Those that have left have done so on their own accord. Ed. I.O.]

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Message To S.A. Indians

DR. G. M. NAICKER,

President of the South African Indian Congress, has received the following message from Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress, from New Delhi:—

"I do not know whether any message of mine can remove the fear and relieve the anxiety that has gripped the hearts of my countrymen in South Africa. The coming into power of Dr. Malan signifies that very dark days are ahead of them. It was once thought that the Herren-volk theory had died with Hitler. But the South African Government with the policy of apartheid have reawakened this noxious doctrine and are now talking of repatriating the Indians. They seem to have forgotten that the prosperity of South Africa to-day is in no small measure due to the hard labour and business integrity of its Indian population. Only a united front by the Indians against this onslaught can save them from the disaster that threatens them. Let us hope that the United Nations before which the question is now pending, will stand by the oppressed Indian community and vindicate the cause of justice. I need not say that the Indian Congress, which I represent, and the Government of India will do all they can to support you in this critical juncture."

Another S.A. Born Doctor Arrives

Dr. Dawood Bessa, son of Mr. Mahomed Cassim Bessa, well known merchant of Durban, arrived last week from India after taking his M.B.B.S. degree in Bombay. Dr. Dawood has had practical experience in well-known Bombay Hospitals and during his stay in India has done useful public service especially during the Bengal famine. A grand Tea Party was given in his honour by Mr. Bessa last Saturday at his

premises in Commercial Road, a large number of prominent Indians were present and congratulatory speeches both to Mr. Bessa and Dr. Bessa were made by many speakers.

Literature By And About Gandhiji

Mr. Jivraj Datta, Manager Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, writes in 'Harijan'. During Gandhiji's lifetime and now much more after his demise we have been receiving inquiries regarding literature by and about him. As it happens we have been mainly responsible in bringing out his writings in book form. To be helpful, therefore, in regard to such enquiries, we have now brought out a complete up-to-date catalogue of our publications. This catalogue however does not and of course cannot give an adequate idea of the vast mass of literature by and about Gandhiji. We have therefore undertaken to bring out a complete catalogue of Gandhian literature which is already in press and will be ready by the end of October. A thorough attempt to include all books bearing on the subject in many Indian languages as possible as well as in English has been made and we have no doubt all lovers of Gandhian literature will find this publication a very reliable and useful guide. The catalogue will indicate the name of the book, the author and the price in each case.

Madras Province To Go Dry By Oct. 2

The Madras Government, it is learnt, decided to extend prohibition to Madras. The remaining eight districts of the province in accordance with recent decision of the Congress Legislature Party. The Prohibition Act is already in force in 16 districts and the entire province will go dry by October 2 when, according to the present programme, it will be extended to the remaining areas.

Transvaal Tamil Benefit Society

At a tri-ennial general meeting of the Transvaal Tamil Benefit Society held at the Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, the following new office-bearers were elected:

Patron: Mr. N. N. Pillay. President: Mr. N. Naidoo, vice-president: Messrs. N. G. Pillay, C. A. Pillay, P. S. Pathar, C. M. Moodley, and Rev. H. L. E. Sigamoney, hon. secretaries: Messrs. S. G. B. Pillay, N. Thandray and V. S. Navagar, hon. treasurers: Messrs. H. M. Naidoo and V. N. Naidoo, committee: Messrs. S. M. Paddy, D. Pavadai, I. Naidoo, P. G. Reddy, L. Sengaran, G. V. Naidoo, S. Sengaran, S. S. Pillay, K. Ponambalan, S. Pathar, M. P. Naidoo, Ganga Pillay, G. Ponnasamy, V. Chetty, Sathisivan Moodley, V. Sundar, V. Pillay, S. Niyagar and S. Balu Moe.

હિન્દી સરકારના નાણાપ્રધાન મંડનભાઈ મેસીને આપણા નાણાપત્રોના પાસ પડે એ દીક છે, પણ મરણોળિ આપણી આર્થિક સ્થિતિ બરાબર સમજાવી દેતી નથી. મળા અગાધિયામાં ૧૯૩૮-૪૧ આજ સુધીમાં માલના ભાવનો અંક ૧૦૦ થી ૨૦૦ સુધી પહોંચ્યાની જોશ વનારી બગરો અમખાણમાં મગસી ગય છે. શ્રી મનુ સુભેદાર જેવા અગર અમંસાઓએ દેશને કપુ છે કે આપણી સરકાર આજે, સુસેદના વખતમાં પાસ, હર અગરકાએ આજે પાસ કરે છે કપિયાની નેરો છે અને નામ છે. હિન્દી ને પ્રાંતિક સરકારો આજે કરે છે કપિયાની અનેક મોળનાઓ પડે છે પણ તે નોટો જ જાણીને રોકાવાના હોય તે નેથી કાળ કરવા વધારે નુકસાન થવાનો સંભવ છે. નવી નવી કંપનીઓ વિવિધ ક્ષેત્રોમાં પીસવાના રવામ છે તેને કોઈકેઈ શ્રેયજીવા રવા કરવાની મંજૂરી પણ આપનામાં આવે છે, પણ તે બદલર પડેલા નાણેની જરૂરીઆત પૂરી પાડના ન હોય તે મંજૂરીથી દેશને બારે નુકસાન થવાનો સંભવ છે.

હિન્દી સંપત્તિ આશરકાપાના પ્રધાન શ્રી અપરામહાસે નામપર ખાતે એક આપણ કરતાં સાચુ જ કહ્યું છે, કે મેલીન કોષળ પધારવાનાં પત્તા, રજામની પ્રકસામમાં અને સાવર્નનાક વાકતવહેવાર માટે વર્ગી રક મોટર ગાડીઓ અને તે પનાપાણો સામાન આપણ કરેલા જોશ્યે અને ન સિવપાણી પીછ પીધી આપણ અને પીછ પાધા કલોમો કામ તે મોશુ રાખવા નહ્યો, આ સિકાન સીકારીને કિરી નમ આપાવતી નવી રાજનતિ પડે એ પાસ જરૂરી છે, આજે પરદેશી કુદી આમણને એકએક પાકેડ ને એકએક ડાહર આપણી પેલીના રજામની અને સાવર્નનાક વહેવારની જરૂરીઆતો આક પધારવાની વગર છે, બારે તરી મેલર શોખની કરેલા કપીયાનાં પકુઓએ આપણ યતી, જેમાંતી અને ૧૫૨૧ની જોશને હરેક સામા કિંદીનું કાગલુ બળીને આપ થાય છે, આજના દશમ રાજકીય ને આર્થિક કોશકર્મો પપા આપણે કાગાની પડીઆણો ને ઘેરી રેતા, સેક ને સર્વર, પાનગી સાપકલો અને મોટરો અને એવી અગણિત વસ્તુઓ મારે એક પણ ભા શા મારે ખરચવી જોઈએ / અને તન દુર મોકલવાનો નાહકનો જોઈને નામ ૥ નંગ અમેરી રહે પડે સા નામ નાપથો જોઈએ.

આજની પડીએ સરકાર કે આ નામ દરોનાં અને મેલર આપણના ખરચ બધ કરે અને મમે તેવી અગર વેતન નાસિકમાં પાકે ને વધુ નોટો બાપકાનું પક હરે, બીછ પાસ, અગરમો અને નવી કરે કરકસરની નીતિને ૧૨૧ રોકે આજે અને મેલરોના આસ ના

હિન્દી સ્ટેટ્સ કીપ્સ બેઈએ છે

કંદુકાક ધાકેક

રજામને નામને મારે નિકાલસિ આજે મેલરુ જ નહિ, પણ તેના આપણ પર અકુશ કુકાની જોતરકી માગ થી ૨૧ બદલર મેલો વખત આજે છે કે બગરો દેશનાં યુવાનો અને યુવતીઓએ નામો અને નમાસા મેલર આજની વસ્તુઓને બદલકાર વેકારીને પ્રકામતો વાજા કરેલા જોશ્યે અને અંગ નામ દેશના કપતવહેવારમાં અખનામાં અખા કરકસરની આપક કરેલા જોશ્યે

મખાઈની વાક એ છે કે આપણા અના રાજકીય-આર્થિક-આપણી આ-મળા કરકસરની કિતમ દાખલો રજા કરે છે. કળાં આપણે તેને અપુરવાને વડેસે તેના કળારો કૈલ કરવામાં કિતમીએ છીએ, કામસા તરીકે, કાજા દના રજા ૧૨ આજે બાનગી મેલરો નકરે ચડી નથી, આમ મેલો મેલરુ નમલ મેલોસનું મેલરુ નાજી બચામે છે; કળારે આપણે કલર પરદેશી નવી, બાપખાનના પાર રોખાગી મેલરો સા મારે આપણ કરીએ બંધો અને તેને બક કળાં પણ મેલરો આપણે સા મારે આપણ કલરો બંધો મેલરોમાં તો રોખરોદી, બીકક પકેરે શોખની રજામી ૧૨ કલો અખા ૨૨ નાખો છે નથી તેના પપા જ બીછા પ્રમા-બાપા નામ વલ લો અને સરકારને સારી આપર મા

આ પણ આપણ પણ આમેવાનો નજ આ પણ સા મારે તેવી નાન બીકસવાને એક વરક પણ મેલરો કે પપા નથી.

શોકે પપા ના આપણે પને મેલરો તપાકા સામતરી જ પેલીન અને પીછ કીપલ પધારવાની કલરિ પર સુપુ નાં મેલરો ધણ નેકરી અને નેકરા પ્રમાણમાં તેની નિકાસ થમ કલે મેલરો પ્રમાણમાં ૨૨ પડેલા નજરની વગરોઆતો આપણ કરીને અતોમ મામથો જોઈએ

સરકાર અને પ્રમાણો આજે પેર પારા બધવાને મેલરો પાક કાગાઓ નામ પ્રમાન નક સ્ટેક કિપા રોખ ત કિયામાં પાપાની પ્રમાને બોધ આપ છે અને તેના મેલરોઆ પડે આપક કાર મખા છે, આપણે ના કિંદો કાપસા જરૂર છે, નહિ ના આપણ રજામ પડેલીસુ

આ નમેલરો પેતાના જેખો કીપ-સકાર કરવા આપણ કાપરની દશાનાં વાક આપી છે તેન દેશનું ખરચ કામગી નહિ રહે અને તે પડે કરવાને નવી નવી નોટો ના બપારી, ને નેથી મારો વધરો, ને પછા તમારે રધરી ને દશાપી પડરી, ને આપણ કપીયાનાં મેલર, વાજા કરકસરની જોય, કલ

કેતરની જરૂર ને એક એક પાકેડ ને અમેરિકાનો ડોમર મેલવાનો તાપો રપીઆ આપવા પડરી.

"હિન્દીઓ પરદેશીઓ છે"—ડૉ. મહાન

સા. આ. ડૉ. કોએસે આપેલા જવાબ

સા. કૃષ્ણ આશીકાના હિન્દીઓ પર દેશીઓ કે એવા ડૉ. મહાને મમે આશીકીયે યુનીયન પાર્લમેન્ટમાં કરેલાં અખના જવાબમાં સા. આ. ડૉ. કોએસા પ્રશ્નને નીચેનું નિવેદન કયું છે:

હિન્દીઓ પરદેશીઓ છે અને સાક્રિય આશીકાના વલીઓ નથી ક્યું છે. મહાને યુનીયન પાર્લમેન્ટમાં કરેલું જવાબપટાકિન કરારની કિન્નતિને યગી કલમના અકરારમાં મેમલ આપાથનો અંગ કરતાં છે

કેપટાકિન કરારની કિન્નતિ કલમ એ કરીકલ સિવકારોથી છે કે હિન્દીઓની મોટી સંખ્યા યુનીયનની રવાનો વલી ના બામ તરીકે રહેને અને મેલરો મોલોમ કોર્ડ બા અખ નાની કાગલ કલમના દેવા નહિ જોઈએ.

યુનીયન સરકારે મોટી રક માખપત કરાગી હતી કે હરેક સુધરેલી સરકાર ની કરક જો કે અમેલાગી રવાની રસતી ના હરેક વગરી તેની અપુણ સકલી અને તાં અપુસાર કિન્નતિને મારે મોટો મેલરો અને યનતાં સપથાં પમ તાં લેવાં જોઈએ."

ડૉ. મહાન દરે કલે છે કે હિન્દીઓ ને આક્રિય આશીકાની રવામ રસતીના આગ તરીકે પેતાને મેલવાનો કલર નથી અને નેમતી સરકાર હિન્દી સમાન તેા હોક હિન્દીઓને રજામને કાકા મેલરો અને કાવવાં મારો છે.

સાક્રિય આશીકાના હિન્દીઓ ના મહાનની મે રીપેરીઅન રજામ અી સિવકારિયાત નથી તેઓમાંના પંચાલુ દકા આ દેશમાં કલમેક લેલ તેઓ પેતાને સાક્રિય આશીકાના નાગરીક મળે છે.

સૈનિકાક્રીક ક્રિષ્ટિએ ડૉ. મહાન બામ કરી રવા છે અને તામીઓ આ દેશમાં અમેરિકાનુ આપના કલર અને કાક પછ વખને પરદેશી તપા રીકે લેવાવાનું સિવકારિય નથી. પાકે ૧૯૬૧ સુધી તેઓ પાર્લમેન્ટરી મળા ધિકાર બોગવતા કલર અને કલરક સુધી અુનીસીપલ અપાગીકાર બોગવતા કલર એ હિન્દીઓ મનાપીકાર બોગવતા કરવા પેતા તેા હિન્દી અપીક કરવાના પ્રક કલો મેમલર નહિ લેલ. અને તાક્રિય આશીકાના રસતીના મનાપીકાર કરવા પડે નહિ પણ તાક્રિય આ

આ મારો વિનાશનો છે. માન તે રજે અપાક્રિય સંગરી રજા છે. મનાપી પધવાનો એક જ રાક છે. આપણા અખા કરકસરનો. અખ અને રાખ ના બલર અપનાવીને દેશને સામી સમાકિ અને કિન્નતિના મારો દેરે. મરખાનમાંથી.

હિંદીના રાષ્ટ્રપતિના સા. આ. ના હિંદીઓને અરેશો
સાક્રિય આશીકાના પ્રિન્સિપલ કોએસે
આ મધુપ ૧૧, ૨૭, એમ નામકરો
હિંદીના રાષ્ટ્રપતિના પાસ રાખેલ પ્રવાક
નકરથી નીચે પ્રમાણેનું અરેશો
મળા છે.
સાક્રિય આશીકાના મારા કલરક
માન નામ અને મેલરોએ વરકેલા
કલર મારા અરેશોથી દુર મારે કે કલ
એ તેા કામ અને કેા રમાન સપા
મા નામ આ રમાને ૨૨ નેમીને
માર નામ પાસ મેલરો છે.
એક વલર નામ આ આપેલ કે
મલરકોથી નિકાલકે, હોકસરો
અખ નાપથા અખ આજો દને
પર અક્રિય આશીકાની સરકારે
કાપકલરવાની નાનીથી આ અખ
નકાન કા અક્રિય કલો છે,
અને પછ તમા કિંદોઓ દરકાન
મેલરો ની કામ કરી રવા છે,
તમા નવી તમા વલરુ ને કે કા
કિય આશીકાની તામી આપાકી
કિંદો કરીને અખા મેલરો
મખુરીને આપાકી છે. આ અક્રિય
ને સંગીત કીન સામના કરવાપીજ
કિંદો પાપાની કિપર રજાની
રેલો નકામમાંથી બચી સકે
આપણ નામ રાખી ને રાખ
અંધ તેવી મમકા આ સકાક રજ
પપા ને અપાથેમા કિંદોમાંની
પાપુઅ કિય રેલો અને નાપથા
રજામના નિકા પકે તાને રેલોની
આપણ નકર રેલો છે કે કિંદોની
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| Kesri Burfee | 1 | 0 | |
| Dudh Penda | 2 | 0 | |
| Mesoor | 3 | 0 | |
| Boondi Ladoo | 3 | 0 | |
| Choorma Ladoo | 1 | 0 | |
| Mohanthal | 3 | 0 | |
| Kopra Pak | 2 | 0 | |
| Goggra Special | 2 | 0 | |
| Sev (Gram Flour) | 2 | 0 | |
| Pouwa Chevili | 1 | 0 | |
| Sundarpam | 1 | 0 | |
| Kajli Unsweet | 1 | 0 | |

| | per lb | s | d |
|----------------|--------|---|---|
| Mawa Burfee | 3 | 0 | |
| Kesri Penda | 1 | 0 | |
| Badami Halva | 2 | 0 | |
| Mawa Gharce | 1 | 0 | |
| Goolab Jambun | | 0 | |
| Nann Khatni | 2 | 0 | |
| Amrat Paak | 2 | 0 | |
| Jalebi | | 0 | |
| Gathia Special | 3 | 0 | |
| Gram Dholl | 2 | 0 | |
| Peas | | 0 | |
| Kajli (Sweet) | 1 | 0 | |
| Peanuts | 1 | 0 | |
| Patasa | 1 | 0 | |

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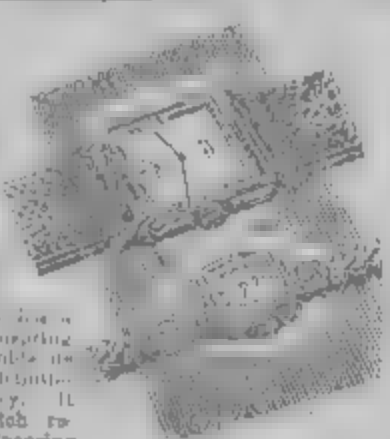
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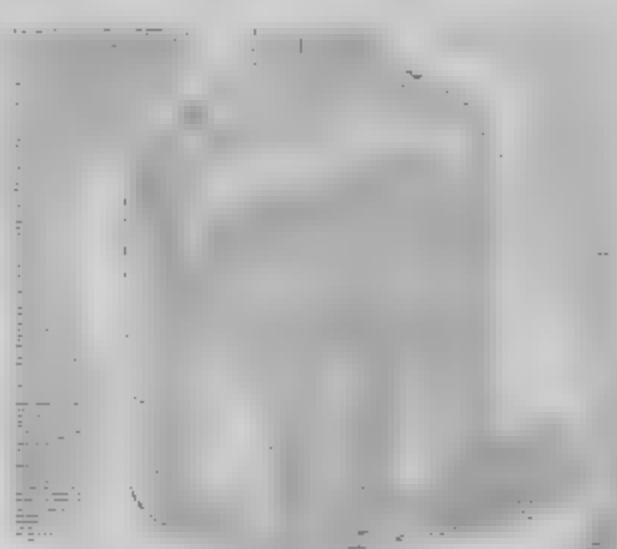
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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY 22ND OCTOBER, 1948

Malan Government's Achievements

THE Malan Government can be as proud of its achievements during the brief Parliamentary session which has just terminated as an oppressor can be with the immediate results of his oppression. The oppressor does not count the cost and so has the Malan Government not counted the cost of its repressive and oppressive policy. The reactions are not far to seek. The result of the Government's apartheid policy on the Cape suburban trains is that it has roused the feelings of the non-Europeans in that Province where hitherto the Europeans and the non-Europeans lived together in peace and harmony. The instruments the Government has now forged during the Parliamentary session and is still contemplating to forge to deprive the non-European people of the measure franchise rights they enjoyed will soon react on itself and will overwhelm it. Mr. Gelding, the leader of the Coloured community, who was once a staunch Government man, is no longer so. He has made a clarion call to his people to unite to show a common front to the Nazi demon, who has raised his head in South Africa and is threatening their existence. The leaders of the African people have called upon their people to unite as never before to face the demon. The Indians are now left. A section of them are still trying to flirt with the Government. They did so with a fair amount of success with the past Government but we have no doubt they will soon realise their folly and will see the wisdom of joining their own ranks to fight a common enemy. If they do not they will have no place to live. The Malan Government is now wooing the Jewish community, as would appear from the report of a deputation received by Dr

Malan. Mr. Nossel, a member of that deputation, is reported to have said that "he represented that section of the South African Jewry actively supporting the Government." In other words, it would mean that he represented those who supported the Nazi rule. How can he say so, with his community being victim of Nazism, is beyond our comprehension. Is he trying to sell the soul of his community for a morsel of postage? It will not pay him to do so. He will soon find to his bitter experience that Dr. Malan's sweet words will bring no postage.

But what we are able to see in this whole tragic affair is that the aim of the Smuts Government are receding on its own head. The United Party is accusing the Malan Government of pursuing a policy of divide and rule. It is true that it is very successfully dividing the United Party, which was engaged in playing a most sinister game of dividing the very people whom it oppressed in order to govern them. The present Government in its ambition to govern according to its own light is seeking to divide its own forces and, in doing so, is, by its policy of ruthless repression and oppression, uniting in a common struggle the people it seeks to govern. The difference between the past and the present Government in our reading, is that while General Smuts, an astute politician that he is, was working for the solidarity of white supremacy in South Africa, Dr. Malan, one better than General Smuts, is working for the solidarity of Afrikaner supremacy in South Africa. The intentions of both were evil. But the methods adopted by General Smuts were polished and his efforts would have taken a longer time to frustrate Dr. Malan's

methods are crude and more easily detected and the more ruthless he is in his repressive policy the more swiftly will be the end of not only his own Government but of the so-called white or Afrikaner supremacy.

What the Right Rev. John McDowall, M. Grahamstown, recently said when he addressed the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa and the Rhodesia in Pretoria, needs to be taken to heart by the rulers especially at the present juncture when they are inclined to put the blame for things going wrong on everybody else but themselves.

These are his words.

"Let us face the fact that war, unemployment, racial bitterness, social tensions, deserted places of worship are but symptoms of a disorder deep in the vitals of our civilisation. We have sought to stop wars by pacts and other devices, to prevent another Hiroshima by the control of atomic energy, to stave off Communism by the dissemination of counter ideas, logic and the familiar 'bogey' devices; to attract more people to places of worship; to apply artificial respiration to an economic system which, on a vast scale reveals its essential bankruptcy, to unite in a legal union groups bearing no love to each other on the basis of mutual profit.

"These external remedies, these efforts to bind together, do not touch the hurt of our time. We are dealing here with symptoms, not causes. All these methods fail to recognise that God is sovereign and that only in His purposes shall we find our peace. We desire in short, the symptoms of health without the soul testing experience of utter humiliation and surrender.

"It is, one would agree, quite true, as the late Dr. Temple once said, that Nazism is pagan and Communism heretical, but it does not follow that democracy, as we conceive it to-day, is Christian.

"We surely err if we identify the evil of our times with individuals, or with movements in time and space. To use com-

munist as a successor to Hitlerism as a scapegoat for all the evils of our time is to condemn oneself an 'ideological thinker.' So doing, we cease to consider any question on its merits or as an articulated part of the body of our thinking.

"Democracy has exhibited a revolting moral complacency scarcely justified by the circumstances of our times. Without a living Christianity at its heart, preserving and stimulating personality, democracy is little better than a name. There is evidence that the character of democracy is degenerating. I freely admitted, for example, that in the democracies of to-day the area of life in which free personal decision can be made is steadily diminishing. Let us realize that the mere form of a political system, however excellent, is a puny defence against the principled and powers which assail us."

"Isolationism Must End"

—Gen. Smuts

South Africa could only be a great country if its forces were united, and there was no isolationism or "apartheid," said General Smuts when he addressed the guests at the 66th annual ball of the Port Elizabeth Scottish Association in Port Elizabeth. The trend towards peace could only be achieved through the breaking down of isolationism. If they continued in the old way of separation, wars would be the result. Although there was apparent frustration on the surface in the Union, there was an inherent harmony underneath which could be used to bring the different sections of the population together. "But the narrower nationalistic view, which means aloofness, the world can no longer tolerate," he said.

Publisher's Notice

THERE will be no issue of Indian Opinion on October 15 and 22. Our issue of October 29 will be our Special Divul Number. The next issue after that will appear on November 12.

DRAFT DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

MR. LOUW TAKES OBJECTION

VIEWED against the background of South Africa's multi-racial structure, the draft international Declaration of Human Rights, if it involved legal obligations, was unacceptable to South Africa, said Mr. Eric Louw, leader of the South African Delegation.

He made this statement when he addressed the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

The declaration contains 21 articles beginning with the words: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

Other articles state:

"Everyone has the right to the life, liberty and security of a person."

"Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state."

"Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own."

"Everyone has the right to seek and be granted in other countries asylum from persecution. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality."

"Everyone has the right to own property alone, as well as in association with others."

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, to freedom of opinion and expression, and to freedom of assembly and association."

"Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through his freely chosen representatives."

Mr. Louw told the Committee, in which all the 58 United Nations are represented, that South Africa learned from experience how the term "fundamental human rights" in the Charter had been distorted and wanted to know exactly where it stood. Before then they had a draft declaration, not a draft convention.

The nature of the obligations undertaken under a formal convention would be quite clear. There would be legal obligations which, once they had been undertaken, would pass from a purely domestic domain into a sphere of international obligations.

"The instrument before us is not, however, such an international convention. It is a declaration which will not carry any legal obligations and will therefore not remove from the purely domestic jurisdiction of member states such matters as are dealt with in the declaration. If that view is correct and strictly adhered to, we would be inclined to agree with it. The matter is of such importance to South Africa

that we would like to have this question settled beyond all possibility of doubt."

But if the Declaration was accepted by the Assembly there might be some who would interpret it as an authoritative definition of fundamental rights and freedoms which were left undefined in the Charter, and who would then contend that the Charter, read with the Declaration, imposed legal obligations in respect of all rights dealt with in the Declaration. Interpreted in that fashion, member States would have thrust upon obligations

"WILL NOT STAND AS ACCUSED IN THE DOCK"

—MR. LOUW

ASKED by Sapo's special representative in Paris whether he would participate in the discussion of the merits of India's complaint against the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa, in the event of the Political Committee's deciding that it had the right to hear the complaint, Mr. Louw declined to reply, beyond repeating what he had told the General Committee—namely, that in that event the Union delegation would have to consider its position.

"I can, however, say that South Africa is not prepared to stand as an accused in the dock," said Mr. Louw.

Fundamental Rights—An Emotional Cry

Questioned about whether he wished to make any comment on the statement which he made the previous day on the proposed declaration on fundamental human rights, Mr. Louw said that probably some of the delegations did not agree with what he said.

"Fundamental human rights," he declared, "has become a popular theme for speeches during the last two years."

"It is one of those subjects which permits of a considerable display and a working up of emotion, which has always characterised international gatherings which are open to the public and the Press."

"Most of those who become very emotional on this subject live in countries which are not faced with the peculiar and multiracial

which the Charter did not impose and which they would never voluntarily have undertaken."

"This is not a possibility which we can regard as imaginary. The discussions in the Assembly and its committees, and even resolutions which have been adopted, give us good reason for being careful. Human nature being what it is, the tendency is to read into the Charter those things which certain persons, for their own reasons—political or ideological—would like it to say. For that reason they would interpret the relevant provisions of the Charter in terms of this Declaration and thereupon accuse fellow-members of violating obligations legally undertaken."

problems that we have in South Africa."

"For them, it is easy to be eloquent on the subject. As I pointed out in my remarks, the proposed declaration goes far beyond what we in South Africa could unreservedly accept, and it was necessary to say so quite frankly."

"I also took the occasion to ask how many of those delegates who so eloquently urge the extension of the scope of the hitherto recognised fundamental human rights can in fact guarantee that such extended rights are in fact enjoyed in their own countries."

Mr. Louw will arrive in London on October 10. Mr. Leif Egeland, the Union High Commissioner, will be with Mr. Louw while he is in London attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting.

During Mr. Louw's absence from Paris, Mr. Charles de Water, the South African Ambassador-extraordinary, will be in charge of the Union delegation at the United Nations.

The Union Parliament ended its work last Saturday. It has been prorogued until January 21.

Nine-year-old Cecil Johnston, of Belfast, who wrote to Pandit Nehru, on the death of Gandhi, has received a reply enclosing two specimens of the Gandhi commemoration stamp. "I never thought my letter would be answered," Cecil said.

Africans Perturbed Leaders' Call To Unite

AN appeal in all African to rally to the call for African unity, was made in a statement issued by African leaders on Tuesday.

The statement urged leaders and members of the main African political organisations to meet in Bloemfontein on December 16 to bring about the unification of the various organisations into an all-African national congress, "united and inspired by common programme of action for the achievement of his liberation of the African people."

The statement said the African leaders met in Bloemfontein last Sunday to consider the present political situation in the Union in so far as it affected the interests of the African people.

"Having regard to all the facts, we are convinced that in recent time there has been a marked deterioration in the plight of the African in all respects of his life," said the statement.

"We are alarmed and strongly protest against the callous disregard of the fundamental rights of the African by the Government, largely with the acquiescence of European public opinion."

"The determination to deprive Africans of all political and other human rights, the grave threat to all African organisations implied in proclamation No. 1990, the imposition threat to facilities for education, including higher education, the increased restrictions of freedom of movement of the African, the denial of land and residential rights for Africans in urban and rural areas, and the restrictions of employment or occupation facilities for Africans, to mention but a few, have given the African a sense of frustration and insecurity in the land of their forefathers, and has undermined any confidence they might have had in the justice of most White men. In the premises and solemn pledges made by various Union Governments from time to time."

"The situation constitutes a challenge which cannot be ignored by the African people. The primary necessity in meeting this challenge is unified action on the part of the African people."

The main African political organisations which it is desired to unify are the African National Congress and the All-African Convention.

The statement is signed by Dr. A. B. Xuma, Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, Councilor Professor Z. K. Mathews, Dr. J. S. Moroka, Dr. K. T. Bowke, Mr. R. H. Godin, Councilor Paul R. Maseka, Mr. R. G. Baloyi, Councilor A. W. G. Champion, Councilor R. V. Selope Thema, Mr. L. J. Ntshane and the Rev. J. R. Mkhahlele.

BISHOP FERGUSON-DAVIE ON ACCURACY OF FACTS

THE Rt. Rev. Bishop Ferguson-Davie writes in the 'Natal Daily News' dated October 5—

Sir,—In the 'Daily News' of September 30, is a letter from W. H. Hollgate under the heading, "Segregation is not Enough."

As I feel that it is of great importance that information on the subject of the relation of Europeans to Indians should be accurate, I beg leave to comment on two statements in that letter:

(1) Fifty years hence will see another Bombay or Madras develop wherever they (that is the Indians) are placed."

Rather over 80 years ago a Natal Member of Parliament, speaking in the Assembly, referred to the fact that within 25 years Durban would become a second Bombay. About the end of that period, some months after the Pegging Act was passed, the following figures were given officially as regards the Old Borough (that is the Durban of which the Member of Parliament spoke):

Privately owned acreage: Europeans 2,940, Indians 326

Rateable value: Europeans £31,892,220, Indians £4,148,700.

This means that Indians own only 10 per cent. of the privately owned acreage, the rateable value being only 11.5 per cent. of the whole.

Having been nine times in Bombay I can assure Mr. Hollgate that the position there is very different.

I think that Mr. Hollgate "was in altering the period of his prophecy to 50 years (compared with the 25 years given by the Member of Parliament), he gave neither he nor I will probably be alive then to witness its fulfilment or almost certain failure.

(2) "If Europeans born in India were denied the elementary rights of citizenship and forced to leave the country, why is it ridiculous for Dr. Malan to suggest the same measures here?"

I have consulted three European friends in Maritzburg who were in Government service in India for many years and who left a few months ago, well after India took over the Government. They all agree that Europeans have never been denied the elementary rights of citizenship nor forced to leave the country. They have the franchise and they can buy houses wherever they like (privileges not granted to the Indians in Natal).

These persons left the country mainly because their work came to an end. One who had been 28 years in India left because of the increased cost of living, which his pension could not meet. He told me that the Indians were very friendly there and hoped that the Europeans would stay.

I am afraid that Mr. Hollgate has been misinformed on this subject.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS

MAHATMA GANDHI'S birthday celebration was celebrated in different parts of the Union by some according to the Hindu Calendar and others according to the Christian Calendar on October 2. In Durban it was celebrated under the joint auspices of the Surur Hindu Association and the Kathiwar Hindu Seva Samaj at the Surur Hindu Association Hall. Various speakers spoke on various aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings. National songs and specially composed songs were sung by the pupils of the two schools run by both the institutions.

Johannesburg

In Johannesburg a meeting to celebrate the occasion was organised by the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj at the Gandhi Hall. Mr. P. S. Joshi presided and there were several European well-wishers present.

—Archdeacon R. A. H. Urquhart in the course of his tribute to

Gandhiji said, Mahatma Gandhi was a typically good, unselfish, simple, unselfish and saintly man whose Christ-like character won the admiration of whole mankind.

Edward Roux of the Witwatersrand University described Mahatma Gandhi as "one of the most famous South Africans" who showed the technique of passive resistance to the world, and around whom the literature was as voluminous as Napoleon's.

Among the other speakers were Messrs S. B. Mehdal, L. Nemon, J. Nanabhai, K. J. Tavaris, V. A. Cachalia, Advocate D. U. Mistry, V. Patidar and others.

The meeting passed a resolution expressing its belief that today when the events in the political world were threatening peace and security, Mahatma's profound teachings offered the only practical remedy to counteract the evil forces of disruption, and to prevent the collapse of civilisation.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

By MICHAEL SORENSON

At a Conference of War Resisters' International representatives, 50 sections in 30 countries and individual members in 80 countries has considered the economic and political problems of the world to-day and particularly the growing danger of a new war. It has re-affirmed the determination if its members to work for the prevention of war, the removal of the causes of war and to take no part in any war. Its members have been reminded of the teachings of Gandhi and this has strengthened their belief that a peaceful solution of the world's difficulties can be found if there is a persistent endeavour in goodwill to do so.

With this declaration a remarkable gathering of the nations has just ended at Shrewsbury in England where participants from all parts of the world have been taking part in the Conference of their movement the "War Resisters' International."

Almost all of these 150 men and women had dramatic experience behind them.

Robert Panchat of France, who spent 15 years on the Penal Settlement of Devil's Island as a pacifist, Young Albo Rescuio of Italy, who refused military service under Mussolini, was sentenced to death and escaped to spend the rest of the war in hiding, Hein van Wijk of Holland, Dutch resistance worker of the war, who was sent to Dachau for hiding and aiding Jewish fugitives, Vidar Lund of the Norwegian Resistance Movement, Bent Andersen, young American passive resister who for eight months of his imprisonment was kept alive by forcible feeding.

Addresses by Aldous Huxley on the World Food Crisis and by Reginald Sorensen M.P. and Henry Osborne M.P., of the British House of Commons on the international crisis and on World Government were discussed. Mr. Laurence Housman the playwright, spoke as President of the International and Mr. Rudolph Brown as its Chairman.

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, close disciple of Gandhi, had flown from India to take part in the conference. He explained the methods of non-violence and the faith in which the followers of Gandhi were living. He was joined by other passive resisters of the European countries, of Australia, New Zealand and North and South America.

Many of those who attended the last pre-war Conference of

the International at Copenhagen, were missing at Shrewsbury. Almost a month the Polish comrades had died under Nazi persecution. The members of the German Movement also met their deaths in concentration camp and prison, but their successors have survived.

Among these pacifists there is no mere passivity. Their symbol is the broken rifle and they work for the abolition of war through individual adherence to what they consider to be the true teachings of Jesus Christ or the other religious and moral prophets. Christian, Hindu, Jew, Humanist, Atheist, unite in this international movement to end war by the promotion of universal brotherhood.

This conference in Shrewsbury was a world family in miniature, people from the five Continents living together in perfect amity.

As one German delegate said, "they breathed the winds of the world."

Dr. Malan Pleases The Jewish People

AFTER a deputation consisting of Rabbi Dr. M. Kohn and Mr. J. Nessel, of Claremont, had been received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nessel said Dr. Malan had promised that there would be no discrimination against the Jewish community in South Africa.

Mr. Nessel, who said he represented that section of South African Jewry actively supporting the Government, said that the Prime Minister had assured the deputation that the Government would do everything in its power to recognise the Israeli Government.

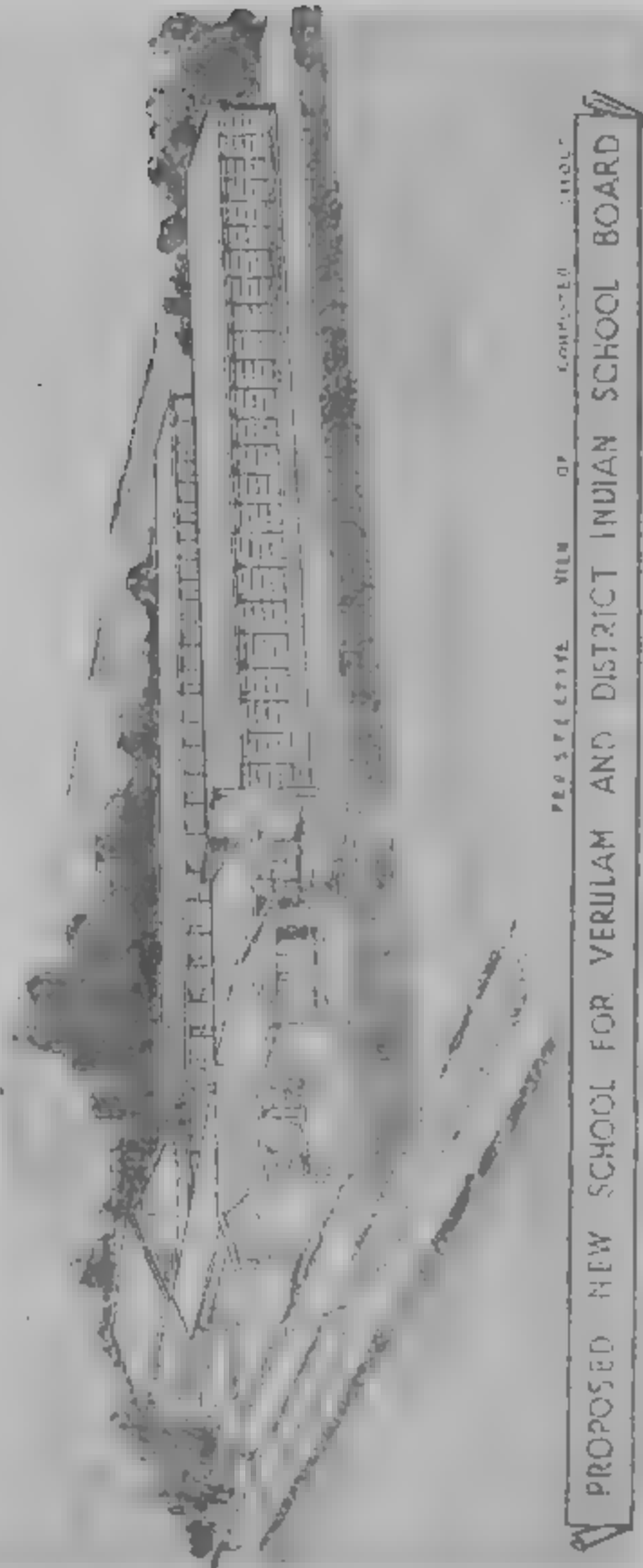
On the subject of Jewish immigration, the Prime Minister had said preference would be given to the near relations and children of South African Jewish parents, and no obstacle would be placed in the way of those Jews wishing to come to South Africa for religious and cultural purposes.

Dr. Malan assured the deputation that his favourable attitude towards the rights of the Jewish people had not altered, and the South African Jewish community would not be discriminated against in any shape or form.

It was the Government's conviction that the Jews should have a national home as a right and not on sufferance.

In conclusion, said Mr. Nessel, the Prime Minister told the deputation that the Government would consider the appointment of an ambassador from South Africa to Israel.

TWO NEW SCHOOLS TO ■ BUILT BY THE VERULAM INDIAN SCHOOL BOARD



NO. 1

The Verulam and District Indian School Board is building the two schools shown in the pictures. The cost of erection of the schools is estimated at over £25,000. When completed the schools will provide urgently needed accommodation for 600 children, who are without educational facilities at present. The school in picture No. 1 will also provide secondary education.

The site for the larger school was purchased at a cost of £1,600 and the site for the second school was donated by the late Babu Tailwantsingh of Verulam, after whose native the school will be called.

Funds are now required for the erection of the buildings. The local Indian community in Verulam have responded very generously to an appeal for donations to the building fund, but large sums of money are still needed for the completion of the project. A sincere appeal is now made to the general public for their financial support. It is confidently hoped that the public will make a generous response. Donations should be sent to: VERULAM AND DISTRICT INDIAN SCHOOL BOARD, 15 Moss Street, VERULAM, Natal.

વેરુલામ ઇન્ડિયન સ્કૂલ બોર્ડ તરફથી આંધ્રાપ્રદેશમાં આવનાર બે નવી સ્કૂલો

વેરુલામ ઇન્ડિયન સ્કૂલ બોર્ડ દ્વારા બાંંધવામાં આવેલા બે નવી સ્કૂલોનાં ચિત્રો આપવામાં આવેલા છે. આ સ્કૂલોનાં બાંંધવામાં આવેલા ખર્ચ આશરે રૂ. ૨૫,૦૦૦ થશે. આ સ્કૂલોનાં બાંંધવામાં આવેલા ખર્ચ આશરે રૂ. ૨૫,૦૦૦ થશે. આ સ્કૂલોનાં બાંંધવામાં આવેલા ખર્ચ આશરે રૂ. ૨૫,૦૦૦ થશે. આ સ્કૂલોનાં બાંંધવામાં આવેલા ખર્ચ આશરે રૂ. ૨૫,૦૦૦ થશે.

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15 Moss Street, Verulam, Natal.

PARLIAMENTARY SESSION REVIEWED

THE Political correspondent of the 'Natal Witness' writes: The 31st session of the tenth Union Parliament concluded its session in Capetown last weekend. It was the first session under the Nationalist Party rule, and it is remarkable how true Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr's predictions before the general election turned out to be, because no time was lost in putting effect to Nationalist policy.

Before the general election, Mr. Hofmeyr warned the country that if the Nationalist Party came into power it would take away the political rights of minorities that it would stop immigration from Great Britain, and that it would interfere with our constitution to enable it to remain in power indefinitely, and keep the Government of the country in the hands of a selected minority.

The Government has done all these things. It has taken away the limited representation offered to the Indian community; it has passed an act making it almost impossible for the Coloured people to elect members to the House; it has reduced the flow of immigration from Great Britain to a mere trickle, and it has given notice of its intention to take away the existing political rights of the Coloured and the Native peoples.

The very object of the Government's policy is to attack the entrenched clause in the constitution. It is quite clear what the Government's intentions are. It wants to remove the Indian and Native representatives from the House of Assembly, and hopes to win more seats in the Cape Province by abolishing the entrenched clause and the clause which will secure to the Coloured people representation in the House, and by stopping immigration there would be no danger that the Government would be defeated in the cities. While going on all it was to show that the Government is a law-abiding one, and assuring all sections of the community that it would not introduce discrimination against any section, the Government has been doing a busy whittling away of the basic rights of the minorities.

Mr. P. W. Waterson was very outspoken on this question when he spoke in the Electoral Laws Amendment Bill.

Jews' will be next

He said that the Indians were the first to be attacked and now in onslaught it made on the coloured community. The Natives will be the next. After that the Jews will come because the Nationalist Party has not yet repudiated its own statements about the Jews made in the past. Then

perhaps the English speaking section will be attacked.

Mr. Waterson said that this technique was used in Germany by Hitler to get control of the country.

An interesting feature of the debate on the coloured franchise was the remarkable silence of Mr. N. C. Havenga and the members of the Afrikaner Party. Time and again members of the United party tried to break this strange silence by asking Mr. Havenga pointedly to get up and tell the House and the country what he thought of the matter.

Mr. Havenga remained silent except for one or two interjections that he agreed that no one could be on the voters' roll if he had not the qualifications.

The main objection of the United Party to the Bill was that a Coloured voter could only apply to a magistrate, an electoral officer, or a police officer not below the rank of second class sergeant, most of the coloured people would not be able to register.

In the first place they will be afraid to go to the officer. But these officers, it also seems that they will not be able to spare the time to enrol Coloured voters.

The United Party speakers made several amendments.

Colonel Pilkington Jordan described the Minister's new clause in the bill as "devilish cunning" while Dr. A. Jonker described it as "common rascality."

Fascist step

Another member described it as a "perfectly normal Fascist step."

With a majority of four over the Government passed the contentious clause.

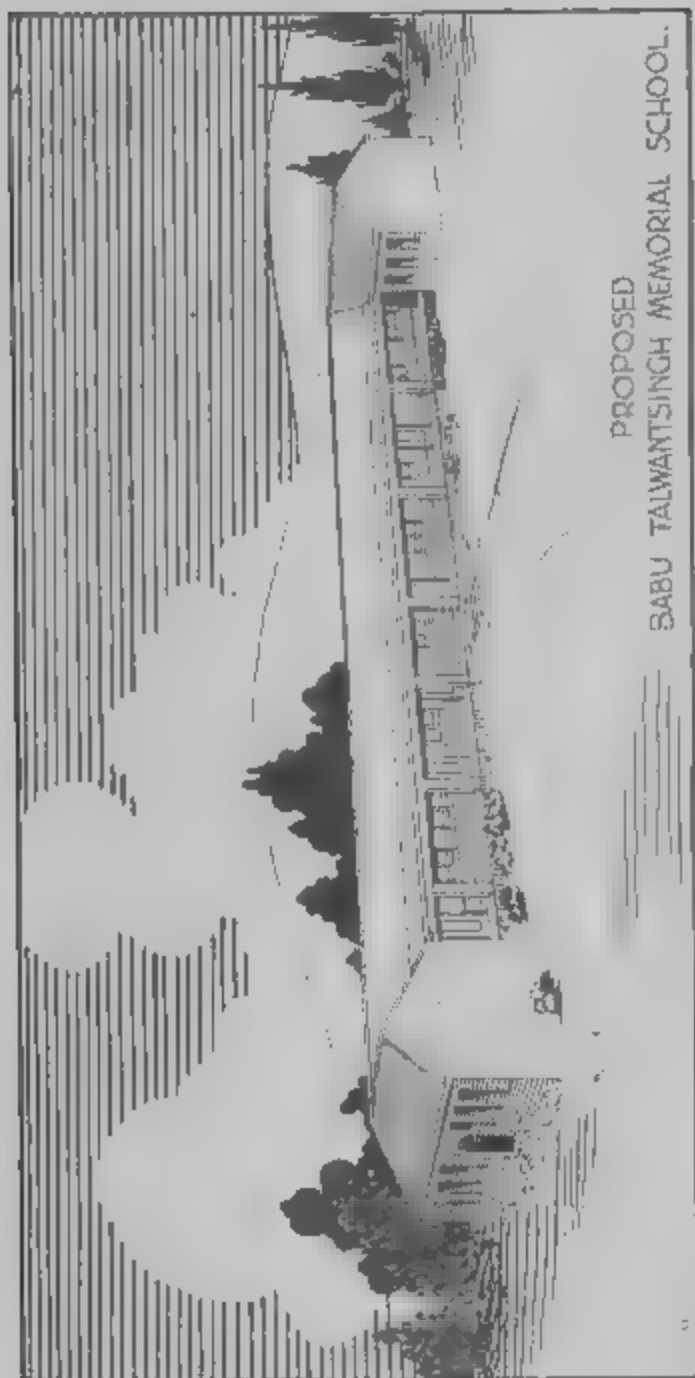
The United Party had a moral victory over the Government in regard to the War Measures and the Continuation Bill.

It was the Government's intention not to fix a time limit for the expiry of the War Measures Act in force. This would have meant government by decree. As a result of representations of the United Party the Prime Minister agreed to insert a specific time when all the war measures will automatically expire, unless previously provided for by Parliamentary legislation.

Dr. Malan inserted an amendment fixing the time at January 1950.

Dr. Malan also agreed to the proposal by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr that a select committee be appointed next year to go into the question of the war measures and to make recommendations.

The House of Assembly after passing the third reading of the Electoral Laws Amendment Bill on Thursday, virtually closed its work and then adjourned for the month.



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| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| भारत कला गणितो | २ | ६ |
| गणितो की बातें | १ | ६ |
| नव भक्ति गदि भाषा | १ | २ |
| भक्ति गदि भाषा के से भाषा | १ | २ |
| लक्ष्मण की गणितो | २ | ० |
| इसके गणितो की गणितो | १ | ६ |
| बातें की | १ | १ |
| बापुजी (गणितो की कृष्ण बातें) | १ | ६ |
| विश्व की विमलता | १ | ६ |
| गणितो | १ | २ |
| भारत की और गणितो | १ | २ |
| दुर्गा दुर्गा | १ | ६ |
| गणितो गणितो | १ | ६ |
| गणितो के गणितो | १ | ६ |
| मेरी गणितो की गणितो | १ | ६ |
| गणितो—गणितो | १ | ६ |
| हिंदी गणितो (गणितो की) | १ | ६ |
| गणितो | १ | ६ |
| गणितो—गणितो | २ | ६ |
| गणितो गणितो (गणितो की) | २ | ६ |
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ସ୍ୱାସ୍ଥ୍ୟ ଚିକିତ୍ସା ଏ ପୂର୍ବ

અમદાવાદ તા. ૨૫મી જુન
મહાગાંધી તા. ૨૬મીના 'દિનિકાન્ત
પોલિતિકાન્સ'ના અંક બહાર નીક
ડે. અમદાવાદ તા. ૨૬મી નો
અંક હિવાળીના બાગ અંક તરીકે
બહાર પડશે. તે પછીના અંક
વેચાદ તા. ૨૬ થીના બહાર
પડશે.

૫ ડિ. માદરાસમાંથી હીંદી અને તેના પોતા પ્રાંતીયતાને તે સારી માનવા માંગે છે અને કહેશે તો મનાઈકાર નામનું સ્વર્ણ કપડામાં વધુ એકાએ પોતાની ફરી લેવાની આસા રાખે છે. નારનાર ધારાસભામાં તેની ત્યાંની સાધારણ મજદુર રહેશે અને પશ્ચાત્ત આદકાવવાથી સરકારની પાકે મતી લેવામાં આવી પડવાની અપ નહીં રહે. એક તરફથી સરકાર પોતે કેટલી પરાપકારી છે એવો પદારથી કેળાવ કરીને અને કોઈ પણ વસ્તુ મેકેલવા સંબધમાં નહીં અથવા એવી તપાસ કરીને આવી આવીને તોટ તરફથી જુદા જુદા વર્ગોના પ્રજાતંત્રીય કોપર કાચ મુકવા મંડી પડી છે.

આ બાબતમાં મુદ્દાને લમતા કાચ કાચમાં ફેરફાર કરનારા ખરડાપર મોખારા થી એસ. એફ. વેલ્ડરને સાથ સારે માંગે કરી હતી.

ચૂકી પાડુદી શા વાંસે આવશે. તેમણે મજદુરોનું કાનું પહેલી પ્રકાર કીડીઓપર વધે છે અને કહે છે પર કાચ થયો છે. તે પછી તેની પોતે વાંસે આવશે અને તે પછી પાડુદીએના આગળે રહેશે મજદુરોમાં પાડુદીએ પોતે નાકાનકાર પાડીએ પહેલી મજદુરો વાંસે તેમજ કાચ પાડી પોતેની નીચી નથી. પાડુદીએ વાંસે કાચ અમેકેટ બોલના શા રમપર પ્રકાર સાથુ થશે. તો વેલ્ડરને કાનું આવશે તેને જરૂરનીમાં કીડ કરે ફેલ્ડર કાચ નામવા વાપરી હતી. કાચોના મનાઈકાર જરૂરના આદિકાર પાડીના સખ ના. એસ. ફોર્માએ અવળા સુધારા પકડી હતી નાકાનકાર પાડીના સખએ વળતો વખ ન આ બાબતમાં તેમના મન રું છે એ ધારાસભાને તેમજ ફેલ્ડર નામવા પ્રકાર પછી તેમને મોખારવાના પ્રજાતંત્રી કપો હતો.

પરંતુ એક બિ ના. જે કાચકાન પાડીને નહીં હોય તેવો કેટલે પાચ સામ વેલ્ડરના કાચકાર નહીં હોયો. તેમણે એક નામ આપી કાચ સાવાય ના. ફેલ્ડરને મોખ મેનું વળે.

ફેલ્ડર ખરડા સાથે પુનઃકેટ પાડી ના મુખ વાંસે એ ફેલ્ડર કે કલક વેલ્ડરથી અવળા માન મેલ્ડરેટને નેતરકાર કોઈકને અથવા બીજા પોતેના આગળ કલકા કેલરના ફર

નતને નહીં હોય તેવા પોતેના અમ અમલદારને કરી મકામ મેનું રતો વધારી વધુ બધા ખરડા કમીથી વેલ્ડર કરી કે રહેલેટર થઈ નહીં મકામ.

પહેલા તો તેમણે આ અમલદારને પાંચે જાન્ય કરશે. એ સીધા એ અમલદારને અવળા કામમાં રોકા વેલ્ડર હશે કે કલક વેલ્ડરને મેલ્ડર ના તેમણે વળ નહીં હોય. મુનકેટ કેટપાડીના સખએ વધુ સુધારા મુકવા હોય કે વજરીસ કાચ પા પોસ, કમીનાર એક કાચ, પાડી આ, પોન્ટ માસરો અને ફાલરો કલક વેલ્ડરને મેલ્ડરને સારી પાડી મક. પરંતુ પ્રધાને એક વખ સુધા રો વિલકારો નહીં.

કલકા પોસકા મેન રહેલેટર ખરડા મા પ્રધાને હામલ કરશે નથી કલક ન તરી કોનાનીયત તરીકે વળેલી હતી તમારે રો. એકે તેને કલકા પદમા રી તરીકે વળેલી હતી. બીજા એક સખ એક કોઈકા આદા સદા ફેલ્ડરવાદી પલ્લા તરીકે વળેલી હતી આ મના પાડુદીથી સરકારે એ તરફથી કલક પસાર કરી હતી.

પુક સમયના પારકા આમ તામ નારા ખરડાના સખમાં પુનઃકેટ પાડીએ સરકારને નીચી જન મેલ પી હતી સરકારના ફેલ્ડર કાચ ફેલ્ડર ખરડાના પુક સમયના ખરડાના પુરા યવાની મુદ્દા નામવાને તરફને જેના અર્થ ફેલ્ડરના સરકારે વલ્લા વવા જેવો થાય પુનઃકેટ પાડીની રજુઆતના પરીસ્થિતિ વડા પ્રધાન એ પારકા અમુક મુદ્દા માં આપ પુરા વાય એવી કલક રામલ કરવા કજીલ થયા હતા.

ડો. મજાને ના ૧૮ જુન ૧૯૫૮ રાવવાને સુધારો રાખજ કમી હોતો રો. મજાને આપને વર્ષ વેલ્ડર મેલ્ડરે ના સંધાની પાસે કરવા અને પાસા રજુ કરવા એક મેલ્ડર કમી નીમ વાળી થી. જે કોચ. ફેલ્ડરને ના આસ સ્વીકારી હતી. પાડ પારકાના પોતાના કાચ મુદ્દાને લગતા કાચકામાં ફેલ્ડર કલકા ખરડા નીચ વાચનમાંથી વલ્લા કલકાના સુધારે પુરેકરી મામુદુ હવે અને સેન્ટર કાચ પુરે માયાની રાક એકેટ રહી હતી જે મનાઈકારે પુરે થયું હતું.

બીજી કસો નીચે પ્રમાણે રો
“પ્રત્યેકને પોતાની જાન રજવાને પુરાવવાના નામ નામનામાં ના ના.”
“પ્રત્યેકને કોઈકા રાખવાની તરફથી પુરેકરી વલ્લાને બીજી ફેલ્ડર ફેલ્ડરને રહે છે.”

“પ્રત્યેકને પોતાની જાન રજવા કોઈ ના રહે ખરડા રજવાને રહે છે.”
પ્રત્યેકને જુલમમાંથી રજવા મેલ્ડર ને અવ ફેલ્ડરને આસરે મામવાને અને મેલ્ડરના ના છે.”

“કોઈકું રાખવા આપણીથી ના મેલ્ડરને આવશે નહીં.”
“પ્રત્યેકને એકા ના મીજ સાથી આવી સાથે મેલ્ડર થશેવવાને રહે છે.”
“પ્રત્યેકને વીજાર, કાચકાર અને મનાની રજવાના મેલ્ડરના, મેલ્ડર ના મના ફેલ્ડરના રજવાના મેલ્ડરના મેલ્ડર અને અરસપરસ પોતાપ કરવાને રહે છે.”

“પ્રત્યેકને પોતાની રાખવાને માથી રીતે આપવા રજવાને પસાર કરેલા પ્રતીનીધીઓના આમ પોતાના રહે છે.”

રજવાના પદ સખા જેનાપર પ્રતીનીધીય થરાપ રજવા ને ન સગીતી ને મા. મેલ્ડર કમી ખરીનામાં મેલ્ડર માનવ કોઈ એ રાખવાને કોઈ આનથ થશે છે નનુ સાથે આદિકારે અનઅવ સાથ થયું છે અને તેમાં પોતાની રજવા કમી ને એ ને જાણ સ થાય છે. તેમજ ની સમસા જરૂરનામાં ખરડા છે કોઈ પ્રતીનીધી ખરડા નથી.

પોતેના પ્રતીનીધી એક ફેલ્ડર આપવી રજવાની રજવાને મેલ્ડર ના હોય. એ રજવાને મેલ્ડર કાચકાર હોય ને સેવાય વાદ કેવળ ખરડાની વજીરના પાખાના ખરડે આપરેકેટીય રજવા મુકાસ થા છે.

આપણી સમસા રહેલું જરૂરનામાં તપી રજવાની આપરેકેટીય પ્રતીના નથી. એવું જરૂરનામાં છે કે જેના રજા કાચકાર રજવાને મેલ્ડરના સમાવેશ મના નથી. અને તેમાં નામ મેલ્ડરના પાખ નામ ખરડા રજવાને સખકાર કોઈકા રજવા રજવા નહીં. એ રજા રજ વજીર નામ અને તેને મુદ્દાને અવ સરવાસ આપે ના અને તેને કજીલ થયે જુલ્લા થયે.

આ બાબત સાથે આદિકારને એક ફી અમલકારી ના જે નો નીચાસ રોક ને રજવા માન નરવે રીતે કોઈકા કોઈકા

પરંતુ ન જરૂરનામાં મકાસના રહે કમી નીકારના આપશે તે ફેલ્ડર એક ફેલ્ડર અને ખરડા ના ખરીનામાં ફેલ્ડર અમલકારના નથી અને અરજના નામ ના કોઈકા સવાય રજવા તરીકે મેલ્ડર અને ખરડા ના નામ ફેલ્ડર ને ખરીના ના ફેલ્ડરના સાથે વાચવામાં ના. ખરડેનામાંની અંધર ફેલ્ડર નામ નામ નામ સખા

માં કાચકાર રજવાને નાખવાની છે. એ રીતે તેની આપવા કરશે ખરીના મા નથી મુકવામાં આવી એવી રજવા ફેલ્ડરના અવ રજવાને ફેલ્ડર એકા વગા અવરો ને રજવાને તેમજ કમી સ્વીકારી નહીં હોય.

આ રજવાને અને કાચકાર મેલ્ડર ફેલ્ડર હતા નથી.

મકાસના અને તેના સમાપ્તિમાં મેલ્ડર અવરો અને ખાલ પસાર થયે આ રજવા અને આપરેકેટીય સખ કાચકાર પુરે પાડે છે. મજુબ રજવા એવો છે કે રો ખરીનામાંથી પોતાને રજા મેલ્ડર અવ કાચકારી જરૂર થરાવશે આ ફેલ્ડરથી ખરીનામાંથી વળ મતી ફેલ્ડરને તેમજ આ ખરડેનામાંની ફેલ્ડરને અવ મેલ્ડર અને પછી કાચ ફેલ્ડર કજીલ રજવાને મેલ્ડરના મેલ્ડર કાચકારના સખાને અરિય મુકશે.

અમાપર કાઠીવાવડ સેવા સમાજ અને રાખવાને

“ખરીનાને મેલ્ડરના” ના ખરીનાની સાથે.

ના રજવા મેલ્ડર અને ના. રજ અરડેના રાખવા સમાજમાં કાઠીવા વાડ સેવા સમાજની પાખાઓ તરફથી રાખવાને “ખરીના” મનાયું છે ખરી ખર માં પજ રાખ પ્રમાણે ફેલ્ડર જીવ જીવે તેવું હતું. આર નજ અમાસ મુજ બ રાખવાને ને પાડુને મંજુર થયે ફેલ્ડર તેજ રીતે અને તેજ રાખવાને મનાયું નેમ. તેમાં ફેલ્ડર રજવા જીવને ન મનાય. જેના ફેલ્ડરના કાચ અને મેલ્ડરના જીવ છે કે કલક મકા રાખ માંવા પજા પ્રતીએ “ખરીના” ને રાખવાને તરીકે સ્વીકાર્યું છે. રાખવા ની ફેલ્ડર ફેલ્ડરથી જરૂર જરૂરી છે એમ ફેલ્ડરના વડા પ્રધાન પોતેને નહીં એ કમી છે જાણ ને કલક અવ ફેલ્ડર એવું મારી નાખ્યા નથી. આ જીવલ મેલ્ડરને ને રાખ ફેલ્ડર પ્રીન મનાયુ હતું તેના રાખ ફેલ્ડર કાચને માયા ના રજવા નેવા હતું. તેમાં ફેલ્ડર રાખવા ફેલ્ડર અને ફેલ્ડર સુવરતી માલના હતા અવ પ્રીન મારી ને અવ ન સના મેલ્ડર ને ખરીના છે. રાખવાને ને ખરી રીતે અને પાસ રાખવાને મનાયુ સાંખાની ફેલ્ડર થયું છે. કાઠીવા વાડ મેલ્ડર અમાજના કાચકારને મારી અને ખરીનાની મેલ્ડરના ફેલ્ડર થાય અને રાખવાની ફેલ્ડરના—મીજ નામવા એ ફેલ્ડર અને ખરીનાના ફેલ્ડરના ફેલ્ડર એવી નામ પ્રીનની રહે છે.

એક ફેલ્ડર

માનવલોકનું આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય જાહેરનામું

રાખવાની મકાસનાની સામાજિક માનવીના ના સંસ્કૃતિ સમાપ્તિ અવડા અવડા કરવા સાથે આદિકારના રેસીસના પ્રમાણ થી. એવીકે તેમજ જાણના કે સારી આદિકારની પોતેના માનવ રજવાની ફેલ્ડરને તેના માનવ મના આંતરરાષ્ટ્રીય જાહેરનામાં

ખરડા ને કાચકાર રજવાને મેલ્ડરના મકાસના રજા ના સાથે આદિકાર રજા રજા નહીં. જાહેરનામાં આવીસ કસો ને ફેલ્ડર પહેલી કસ આ ખ સખ માનવીએ સ્વતંત્ર રજવા છે અને સમાન મેલ્ડર ના કલક થરા પનાર છે.”



The Late Mr. Jethalal Narani

LET

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(Established By The Late Mr. Jethalal Narani)

SERVE YOU FOR

DEEPAVALI SWEETMEATS

OUR SPECIAL DEEPAVALI OFFER:

| | per lb. | s. | d. |
|------------------|---------|----|----|
| Sutherteni | 6 | 0 | |
| Sattu (Sweet) | 5 | 0 | |
| Kesri Burfee | 4 | 0 | |
| Budh Penda | 2 | 6 | |
| Mesrob | 3 | 6 | |
| Boondi Ladoo | 3 | 0 | |
| Choorma Ladoo | 3 | 0 | |
| Mohanthar | 3 | 6 | |
| Kopra Pak | 2 | 6 | |
| Gogri Special | 2 | 0 | |
| Sev (Gram Flour) | 2 | 0 | |
| Ponwa Chivda | 3 | 0 | |
| Sachapana | 2 | 0 | |
| Kajli Ladoo | 6 | 0 | |

| | per lb. | s. | d. |
|----------------|---------|----|----|
| Mawa Burfee | 3 | 0 | |
| Kesri Penda | 4 | 0 | |
| Budma Halva | 3 | 0 | |
| Mawa Ghatke | 3 | 0 | |
| Goolab Jambun | 1 | 0 | |
| Naan Kharai | 2 | 0 | |
| Annat Pak | 2 | 0 | |
| Jalebi | 2 | 0 | |
| Gathra Special | 3 | 0 | |
| Green Ubbi | 2 | 0 | |
| Peas | 2 | 0 | |
| Kajli (Sweet) | 5 | 0 | |
| Peanuts | 2 | 0 | |
| Pistach | 1 | 0 | |

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પ્રુશ ખખર

અમારે ત્યાં નીચે પ્રજ્ઞાના માલ પહોંચાઈ કાપડેથી મળ્યા રાખશે.

સેવાદારી: મારો ખખરના માલકારનાં સવસ્થાની જુદાં વિવાદો

આદર: સવસ્થાનાં જુદાં પડે પડે ખખરનાં ખખરનાં

કોઈમા: ખખરનાં માલકારનાં ભાવો સવસ્થાની ખખરનાં માલકારનાં

ખખરનાં: ખખરનાં માલકારનાં માલકારનાં માલકારનાં માલકારનાં

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સુદ. વીવેદે અમારે ત્યાંથી સેવામાં પહોંચાઈ કાપડેથી મળ્યા રાખશે.

દીવાળી માટે પેન્ટ

દીવાળીનાં શુભ અવસરમાં

તમારા ઘરની શોભામાં વધારો કરો

સરો અન રકાગિ તેમજ વાજાથી ભાવ

ઘેર બેઠા પહોંચતો કરવાનાં આવશે

નથુ ટાભા

૨૦૭ કચીન સ્ટીટ

ફોન નંબર

૬૨૫૫૫

૨૪૧૬૭

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીની જયંતી

વૈદિકાનીસખામાં

વૈદિકાનીસખામાં શરૂઆત કીકુ સેવા પ્રમાણ તરફથી ગાંધી વૈદિકામાં ખાસ મહત્તા યોજવામાં આવી હતી. શ્રી. શ્રી. એસ. વૈદિકા પ્રમુખવાર્યાન સીધું હતું અને કેટલાક અંગેશ શુદ્ધિઓ રાખી હાજર થયા હતા. આમથીસને આરંભારે ગાંધીજીને અંગેશી આપતા કહ્યું કે, ગાંધીજી એક સારા, સત્તા નીક, સહા, નિઃસ્વાર્થી અને સેવક પુરુષ હતા જેમના પ્રમુખીરણ સમાન આરિય સરણી મળવાનાના હરણ કરી લીધા હતા.

ગીટવોટસ કેન્ડ યુનીવર્સીટીના ડા. એડવર્ડ રમે ગાંધીજીને સરિય આશીર નામાંના એક અનિ પ્રખ્યાત તરફી વર્ણવ્યા અને કહ્યું કે તેઓએ કુનીવર્સી સત્તામહત્તા પાદ શીખવ્યો હતો. તેમ જ સાકિય મેંપાસીવતના જેટલું વિશાળ પ્રક્રમકુ છે. ખીન વહવાઓમાં મેસર એસ. આ. એડ. એન. નીમના. જે. નાનાબાઇ, જે. જે. તવડીયા, 1 એ. શાહીયા, એડવોરેટ. ડી. બ. ગાંધી, આર. પી. પાટીલ તરીકે હતા.

આજે ત્યારે રાજકીય વરખનમાં હાતી અને સલામતીને મેંપાસમાં નાખ નારા જનાવો થતી રજા છે ત્યારે એ વિતાશકારક તત્વોના સામના કરી રહે અને સુધારાના નાશ થતો અટકે એકું એક મીન ગાંધીજીજી સિદ્ધાંત છે એવો મત રાજીવનારો સમાજે હરણ પસાર કર્યો હતા.

રવનમાં ગાંધીજીની જયંતી

રવનમાં શ્રી સુરન હોફ એસોસીએશન અને ડા. હાથીયાડ સેવા સમાજ ના સંયુક્ત આયોજી નીચે તા. ૨૭ આક્રોખરના એસોસીએશનના હોશમાં ઉત્તવવામાં આવી હતી. ખાસ સરણી અને તરફથી આસતી સાથાતી ખાલાઓ એ મરણી અને પ્રાથના ગીતો તરીકે મળ્યા હતાં. શ્રી. કપરશ મેંવેડા શ્રી પ્રમસકર મેંવેડા, ડા. કપીરશ મેંવેડા ડા. એન. પી. દેશામ અને જે. તરફેવ શ્રી વિલાસકર ગાંધીજી તરીકે અને તેમના હાથ તરીકે મોક્ષા હતા. ખેના શ્રી હાજરી ખાસ ખાત ખાતે તેવી હતી.

ગાંધી પુસ્તક મળ્યા

ગાંધીજી અહીં હતા ત્યારે તેમણે લખેલા અને ખીન કેટલાંક પુસ્તકો જે કીનીકસ સંસ્થા તરફથી પ્રગટ થયેલા છે તેવાર પુસ્તકોના સેટની પોસ્ટર સાથે કીમિત રકત શી. ૪-૬.

આમમ બજવાવલી

ગાંધીજીના આમમમ વખતે કુદર બજવાના સંજલ શી. ૨-૩.

ગાંધી પુન કેસ

ગાંધી પુન કેસમાં હવે પછી જે સાક્ષીઓ જુવાની આપે છે, તેમાં એની મિ વોલો રોય છે. જેને મિ આપવામાં નથીઆવતી. મજા વામકી તે વાંચ્યા ઉત્તક મજા છે. જેસા સમાચાર મુજબ અપરોથી મનસાસના પારાશાઓએ અસીસના કહેવાથી કોર્ટેને જણાવ્યું હતું કે તા-૧૫ મીના મવરનર મનસાસ તરીકે રાજકીયે ગાંધી પુન તરીકે જે છકારો કર્યો હતો તે વિક ત પોતાના વિરામ રસોવે છે.

ખામુતીએ મનસાસના પારાશાઓ શ્રી એનરેશને મવરનર મનસાસ શ્રી. રાજગોપાલાચારીએ ૧૫ મી ઓગસ્ટે કરતા વામુ-પ્રવચનની અરેજી પર તીવાદ મહાવવાનું કહ્યું હતું. શ્રી એનરેશને જવાબમાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે માર્ક પ્રાંતે પરીક્ષા જવાકરસાત નીકેરે કહાકાપાદ રાજ્ય સાથે વસણી જરવાની મોંઘેરાન કરી છે અને મારે અસીસ પજી હાકાળાદ સામે સરવે પસારી મરણ એક પ્રક્ર છે. આપણે અપારે

મહાન જનાવોના આરે ઉભા છીએ એવે વખતે મનસાસને કુલી જવ મેંવેડા. આથી કું આ અરો મસાવવા મળતો નથી.

ખાસ પુનાના નરામણ મેંવેડા હાંમે નામના એક વરુએ આસાત સમસા પડેલા મરમ સુટ ખતાલીને જણાવ્યું હતું કે મે આ સુટ ૧૯૪૧ ના નવેમ્બર માસમાં નારાજણાઓએ મારે ખતાલી હતો. જનારાવણ આરે હેક્સા એ મણ વાંથી મારો મારક હતો અને તે મારી કુકામથી મારસીક કુર રહેતો હતો.

આ સુટ મનસાસ તા. ૨૦ થી જાન્યુઆરી એ પકડાયા ત્યારે તેની પાસેથી મળી આપ્યા હતા.

તેણે આમમ જણાવ્યું હતું કે આરેએ સુટના મીમામ ખાતેના ૨. ૨૦ આપ્યા હતા મેંવેડા મજાની હાકા રાખેના કરતાં વધુ રાખવામાં આવી હતી. કોર્ટેને તાત મજા હતાં એમનાં એક મેંવેડા મેંવેડા હતું

આરે દરેક કાટમાં કોલર પોટ રણાવ તો હતો.

શ્રી. હામમેની ઉલ્લ તપાસ.

રરજી હામમે આરોપીના વકીલની જિમ્મ તપાસમાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે પંચમનીમાં ગાંધીજીની પ્રાથના સમાજમાં આપરેએ તરીકે ઉઠાવી રેખાવ કર્યો હતો એ વાનની મેંવેડા વધર પડી હતી. આખું પુના તે મળ્યું હતું. કીલીના ખાતવ સંજલમાં મેંવેડા વધર પડી નહોતી અને કેલા વખત આપરેએ પંચમની કે પુનાની ગાંધીજીની પ્રાથના સમાજમાં રેખાવ કરતા સાથે આપતા

કહ્યું પણ રોય. પણ કું કેલા દીવસ આપરેની સાથે મળો ન હતો. આપરે ન્યારે પણ સુટ રીપકાવતો ત્યારે તેના ખાસા પાદ કું રાખવા અને ખીસા ખાંધ સાવ એવો તેના પર "હાલેપ" હામમ રાખવા સુચના આપતો હતો.

ત્યાર પાદ ખાસા પકડના આપરે અને કહેરેના પારાશાઓએ એહી હેન રીકારા વાનની પુરવાર કરવાનો પ્રમણ કરતા હતા કે તેમના અસીસના તા. ૩૦ થી ત-સુવારીના રિસી હાજર નહોતા.

વિવિધ સમાચાર

આમમ કિરે કસમ પોર્ડ પ્રેલી-અમિય

જેપરોકન કસમની અમરની તારિક જાનરમ માર્કીમ રવિવાર તા. ૫-૬-૪૮ ના રાત્રે શ્રી. મેસુબાર્ડ રજાસીજના પ્રદે એમના પ્રમુખાખ્યા હેલા મળી હતી મત વર્ણના રાખેતો સુદર જેવાસ મંધી શ્રી મમવાસ એન માધુએ રજુ કર્યો હતો. અને ખાતવમાં શ્રી. અંગે સામ કુસબાકાએ આવક મળકેના કિસામ રજુ કરતા ખેંતે સવોતમન મસાર થયા હતા. ત્યાર પાદ આમમની વર્ણની નીચેના કાર્યાકકોની સુદધી મર્ક હતી હાંમે પેટના શ્રી જામજવન ખવ: પેટના: શ્રી રજુઆજી વર્મો, શ્રી પરજુઆમ મહનજી, આખાપાદ હાજવાક, જુસરીકાસ ખમનજી અને રવજુઆર્ક મેંવેડાજી, પ્રમુખ: શ્રી મેસુબાર્ડ રજુ-હાંમેજી, જિપ-પ્રમુખ: શ્રી નરસીકબાદ વામમારીયા મંધી: શ્રી મમનમામ એન માધુ, જિપ-મંધી: શ્રી રમેશમંદ લાસ્યા ખાસ, ખાતવમાં: શ્રી પ્રાણજવનખાસ ખમવાનવાસ, જેપરે: શ્રી. નર્મીનમામ આમલી, વાંધસ જેપરે: શ્રી. મસુબાર્ડ કુસબાકા.

યુનીવર્સીના રેસીરો શ્રી. નર્મીનમાર્ક રજુઆજી અને વનમાળીખાસ કુસબાકા કસમના એ સમમાં શ્રી નર્મીનમાર્ક આમલી તથા મેસુબાર્ડ રજુઆજી જેમના સાકિય આશીકન હાંમેજીન કિરકે સુની વનના પ્રમુખ અને મંધી અપુકેને રૂટી આખો રસે નીયુકન કસાસી જિપ-પ્રમુખ શ્રી નરસીક બાદ વામમારી ધારો. ખેંતેનું જુઓથી નાગવ કહ્યું હતું સાકિય આશીકન કીરકે કીરકે કુનીમેન્ટ પોર્ડ એલીઆમથ મુકામે ફેક્સારી ૧૯૪૮ ના ખીન અપવાદીપાથી સમ થરવાર છે. પોર્ડ પ્રેલીઓએ મુકામે આ પકેલ કુની મેન્ટ ગેલવાપ છે.

શ્રી પ્રેક હાંમેજી રિસીર્ડસ કસમ

જેપરોકન મેંવેડાની મેંવેડા વાંધીક જાનરસ માર્કીમ રવિવાર તા. ૨૬-૬-૪૮ ના રાત્રે મળી હતી જેમાં નિચે મુજબ કાર્યાકકો આજી પપ મારે સુદાયા હતા. પ્રમુખ: શ્રી. રવજુઆક ૨.

મેંવેડા. જિપ-પ્રમુખ શ્રી. કુનીમાસાલ રામા, મંધી. શ્રી. વસખામમ કહેસન ખમનમારી: શ્રી. મરોબાઇ માધુ

કી રીમના પાદના. શ્રી. કપાળખાસ મહન 11 રીમના જેપરેન શ્રી. હાંમે વામક મંધી. કિરક નાંતીમમ કીરકમા તા મવરનર મનસાસી સુગના અપવાર હાંમેજીન અંગે નિરકકરેજી થયેલ તે વાસ પ્રમ પ્રાથના કહેસમાં આવી હતી.

નય રાખેની ગરબી

રવનની પડાળી મેંવેડાએ કસમના આયરો હોલ નવરાત્રીની મરબી અને હવત તા. ૧-૧૦-૪૮ થી કડીખાવાડ પડણી મેંવેડા એસોસીએશનના મેંવેડા શ્રી મંધ છે. તા. ૧૦-૧૦-૪૮ના રૂમીપરગીના વાન મવારના પરી અને તા. ૧૧-૧૦-૪૮ના છેલ્લી મરબી મેંવેડા.

કાળી ખજાર મારે મેંવેડાની સમ પ્રગતી એક કોટે મેંવેડા કુક વેલન ના કુપોત મેંવેડા માર એક કાળી ખજાર કરનારને મેંવેડાની સમ કરી છે. મળા વાંધાં અમમમાં આપેલા એક મારે ૮ ના કાપવાની કમે આ પકેલો મેંવેડા સમ કરનાર છે. ખીન મેંવેડા જામ કેટનો અને મેંવેડાને ૨૦ વરસની કેટની સમ થા: છે અને એ જેપરોત મારે રોંકા પાક થયા છે. આ ખખર સાપા યુનાપરે: પ્રેસે આપ્યા છે.

પર મુરક

—હરક હાંમેજી સો વર્ણની નવારીખ માં પકેલો વાર એક કાં મેંવેડા સુદાયા છે તે મારીસ પ્રેલી મેંવેડા છે.

—ફેક્સાકુન (કુકન પ્રાંત)માં એક નામ રામા સાપનાં જેરથી મરી મેંવેડા એક ખકરેનું માસ નાપાથી પંચ માહસો મરી મળા.

—યુનીવર્સી પાસીમેન્ટ પોતાનું કામ ખવમ કરી મળા સતીવારે કી મમ છે. જાન્યુઆરી તા. ૨૧ મીએ કરી મેંવેડા.

પોલીટીક્સ કમીટીનો ડરાવ સા. આ. વીરૂદ્ધ બચતો?

વિરમગંધ સાધના ખાસ પ્રતિનિધિએ સાલિય આદીકાના પુના સંગેના ડેલીએશનના કીડર મી એવીઝ સેને એક મુલાકાતમાં પૂછ્યું હતું કે પોલીટીક્સ કમીટી ને એવો ડરાવ કે સાલિય આદીકાના દોરિઓ પ્રત્યેની ગેર વનજી સંગેની કોલ્ડી રિપોર્ટ સાંભળવાનો રાજકીયની અકાસખાને કહ છે. તે એ રિપોર્ટના મુખ્ય રેપોર્ટની અગ્રે માં પોને ભાગ લેશે કે નહિ. તેના અવાજમાં મા. ટ્રેએ જનરલ કમીટીમાં કહ્યું હતું તેજ કહ્યું કે એ સંતેગેમા પુનીવનના કસોચિયને પોતાની રિપોર્ટની કીડી પીચાર કરવો પડશે. પૂનામાં તેમજે કહેયું: "પૂના કું એકલું કહી ચકુ પું કે સાલિય આદીકા આરોપી તરીકે પીચાર માં ઉછું રહેવા વહાવ નથી."

મુખ માનવ કમીટીના મુખ્યવેશી અવેરનામાગર પોને કરેલા નિષેધની નિંદા તેમને કહ્યું કરેલાનું છે કે તેમ એ પ્રજાના અવાજમાં મા. એએ નહું. અંભા છે કે કેટલાકે કસોચિયને મારી ઘાત કરી નહિ હોય. હોમાં એ વર્ષ કરનામાન "મુખ માનવ કમીટી" અવેર આપણે કરનારાઓને મારે એક માત્ર પ્રીય વિષય થઈ પડ્યો છે એ એવે નીવળ છે કે કમીટી કોલ્ડસામગ્રી ઉચેરી કાઢાય છે અને આનરરાષ્ટ્રીય અવેર જનસાઓમા તેના છુટથી ઉપયોગ થયો છે."

જનાબ શોએબુલ્લાખાન

કોલ્ડરોગ રાજ્યમાં અને તેની સરકારને સાચીને આવેલા કિદી વામ-સંધના પ્રતિના વિસ્તારોમાં રાજકીય જીવન અને યોગજ ખીજ કાઢત અલ્પ. ચાદોના બનાવો બન્યા કરે છે. કેટલાક સારા સારા કાયદેઓ પછી આલ્યાચોરોના ભોમ બન્યા છે, એમાંના પછાની જે શાલ્કી રીતે કલ કરવામાં આવી છે તેનું વર્ણન વાંચતાં હિંમમાં પાર વગરની બાધ થાય છે. કાલકરાય સરકારમાંથી પ્રમટ થના રાજ્કીય હેઠું કાબજનાર, કમરેડોના જીવન નેની જનમ રાજકીયસાધના આવા અલ્પ-મારોના ભોમ બનેલાઓમાંના એક છે. કોલ્ડરોગ રાજ્યમાં જે અધેર ચાલી રહ્યું છે, રાજ્યને જે કામવાકી વચ્ચે અખલ્યાર ક્યું છે, રાજ્યમાં જે કમીટીપણનું જીવન ફેલાયું છે અને રજાકારો જે જનમીપણ વચ્ચે છે એ નવી મળતોને એમજે વળાડી કાઢા એક એમના વાર. કોલરોગ, એમાં બિલકોમવાકી લોકચાકી રાજ્યપદ્ધતિની હિંમખત કરના કલ

મા. સોએ કહ્યું: પછા ખરા નેઆ આ વિષયપર જલ્દ સાચીવરા થાય ને તેઓ એવા રેશમાં વખતારા છે કે જે રેશોને, સાલિય આદીકામાં અમરે વિવિધ બનીઓના પ્રજોનો સામનો કરવો પડે છે. નેમાં કરવો પડેના નથી. નેઓને એ બાળતમાં જટલાર રીતે બોલાયું સહેલું છે. મારી રીકામાં જુ વળાવી પધો છું તેમ સાલિય આદીકામાં અને ખાન સરતે કિડીકરી સમીએ એ કરતાં એ ગલેવેનમ, પંજીજ આમળ વામ છે. વળા મેં એ વચ્ચે વચ્ચે કવું કે અલ્પાર સંધા કિડીકારમાંના મુખ માનવ કમીટી અપોચ વધારવાની જે કસોચિય કસી બની કિડીકાર રા રજા છે નેઓમાંના એવા કેટલાક છે કે જેઓ પોતાને રેશમાં એ કલો ભોમવાઈ રજા લેવા ની બાંધેચરી આપી ચી ૧૦

કાલકરાય તા. ૧૦ નાએ મા. કો કોમનવેશના વડા પ્રધાનોએ પરિપક્ષમાં કાલકર રજેલા મકન પલોચરી બમાં પુની-વનના હાઈ કમીશનર મા. સીક હમ લેન્ડ તેમની સાથે ચશે.

મા. કોના પ્રેરકાચરી રચીપાન પેરીસમાં સાલિય આદીકાના ખાસ એગર્વી પી. આલ્સ ડી લેક્ટર તેમની જનમ સમાગમે

સંધીલા રાજ્કીય પકનરના પાપમાં પુરાયેલા જનમીસ લોકજાઓ લેવે આખા-રની લામખી સાથે પાદ કરશે. 'કરીજનમ' પું

અંકડસા ઉલવાની વાત બંધ થવી જોઈએ? — જનરલ રમરસ પોટ એસીજાએમાં આપણ કરતા જનરલ રમરસે કહ્યું કે સાલિય આદીકા અદાન રેલ ત્યારેજ બની ચકરી ને તેના સમળા બેલા સંમકીત મધ ઉભાં રહેશે અને એકલા ઉભા રહેવાની ને કામવાકાપણની તોતી છેડી રેવા માં આવશે. એકલા ઉભા રહેવાની પતિ ફર કરવર્થીજ સાંતી મળવી શકશે. છલાપકાપણના ચુના માં ને પળગી રહેવાથી બુદ્ધી પરિભ્રમશે. તેમજે કહ્યું: "એ કે બહારથી પુનીવનમાં નિરાસા લેવામાં આવે છે પરંતુ અંકડપાને એકસાગ રજી છે, જેમાં વસતીના બિલ વગેરેના એકત કરવામાં ઉપયોગ થઈ શકે છે. પરંતુ મેચનલીટોની સંકુચિત દ્રષ્ટિ, જે કલામ કાપજી સુચવતારી છે, એ કલે ફનીયા સાધવાની નથી.

નવાં વર્ષનાં પંચાંગ

કીમત રી. ૫
મંગલવારએણે તા. ૧૧ કોલ્ડર સાથે એક આલ્યા ગોલ્ડલ કોલ્ડર મોકલી આપવા કૃપા કરવી. પુનીવન સિવાયના તાણા કિચકારવામાં આવશે નહિ. ઉધાર કે પી. પી. થી કાપુને મોકલવામાં આવશે નહિ.

અનેકર ઈન્કિઅન એસપિનઅન, ફીનીકસ, નાહાલ

કાએ અને રાસો

મંગોલી કમીટીએ એપાના બન્યા ૭ ૧
કુલ્ડી આ. ૧-૨. અલ પ્રસંગે
મથાતો મોતોને મંજૂર પ્રત્યેકની ૩ ૦
સમરૂજ ૫ ૦
મીલ માધુરી રાસોને અંકડ ૪ ૦
પ્રાચીના ૧
આ કોડીએ વચ્ચે.

નવા વર્ષની અલીનદન પત્રીકાઓ

મહાત્મા ગાંધીજી, પંડીત નહેરુ, સરકાર પટેલ, રાજેન્દ્રપ્રસાદ, અને શ્રી. રાજગોપાલાચારીની છબી અને સુવાક્યો સાથે રંગબેરંગી પત્રીકાઓ. કીમત ૫૦૦ ની રી. ૫.
મળવાનાં ઠેકાણા—
રૂબાન નાં — બનજી હરલ્સ. કોલ્ડર.
પોલ લેલ્કરીયન ડીક્રમ
રૂબાન હરલ્સ વીડેરીયા રોડ
જોહા સુભર્ગ—એસ. બી. એક. માર્કેટ બેનરન. આ કોડીસેથી અંકડવારે પેની વેલ્કેલેનો સાથે સેકલર્સ
Manager

"આપુના બાને પત્રો"

અહાર પટેલી નવી પુસ્તિકા મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ કરનાર બાને હાલેલા કેટલાક પત્રોના આ પુસ્તિકામાં સંમક છે. ગાંધીજી સંસારથી વિરકત થતાં કેટલા સંસારી હતા અને નેઓને પ્રેમ કેટલો નિર્મળ હતો તેની આ પત્રોપરથી ગાંધી સાથે છે અને તે સાથે તે આતિ બોધકાયક છે. આ પુસ્તિકા આ કોડીસેથી મળશે. ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે કીમત ૨-૩. મોંધા વી. પી. કે ઉધાર કોલ્ડરને બાન રેવામાં નહિ આવે.

INDIAN OPINION, PHOENIX, NATAL.

પાડીકર જનનાનું લોકપ્રીય માર્કીક

પાટીકાર સમાજ

ફે તા. ૩૦ મીના પ્રમટ થાય છે નેઓએ "પાટીકાર જનમ" માર્કીક નુ સવાજમ મુકું કરી નેઓને બલમ આ માર્કીક મોકલવામાં આવશે. માલકોએ સંરમાને બલુવવા કૃપા કરવી. રેલમા કલાજગ-મા. પામ પરંતુમા રાજીન ૧૫.

અરનામું— પાટીકાર સવાજ નારામજી નીવલસ. કોલ્ડર એસોસાએલન સાથે. લીમડા મોક, મુરેલ.

ફીલ્ડીનનાં ખીયાં નવું રેલ્ડ નું બીનતવાર ફેલોસ રહે મળા શકે છે. ફીલ્ડીને મોકલ ૨૦૨૦. જોધાનીસ-પમ કમ્પવાથી ને મોકલી આપવામાં આવશે.

INDIAN OPINION, PHOENIX, NATAL.

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| Koprak | per lb. | 3/6 | Mohanthar | per lb. | 2/6 | Sav. Dal, Peas and Nuts | per lb. | 2/6 |
| Dudhi Mawa Halwa | per lb. | 5/- | Special Amritpak | per lb. | 4/- | Special Shosun Surti | per lb. | 3/6 |
| | | | Amritpak | per lb. | 2/6 | Gathla | per lb. | 4/- |
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ટેલિગ્રાફી એડ્રેસ: "આરવિન્દ."

હેડ ઓફિસ:

૪૦૯, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રિચાર્ટ.

ફોન ૬૪. પો. બો. નંબર ૧૦૬.

ટેલિગ્રાફી એડ્રેસ: "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—|| હોલસેલ વેપારી ||—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

—ધી જાપાન બઝાર—

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FRIDAY, 15TH OCTOBER, 1948

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 15TH OCTOBER 1948

Not The Way Of Friendship

HOW strange it is that just when the world council is sitting in Paris and the heads of the Commonwealth are meeting in London, both actuated by one and only motive—how the world could live in peace and harmony, the question should arise whether all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, that there should be any doubt about it—a reluctance to be quite emphatic on the matter, and while accepting it as a basis there should be a mental reservation by some. If we are not prepared to accept unreservedly the fundamental Law of Nature, that we have all come to this earth alike and shall have to return to whence we have come from alike, and shall be judged there by our Father, by our deeds and not by our possessions, it is ominous of a very dark and gloomy future. Unless those who have been entrusted with the power to rule are prepared to shed every particle of pride and arrogance that seems to have gripped them, and to sit at the feet of the Master in all humility for the right guidance to carry out His Law, the world is doomed. We seem to be heading on fast to sink into oblivion. God has given us the wisdom to create atomic energy but before it could be put to its proper use for the benefit of mankind, it will be no wonder, if mankind is swallowed by the atomic bomb of its own creation.

At the time of the last war the world was brought to a frenzy over Hitlerism. To-day efforts are being made to bring it to a frenzy over Communism. The following words were uttered by Mahatma Gandhi then, and who can deny that every word uttered is applicable to the present situation.

I see no difference between the Fascist or Nazi powers and the Allies. All are exploiters,

all resort to militarism to the extent required to compass their end. America and Britain are very great nations, but their greatness will count as dead before the bat of dumb humanity, whether African or Asiatic. They and they alone have the power to undo the wrong. They have no right to talk of human liberty and all else unless they have washed their hands clean of the pollution. That necessary wash will be their surest insurance of success, for they will have the good wishes of millions of dumb Asiatics and Africans. Then, but not till then, will they be fighting for a new order. That is the reality. All else is speculation.

We are immediately concerned about what is happening in South Africa. Mr. Eric Louw, the leader of the South African delegation to UNO, has fiercely complained against Communism, but what about the Nazism that is being practised by the Government? Is it representing? Where are the victims to that to go to? The position of the non-Europeans generally, under the present Government, is becoming intolerable. The apartheid demon that is let loose is aiming at reducing the nine million non-Europeans to chattels. We have just been told by Mr. F. Power, vice-president of the Natal Anti-Tuberculosis Association, what havoc tuberculosis is playing among the non-Europeans. Perhaps the present Government, who is much concerned about "White supremacy" and "White civilisation," will take it as a blessing in disguise, for it is the surest way of the survival of that supremacy and civilisation. Another drastic step the present Government has taken is to abolish the family allowance given to poor Indians—a scheme which also applies to Europeans and

Coloureds and was introduced in April, 1947, as part of the Government's social security plan. Many hundreds of Indians, who are already living below the breadline will be seriously affected by the step. (Professor M. R. Burrows, who, as a result of his research work carried out on behalf of the Institute of Race Relations, found that 80 per cent of the Indians in Natal were living in abject poverty. A deputation consisting of distinguished Europeans, all members of the Institute of Race Relations, told the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Mahan on September 23 that the Indian people represent 8 per cent of the population of the Union, and most of them lived in the utmost poverty.") The Government's excuse for this step is that "great difficulty is experienced in the Social Welfare Department in verifying the information supplied by many Indian applicants as regard to their earnings," though it is admitted, that "the union is not fairly the authorities on this count is on the applicants." What a strange way to govern that a whole community should be pe-

nalised because a few may be in fault. But the real motive is to starve out the Indian community, a part of the Government's compulsory repatriation scheme. The Government is vigorously resorting to every possible means to oust the Indian. Yet another Indian from the Transvaal, who was convicted under the Insolvency Law and recently had to face a charge under the Gold Law, has been served with a deportation order and is at present detained at the Central Charge Office in Durban pending deportation.

It should be the duty, both of the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London and of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, to take account from the South African delegation of the behaviour of South Africa of hurling an ultimatum to us as a nation of four hundred million people, for that is what it amounts to. That is on the way of friendliness towards one's neighbour. It is the dangerous way of isolation. It is very truly said that the best way to have a friend is to be one.

NOTES

Prime Ministers' Conference

The conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers opened in London on Monday October 11. This meeting is historic in that it is the first occasion on which the three new Dominions of India, Pakistan and Ceylon are taking part. There has been no Imperial Conference in the proper sense since 1937. There were, however, the Prime Ministers' Conferences in 1944 when the chief concern was to review the course of the war, and in 1946, when they discussed matters which bore on the peace. At the time General Smuts declared that in his opinion the Conference was "more useful in many ways and more effective and helpful than the old formal Imperial Conference."

Mr. Eric Louw, leader of the South African delegation, at the United Nations, before leaving Paris for London, attended the

conference, recorded a broadcast to all English-speaking nations of the world on South Africa's position in the United Nations, emphasising that the people of the Union are no longer going to permit interference in their domestic affairs.

New Administrator Of Transvaal

Dr. the Rev. W. L. ... Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, is to be the new Administrator of the Transvaal. It is expected, says Sapi, that Dr. Nicol will assume his new duties on November 1. Writing in "Die Voortreker," official organ of the Church, Dr. Nicol recently called on Afrikaners to exercise moderation in the present political situation. "We must not expect the whole world to change because one of the smaller peoples on earth has placed a new Government in power by a small minority," he said.

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MR. TE WATER WITHDRAWS AMENDMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS CLAUSE

MR. CHARLES TE WATER, the South African delegate to U.N.O., withdrew the Union's amendment to Article One of the draft declaration on human rights.

This reads: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

South Africa wanted it amended to read: "All human beings are born free and equal in fundamental human freedoms."

After Mr. te Water had given his reasons for the proposed change, Dr. Charles Malik, the chairman, pointed out that the word "dignity" had been written into the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco on the proposal of General Smuts.

As soon as the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee had discussed preliminary formalities the previous day, Mr. te Water claimed the attention of the chair, suggesting that he might be permitted to make an explanation of what he had said the previous day.

He felt sure that his explanation would help to shorten the discussion, and he wanted to remove impressions that might have been a shock to some of his colleagues round the committee table.

"We desire to collaborate closely with this committee in its very important work," said Mr. te Water. "There must be no doubt about our desire to contribute to the work of this committee."

South Africa was just as concerned as anyone to vindicate and secure the principle of human

dignity as attaching to an individual.

"I thought merely to suggest that this reference belongs more properly in the preamble than in any specific article," said Mr. te Water. "Our delegation would prefer a more realistic declaration."

Mr. te Water again emphasised that Article One of the draft declaration might best be placed in the preamble. "We see that the delegate from Guatemala has already suggested that the contents of Article One should be formulated as part of the preamble. He has an amendment to the effect and we would be glad to support him. We therefore withdraw our amendment."

The committee accepted Mr. te Water's proposal.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a member of the United States delegation, said that there had been a great deal of misunderstanding about the draft declaration, of which she was one of the principal authors, and as an instance she quoted the speech made by Mr. te Water the previous day.

She said that Mr. te Water's attempt to delete the word "dignity" from the first article of the draft declaration had been a shock to many delegates, including herself.

However, Mr. te Water had since made it clear that it was not his intention to remove the term "human dignity," but rather to have it retained in the preamble.

The South African amendment had been withdrawn, she said, and so the position was now unchanged.

interpreted to include personal, social, economic and political rights, and this does not correspond with reality.

The Ambassador's right to equality is the reality. But what he overlooks is the fact that the human rights clause is not intended to reflect actual conditions in large, but to reaffirm man's

faith in the dignity and the rights of man. Dr. Douglas, we feel, would have handled the matter more skillfully and with greater subtlety. He would certainly have avoided making any impression of an attempt to bring the United Nations Charter into line with Nationalist policy in South Africa.

CHURCHILL'S FAITH IN ATOM BOMB

SPEAKING in England in Saturday, Mr. Winston Churchill, Britain's war-time Prime Minister, said that a third world war seemed to be "remotely approaching" and called on the Russians to release their grip upon the satellite countries of Europe and retire to their own country.

He said that the United States would be guilty of murdering human freedom if she destroyed her stocks of atom bombs.

Stocks of atomic bombs were the only thing that prevented the subjugation of Western Europe by "Communist machinations," he said.

Winding up the annual Conservative Party Congress, his former Prime Minister said the Communist plan was set forth as plainly as Hitler told about his plans in "Mein Kampf."

"I hope we will not fall into the same deadly trap twice," he said.

"Our minds are oppressed by the accounts of our relations with Soviet Russia. We are confronted with a deadly enemy and the continued aggression of the Russian Communist Government and its imprisoned satellites."

"The Assembly of the United Nations has been reduced to a mere cockpit in which the representatives of mighty nations and

ancient States hurl reproaches, taunts and insults at one another to marshal public opinion and inflame the passions of their peoples in order to arouse and prepare them for what seems to be a remorselessly approaching third world war."

"Bolshevik Russia is already heavily armed and her forces in Europe far exceed those of all the Western countries put together."

The United States is rearming on a large scale.

"Efforts are being made to build up a front of resistance in the West by France and the Low countries under our leadership and with indispensable American support."

"I will not encourage you with false hopes of a friendly settlement with Soviet Russia. It may be that some artificial compromise effected which will be hailed as a solution and deliverance."

But, the fundamental danger and antagonism will remain. Fourteen men in the Kremlin who rule over 100,000,000 human beings dread the friendship of the free civilised world as much as they would its hostility.

"It is my belief and I say it with deep sorrow that at the present time the only sure foundation of peace and prevention of actual war rests upon strength."

MR. TE WATER'S MISSION

The 'Rand Daily Mail' dated October 8, writes:—

ALTHOUGH Mr. Charles te Water, the Union's Ambassador-at-Large, is doing his best to carry out the task assigned to him by Dr. Malik, his proposal to amend the United Nations' clause on human rights shows just how difficult it is.

For a reason which remains obscure, and has certainly puzzled the other delegates, Mr. te Water objects to the clause in its present form. It reads: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." He would prefer to see it read: "All human beings are born free and equal in fundamental rights and freedom." The distinction is so subtle that no one will wonder that the Yugoslav delegate called for a verbatim copy of Mr. te Water's statement, in order to find out exactly what he was talking about.

As far as one can gather, Mr. te Water distinguishes between "rights" and "fundamental rights." The suggestion that everyone is born free and equal in dignity and "rights," according to him, goes too far. They are merely born free and equal in "fundamental rights." Since he has failed to give a clear definition of these terms, we can only guess the meaning he gave to them; and our guess is that, by "fundamental rights," he means the right to breathe, to eat, to walk, to sleep, and perhaps even to think. To that extent, equality is observed universally, and to no man should it be denied. But it becomes quite another matter, when U.N.O. with reckless prodigality, starts to concede human "rights" to every citizen of the world. For, as Mr. te Water was careful to point out, that conceding could easily be

LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S TRIBUTE TO PANDIT NEHRU

REMARKING that he had never met a greater statesman than the Indian Prime Minister (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru), Lord Mountbatten is reported by the 'Natal Daily News' London correspondent, to have told the Royal Empire Society last Wednesday that Pandit Nehru's visit to this country was of "very great significance."

Pandit Nehru, he said, was the man who would decide whether India remained within the Commonwealth or what the future relations with it should be.

After speaking of the events leading to the transfer of power to India, Lord Mountbatten paid a tribute to three men—Gandhi, Rajagopalachari (who succeeded Lord Mountbatten as Governor-General in India) and Nehru. He said that Gandhi was classified by his people as "Chota" and

Mahomet, and those who did not understand that could not understand India. Under Nehru's guidance India had done remarkably well since the transfer of power, in spite of great difficulties.

To Rajagopalachari, Lord Mountbatten attributed great merit, ability, and a high ethical sense.

On his arrival in London on Wednesday Pandit Nehru told a Press conference (according to Reuters) that it was "rather early" to comment on suggestions that India might have to become a Republic.

He added we obviously want a closer relationship with Britain. India was to be completely sovereign and independent while in the process of being close to Britain.

Pandit Nehru said, "The time to comment is when I am departing, not now, when I have just arrived."

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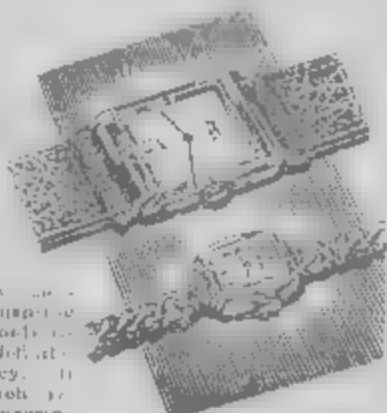
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GROUND BEING PREPARED FOR COMPULSORY REPATRIATION

FAMILY ALLOWANCES TO INDIANS TO STOP

Family allowances for Indians are to be stopped entirely on December 31, according to an instruction from Pretoria received by the Durban office of the Department of Social Welfare.

Meanwhile all fresh applications are being turned down, and Indians whose allowances have been suspended while their claims were being investigated are not being replaced on the register. This month 514 Indian families in Durban will receive the allowances, and most of them will continue to be paid until December 31.

This action follows an announcement by the Minister of Social Welfare, Dr. A. J. Straker in the Assembly on September 16 in reply to a question from Mr. F. M. Mente (Nar. Westdorp). The Minister said: "After full consideration I have decided that the continuance of the payment of family allowances to Indians cannot be justified for various reasons. As it is a delicate matter I do not wish to discuss the considerations in public. I have decided to refer the matter to the Government. These family allowances to Indians should, after due notice, be stopped."

It is learned that among the considerations which caused the Minister to take this step was the difficulty of finding out how much money was earned by Indians who applied for allowances. In effect the allowances may be paid to Coloureds and Indians who have three or more children and earn less than £108 a year. Many Indians employed, for instance, by the Durban Corporation earn less than this as normal pay, and some have not been disclosed overrate pay which would lift them above £108 and cause them to lose the monthly allowance of 15s. for each child.

Others, it is alleged, have made a practice of borrowing children, passing them off as their own, and so drawing the maximum allowance of £4-15s. Investigating such malpractices has been one of the hardest jobs the Social Welfare Department have ever tackled.

It is learned that in the £17,812 in family allowances drawn by Indians in one year, almost £1,000 was paid out in Durban. At the end of December 1947, the allowances were being paid to 866 Durban Indians.

Family allowances were started last year through regulations issued under the Children's Act. Consequently the Minister may repeal any part of the regulations without the permission of Parliament. The figures for May

last Indians show that in the first month, July, 1947, payments only totalled £9-10s. Thereafter they increased rapidly. August, £227; September, £2,960; October, £1,975 (these months including arrears); November, £991; December, £1,256.

HISTORICAL FACTS ABOUT THE INDIAN PROBLEM

ARE the Indians permanent residents of the Union or not? Were they originally brought to South Africa for "temporary purposes" only, as Dr. Malan averred the other day? Or were they brought here with the idea that they would ultimately be integrated in South African society?

The Nationalists have excused their action in taking away the Indian franchise by maintaining that they were "originally brought to this country for temporary purposes" only, and that they should "go home."

In the Maritzburg Archives a special correspondent of the 'Forum' (Johannesburg) has examined some 90-year-old correspondence which sheds a good deal of light on the matter.

On November 17, 1845, for instance, Rawson M. Rawson, writing from the Colonial Office Cape of Good Hope, to the Colonial Secretary of Natal, said: "I am directed by His Excellency, Sir George Grey, to forward to you the enclosed copies of despatches which he has caused to be addressed to the Government of India and Mauritius, upon the subject of the introduction of Coolie labourers into the district of Natal, together with the copies of an ordinance and regulations under which proprietors are enabled to introduce such labourers into Mauritius at their own cost; and I am to request that you will lay these before the Acting Lieutenant-Governor and submit to His Honour the expediency of calling the attention of the Legislative Council of the Colony to this subject, and of bringing before it the draft of an ordinance, embodying the main provisions of a measure founded on the principles of the Mauritius Ordinance."

Sir George Grey had apparently gone to Natal at about the same time that the sugar planters of the colony were worried about their waning fortunes and prosperity, brought about by the refusal of the Zulu labourers to resume that the success of

Close investigation into claims has been going on for some time, and last month the amount paid out was £822.

Allowances will still be paid to Europeans and Coloureds; Natives are not covered by the scheme.

For the year ended March 31, family allowances were paid to 1,603 Indian families throughout the Union with 7,171 children. Altogether £17,812 was paid to Indians, £18,622 to Europeans, £5,197 to Coloureds.

sugar farming lies in a "constant supply of labour."

The Zulu, it is recorded, had the habit of leaving at the most awkward times and when Sir George Grey visited Natal the colonists presented him with a petition which, inter alia, said: "Independently of measures for developing the labour of our own Natives, we require four hundred men to assist in the introduction of a limited number of Coolie labourers from India and the new recruits to the lands in the western

sufficient and reliable for the use absolutely essential for the use cannot be too strongly borne in mind that on the success or failure of these rising enterprises depend the advancement of the Colony or its certain and rapid decline. Experimental cultivation has abundantly demonstrated that the issue depends on a constant supply of labour."

It was in response to this memorial that the Colonial Secretary of the Cape wrote to the Colonial Secretary of Natal and to the Government of India. His letter to the Government of India was addressed to "The Hon. the Secretary to the Government of India, Calcutta," and began:

"I am directed by His Excellency, Sir George Grey, who has lately returned from the district of Natal, to request that you will submit to the Governor-General-Council his views on regard to the importance of permission being granted to the Government of India to the emigration of labourers from that country into Natal."

"From the foregoing," continues the 'Forum's' correspondent, "it is clear that the Indians did not come to this country as the usual run of emigrants but were rather brought here."

That the Indians were expected to remain behind after their term of indenture was over is indicated by paragraph 4 of the letter, which after recommending the ad-

vantage and attractions of Natal went on: "The vast extent of the land, both in the hands of private proprietors and unappropriated, at the disposal of the Government, render to the labourer alike the prospect of employment as he seeks it, and the means of becoming petty proprietor, when he is desirous, and the means of securing from servitude."

This paragraph indicates that the Indians, it was expected, would stay in this country when they were not employed. Paragraph 4 does not imply that the Indians were to be repatriated.

Paragraph 4 is still not significant. "His Excellency considers it to be a favourable circumstance that the immigrants would be brought together in large numbers in isolated estates where they will be treated as a separate class, but will be located in small detachments, chiefly in villages among an European population, of whom a considerable portion are engaged in the cultivation of small plots of ground, where the immigrants and their families will be treated as members of the household and will be enabled to enjoy the fruits of civilisation by education, and enjoy other blessings incident to the position."

The final seal on the issue of the permanency of the Indian population in this country, whence the 'Forum's' correspondent was placed by Dr Malan when, as Minister of the Interior, he could not help but be aware of the Government's policy, was the Cape Town Agreements.

Although it did not contain a repatriation provision, the Cape Town Agreements clause 3 (1) of the agreement reads: "The Union Government firmly believes in and adheres to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians, who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

Some time ago a Zulu chief, it is reported, have decided to resort to passive resistance in protest against the high cost of clothing. They have decided not to purchase any clothing and to picket the shops dealing in such articles.

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Things In General

Four Deaths Per Day From Tuberculosis

Mr. F. Power, vice president of the Natal Anti-Tuberculosis Association, addressing the Maritzburg branch of the Association at its annual meeting in the City Hall, Maritzburg, on Monday night said, it is estimated that there are 40,000 people of all races in the Union who have infectious consumption. There are 7000 in Durban. There are just four deaths per day in Durban. Facts about the tuberculosis position in the Union gave rise to grave concern that the disease might rapidly spread and become a danger to all sections of the community, said Mr. Power. The remedy could only come from public-mindedness. "If there is to be a change in the tuberculosis position there will have to be a change of heart," he went on, "from the official side there will have to be a proper supervision of facilities for case-finding, treatment and isolation, and care of dependents. "From the public there must," said Mr. Power, "be a proper appreciation of the irreparable damage and vast expense resulting from failure to reduce the incidence of the disease, which at present is a disastrous drain of private grief and public expense." While the European population of the Union had the lowest incidence of tuberculosis in the world, the non-Europeans held the record for the highest, he said. According to Dr. B. A. Dornier, the Union's tuberculosis officer, Natives died of the disease in the cities at the rate of 12,000 per 100,000. "If Natives go on dying at the rate they are dying now, we will be faced with the condition that there will simply be no more labour available," said Mr. Power.

Europeans Must Be Supreme

Parliament would decide to abolish Native representation by means of a simple majority, Mr. J. G. Strydom, Minister of Lands, told a meeting in Lydenburg. The Statute of Westminster made Parliament supreme over law, he said and arguments about a two-thirds majority were futile. Mr. Strydom said that Europeans must be supreme and they should not be dominated by non-Europeans.

Pakistan Wants Peace

Broadcasting from Pakistan Radio Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan recently said he wished to assure the Prime Minister and Govern-

ment of India that Pakistan wanted peace and pleasant relations with India. Similar sentiment has also been expressed by Khwaja Nazimuddin, the acting Governor-General of Pakistan. He says in reply to a message of congratulations from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari that it will be his endeavour to promote peace and friendship with India.

Goodwill Mission To Ethiopia

A four-man goodwill mission from India has gone to Ethiopia. The Delegation which is led by Sardar Sant Singh, includes Mrs. Amu Swaminathan. The object of the Delegation is to bring about closer collaboration between India and Ethiopia and at the same time ascertain the needs of Indian nationals residing there. The Mission is at the request of the Ethiopian Government.

News In Brief

The marriage ceremony according to Vedic rites took place on Sunday, October 10, at the Kathiawar Hindu Temple, Raj, of Mr. Anshu Choudhree and Dr. Miss Anurupa Singh. A large number of guests were present to congratulate the couple.

We join the many friends of Mr. B. A. Meghraj and family in mourning the death of Mrs. Meghraj, which took place at their residence at Botanic Garden Road on Monday, October 11. We extend to the bereaved our deepest sympathy.

We join the many friends of Mr. Sukdev Singh of Mayville, in mourning the death of Mr. Sukdev Singh, which took place after a prolonged illness at his residence at Mayville Castle. We extend to the bereaved our deepest sympathy.

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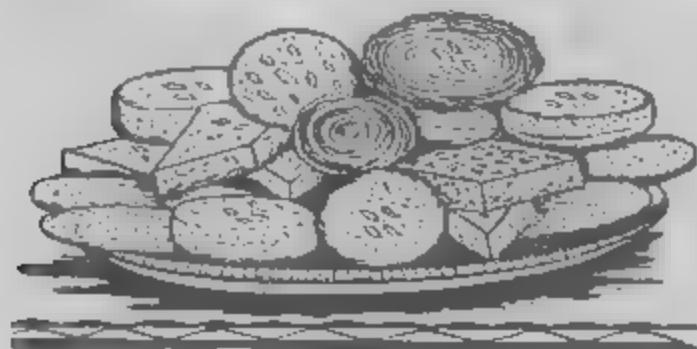
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 આશાભોમાં નકારની વખતગીની થા
 દવાન ભરી, મનુષ્યર જમણે ભાર
 મુકીયો દલો



The Late Mr. Jethalal Narani

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OUR SPECIAL DEEPAVALI OFFER:

| | per lb. | s. | d. |
|------------------|---------|----|----|
| Sutherteni | 6 | 0 | |
| Satta (Sweet) | 5 | 0 | |
| Kren Hurfee | 4 | 0 | |
| Dudh Penda | 2 | 0 | |
| Mesool | 3 | 0 | |
| Boondi Ladoo | 3 | 0 | |
| Choorani Ladoo | 1 | 0 | |
| Mohanthal | 3 | 6 | |
| Kajra Pak | 2 | 0 | |
| Goggra Special | 2 | 0 | |
| Sev (Gram Flour) | 2 | 0 | |
| Pouwa Chevda | 3 | 0 | |
| Succarpara | 2 | 0 | |
| Kajli Unsweet | 0 | 0 | |

| | per lb. | s. | d. |
|----------------|---------|----|----|
| Mawa Hurfee | 3 | 6 | |
| Kesri Penda | 4 | 6 | |
| Badami Halva | 3 | 0 | |
| Mawa Gharce | 3 | 6 | |
| Goodie Jambou | 2 | 6 | |
| Nano Khatai | 2 | 0 | |
| Amrat Pak | 2 | 0 | |
| Julebi | 2 | 6 | |
| Guthia Special | 3 | 6 | |
| " Gram Dholl | 2 | 6 | |
| " Peas | 2 | 0 | |
| Kajli (Sweet) | 3 | 0 | |
| Peanuts | 2 | 6 | |
| Patasa | 1 | 6 | |

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પુશ ખબર

અમારે ત્યાં તમારે મુજબના માવ મલોજન સપ્લોયી મળ્યા શકશે.

ફોન: તારી માવમા મલોજનમા સપ્લોયી કરી મેલવા

આ: સીસીનાં મિલન કરી વડ માવમા મુજબનાં

બી: આમારમા મલોજન માવ મેલવા કરવા માવમા મલોજન

સપ્લોયી, આ મળત આમારી સીવ સપ્લોયી મા માવમા કરી માવમા કરવા માવ.

અમ. અડદ, ચણા, ચણાદાળ, તુવેરદાળ, ખીરોલી, અડદ,

મુંદ, વીવેરે અમારે ત્યાંથી મેલવામાં મલોજન કરવામાં આવે.

દીવાળી માટે પેન્ટ

દીવાળીનાં શુભ અવસરમાં

તમારા ઘરની શોભામાં વધારો કરો

સરો અને ઠંડાડી નેમજ વાજળી ભાવ

ઘેર બેઠા ચણેચતો કરવાનાં આવશે

નથુ ટાભા

૧૦૭ કવી ૧ રો ૨

ફોન નંબર

ડરબન

૨૪૧૪૭

હોદ્દીઓને ફરજિયાત સ્વવતન રવાના કરવાની સરકાર તરફથી થઈ રહેલી પેરવીઓ

કેમીલી એસાવન્સ બંધ કરવામાં આવશે.

સો ધીવલ પેકેજર ડીપાર્ટમેન્ટની ૨૨ મંત્રીઓએ પ્રતિજ્ઞાપત્રો મળી શકે છે કે હોદ્દીઓને અપવાદે હોદ્દી એસાવન્સ ડીપાર્ટમેન્ટના ૩૨મીથી સાત પંચ કરી ફેરવાઈ આવશે.

કેમીલીએ નવી અરજીઓને પાલ દેવાનું બંધ થયું છે અને કે હોદ્દીઓની માગણીઓ, તેઓના પાલ તપાસવામાં આવે તે દરમિયાન મોકલે રાખવામાં આવી નથી. તેઓને ફરી રજીસ્ટરમાં દાખલ કરવામાં આવવા નથી. આજે માસના ૧૧મી હોદ્દી કુલિઓને રજામાં એસાવન્સ મળશે અને ઘણા બધાને ડીસેમ્બર તા. ૩૧મી સુધી આપવાનું આજે રહેશે.

આ પગલું અપરેશન તા. ૧૬મીએ પુનઃપ્રવર્તન પાસેનામાં પેરટીનલ નિયંત્રિત પાર્ટીના મેમ્બર મી. એચ. ડી. મેન્ટેએ મુલેલા નવાના મંત્રાલયમાં સોલિસિટર મેલેરે આવાના પ્રધાન ડા. એ. જે. રાજાએ કહેલી જાહેરાતપરથી મેલામાં આવ્યું છે. પધારે એ વખતે કહી હતું કે "પૂરો ગીયર કમી પાદ મે" ફરાર ક્યો છે કે હોદ્દીઓને આવવામાં આવવા કેમીલી એસાવન્સ માણે રાખવા વાગ્યા નથી એવું ધમ્મા કારણે થી મિલ થયું છે. આ પાળત વાણીકે રાઈ તેની ચમો અદેરમાં કરવા નથી જાણતા. મે ફરારમાં વળાગણ કરવા નું રાજ્ય કે કે પુરતી નેહીસ આવવા આવ હોદ્દીઓને કેમીલી એસાવન્સ આવવા બંધ કરવામાં આવે

આજના હોદ્દી ન્યુસની અવગતની જાણ છે કે પ્રધાનને આ પગલું લેવા નું એક કારણ એ હતું કે કે હોદ્દીઓ એસાવન્સ માટે અરજી કરવા દેવા તેઓને પેકેજર હોદ્દી હતી એ વાતનું મુદ્દેલ હતું. કારણકે એસાવન્સ વર્ષ તા. ૧૯૪૮થી બંધ કરવામાં કર્યો અને હોદ્દીઓને અપવાદમાં આવે છે. હાલમાં તરિકે, ઘણા રજાને ફેરફારે અનમાં મોકલી કરવામાં હોદ્દીઓને સાથ

રજા પગાર આ કરતાં બોલે મને કે અને કેટલાક પોતાને જોર દાખલ કરા કરવાને મળતા પગાર જાણવાના નથી કે જેની રકમ તા. ૧૦૮ કરતા વધારે થઈ ગય છે અને તેમ થતાં ૨૨ પાળત હોદ્દી માસિક તા. ૧૫ એસાવન્સની રકમમાંથી કપાઈ ગયા.

વધુ બીજાઓને પોને એવું કહેવાય છે કે તેઓ બીજાના ગાળાને વિહીના કરે તેને પોતાના તરિકે મોકાવે છે અને એ રીતે તા. ૪-૧૫-૦ની એસાવન્સ ની વધારેમાં વધારે રકમ કપાડે એ. આવી પોલી રીતેની તપાસ કરવાનું કામ રોજીવલ પેકેજર આવાના ઇન્ડ પેકેજરને માણે મુદ્દેલ થઈ પડે છે જાણવામાં આવે છે કે હોદ્દીઓને એક તરીકે કેમીલી એસાવન્સની મળતી તા. ૧૫૮૨૨ ની રકમમાંથી તપાસ તા. ૧૪૦૦૦ની રકમ રજામાં અપાય છે. ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૪૭ની અપરિચિત ૮૬૧ રજાના હોદ્દીઓને એસાવન્સ અપાઈ હતું.

કેમીલી એસાવન્સ અપવાદ રીક્ટન્સ અવગતની કમો વડાએલા પારામાં મારકલ માંતરે અપવાદનું રાજ થયું હતું. પ્રધાનને પારોમેન્ટની રાજ મેળવવા પગાર એ ઘાસાઓના કોઈ થયું બાદ ૨૨ રજાની સરો કે રજામાં હોદ્દીઓ મારેલા મારકા એવું બનાવે છે કે પુસાઈ ૧૯૪૭માં પેકેજર માસમાં અપા મેલા એસાવન્સની રકમ તા. ૪-૧૦-૦ ની થઈ હતી. ત્યાર પાદ તેમાં પ્રપાદા થી તપાસ થઈ જાયો. એવરમાં તા. ૫૫૩ અપવાદ, અપરેશનમાં તા. ૨૨૪૭ અપવાદ. અક્ટોબરમાં તા. ૧૪૭૫ અપવાદ (આ જે મસેમાં થઈ રીમને રજામાં પાળ અમાલેલ થાય છે) નેરવરમાં તા. ૮૨૨ અપવાદ અને ડિસેમ્બરમાં તા. ૧૨૫૧ અપવાદ.

હોદ્દીએ તપાસથી પારકે તપાસ ચાલી રહી હતી અને ગયા માસમાં તા. ૮૨૨ અપવાદ થતા.

મી. ડી. વોટરનું મીશન

જો હોદ્દીઓને "રેન્ડ હોલ મેલ" રજા છે કે, પુનઃપ્રવર્તન પાદને આવેલા માલ એસાવન્સ મા. આજે ડી. વોટર નો કે તેઓ કે, મસાને અપેક્ષા કરા પાદ પાદવાને પોતાનું પાનનું કરી રજા છે. હવે માનવ હોદ્દીઓની રાજકીયની રજામાં સુધારા કરવાની તેમની રજા આજે પરીથી અહીં સકાય છે કે એ હોદ્દી કુલિએ ૫ સમય નહીં સકાય ત્યાં અને બીજા રજામાં તે મેલા

મુલેલીએ નામિકા છે તેવું કારણે સર મી. ડી. વોટર એ કલમ કે રજામાં છે તે રજામાં તેના વિરોધ કર્યો છે. એ કલમ આ પગલું જ અમળા માનવી બો જાતન અને સમાન મેલા અને સમાન હોદ્દીઓ જાણે છે. તેમણે એ કલમને આ પ્રમાણે સુધારવા રજા બહુ છે. અપવાદ માનવીઓ રજા જાણે છે અને તેઓના મુળ હોદ્દી અને હોદ્દીઓ સમાન છે. તા.

૫૫ મેલેલા માનવીઓને છે કે મી. ડી. વોટર અંદર રાજ કરેલા માણે છે એ અરજીને અપવાદને પુનઃપ્રવર્તન કેલે- મેર તેમના આપવાના પુરા દેવાની માગણી કરી તેથી કોઈને નામની મિલ થાય

કેમીલી રીતે મી. ડી. વોટર "હોલ" અને "મુળ હોલ" વચ્ચે એક પાડે છે. પ્રત્યેક માનવી સ્વતંત્ર જાણે છે અને મેલા અને "હોલ"માં સમાન છે એ જાણ તેમની રીતેથી થઈ જાણે છે. તેઓ રજાને જાણે છે અને "મુળ હોલ"માં સમાન છે. એ રજાની તેમણે રજા વ્યાખ્યા કરેલી નહીં હોલ અને તેમણે આપવા થારેલા વચ્ચેની મા અટકળ જ કરી સારીએ થાયો, અને તે એ છે કે "મુળ હોલ" નો અર્થ તે આસ રેવાનો. આપવાનો, માસવાનો, મુળનો અને કેલા રીતારવાનો પણ કરતા દરે. એકે દરજ્જે સમાનતા સર્જાવેલે રીતે પાળવામાં આવે છે અને તેના કોઈને રજાને મલા નહીં નેહી.

માનવહોદ્દીની કલમમાં મુકેલો સુધારો મી. ડી. વોટર પાછો ખેંચી લીધો

સા ૩૫ માનવહોદ્દીના પનો ખાને મેલેલા હોલિટ ના ડી. વોટરે માનવ હોદ્દીના માનવ માનવ મુલેલાની પહેલી કલમમાં પુનઃપ્રવર્તન મુકેલો સુધારો મી. ડી. વોટર પાછો ખેંચી લીધો છે.

એ કલમ નીચે પ્રમાણે છે "અપવાદ માનવીઓ જાણેલા સ્વતંત્ર છે અને તેઓને મેલા અને પહેલા સમાન છે." સાથે આ હોલિટ નેમાં નીચે પ્રમાણે સુધારો મુકેલો છે. "અપવાદ માનવીઓ જાણેલા સ્વતંત્ર છે અને માનવી તરીકેના મુળ હોલિટમાં સમાનતા મેલા છે"

મી. ડી. વોટરે પોતાની અપવાદના કારણે આપવા પાળ ૩૩ વાટને મેનને કહ્યું કે મેલા નાજ માલ હોલિટમાં જાણેલા સમાનતા નાજ નાથી નાજ માલ નવામાં સમાનતા દરે.

રોજીવલ મુલેલી રીતે માનવ કલમને કેમીલીએ પ્રાણીક માનવીઓ ની તપાસ કરવા નું રીક્ટરે આજે છે હોલિટ પોને કહેલા મિલેનને મુલાસે કરવાની પ્રમાણ માલે રજા માળી. તેમણે કહ્યું કે તેમના મુલાસે થી મારે કહેલી મારકા અને તે સાથે કેમીલીના કેટલાક સમયોને તેમણે કલમથી અપવાદ પહેલાં માનવીઓ અપ પરી થઈ હતી કે ફર કરવાની તેમની રીતે છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે આ ધમ્મા જ અમળાના કારણે અને આ કેમીલી ની સાથે મુલે સરકાર કરવા માંથી એ રીતે આ રજામાં કાર્યમાં અપવાદે પાળે આપવાની અમારી રીતેની માગણી કરી રીક્ટરે રજાને

પરંતુ મુલો બધાને નિરંકુશપણે ફનીયા ના રોજીવલે નામીકાને માનવ "હોલ" આપવા તપ છે ત્યારે તે મુલોને વાજ થઈ પડે છે કેમ, મી. ડી. વોટરે સંભાળવું કે રીક્ટરે તેમ, એ હોલ માં અમલ. સમાજ, અમારી અને રાજકીય હોલો સમાવેશ થાય છે અને એ ખરી વસ્તુ સાથે પાંચ મેલતી નથી. એલમીનું કહેવું બંધ છે. અસમાનતા એજ ખરી વસ્તુ છે. પરંતુ તેઓ એ સુલી તપ છે કે માનવ હોલોની કલમ તે મેલ સમયે ફનીયામાં પ્રવર્તી રહેલી રીતેનું નિરંકુશ કરવામાં નથી પરંતુ માનવીના મેલા અને હોલમાં માણસ ના વિશાસનું સમયે કરવાનો છે. અમને માલ છે કે કે. રીક્ટરે આ આપવાને વધારે ફરારમાંથી અને વધારે માસાવાથી કારણે લીધી હોલ. રાજ સંમત પારીતને સમય આપવાની નેહનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટીના નીતીના કારણે મુકવામાં પ્રધાન થઈ રહ્યો છે એવી જાણ તે તેમણે મલા નહીં રીક્ટરે લીધી હોલ.

રહેવું નહીં એકે કોઈ પણ માળી ના માલમેળાના સિદ્ધાંત રજાની કરવાની સાથે અમારિકાને પોતાના જેટલી જ રીતે છે. મે તે માલ નાજ માલ કરી હતી કે આ આપવાનો કેલે અ પ્રતાવનામાં થયો થોમ અપવાદ. કોઈ પણ મેલેલ કલમમાં થયો નહીં એકે એવા કેલિગાન તપાસે સમાજ હોલિટ રજાને માલે પહેલાં મેલા મેલે છે.

મી. ડી. વોટરે ફરી આ મુલો મુલો નું કે અપવાદમાંથી મુલેલી કલમ પ્રતાવનામાં મુકાવી એકે અમે એકે એકે હોલિટ કે આપવાના રીક્ટરે મેલા મુલાના કરેલી છે અને એ સન અપવાદે મેલે સુધારે મુકેલા છે અને અમે પુરતીથી રીક્ટર આપવાને રીક્ટર અને અમારી રજામાં પાડી ખેંચી લીધો છે.

કેમીલી મી. ડી. વોટરને માનવ નિરંકરે લીધા. પુનઃપ્રવર્તન રજામાં રીક્ટરે માલ એક સમય નાસાસ અમારી ના - રીક્ટરે અપવાદ કે અપવાદમાં ના મુલેલી મેલામાં માલ એક તે મેલા હોલ અને તેમ મેલા મેલે સમાનતા થયેલી છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે મુલેલાની પહેલી કલમમાંથી "માનવ મેલા" માલ કરી તપવાના મી. ડી. વોટરના પ્રતાવની પાળ રીક્ટરે આપવા થઈ હતી. એમાં માલ એક નેમા પોને પાળ હતા. અમારે મી. ડી. વોટરે મુલેલા રજા છે કે તેમણે મુલેલા એ અપવાદ માલ માલ માલ હોલ પહેલાં પ્રતાવનામાં મુકવાના હોલે આવી દેલે મુલ સ્થિતિમાં કરી કરવા થઈ નથી.

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43. મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનીસબર્ગ.

એટમ બોમ્બમાંજ દુનીયાનો ઉદ્ધાર જોઈ રહેલા મી. ચર્ચીલ

ગુલા શાંતીપરે ફરજમાં આપણ આપ તો માણ બ્રીટીશ વડા પ્રધાન મી ચર્ચીલે કહ્યું કે ત્રીજા યુદ્ધનાં નશામાં તારી રહ્યા છે, યુનાઇટેડ કિંગડમ એટમ બોમ્બના વચ્ચેના નાશ કરી માખણે તો માનવસ્વાતંત્ર્યના ખુનને મટિ ને દમીત કરશે. એટમ બોમ્બનો સંક્રમ જ પશ્ચિમ યુરોપને આત્મચાઈના પાંચ માંથી ઉગારી શક્ય છે. મેઈનકામર મા કોટલેરે ત્રીજી સપ્ટેમ્બરથી પોતાની વાતનાઓ લખાવી હતી તંત્રીજી રજા ત્રીજી સપ્ટેમ્બરની મોજના પ્રકટ થઈ રહી છે. હું આજ રાત્રી છું કે એજ મેરી પેથમાં આપણે ખીજાર નહીં સપડાઈએ.

સોવિયેટ રશીયા આશિના આપણા સંસ્થના હૈવાસોથી આપણા મન પીચળા પતી ગયા છે, રશીયાની સામ્યવાદી સર ડાર નેન નેના કેડ થયેલા દાણકા કરનાર રાજ્યોની મેરીલી ફરજનાં આપણે સામંતો કરવાના છે રાજકીય ત્રી મહાસત્તા પળવાના રાષ્ટ્રો અને પ્રાચીન રાજ્યોના પ્રતિનિધિઓને લીધે યુદ્ધને માટે ત્રીજાને ઉદ્દેશ્ય અને તૈયાર કરવાના એક બીજાને એકાદ મારવા અને આપણા કરવાના એક આખાડો પતી મથે છે. મોલોટોવે રશીયા રાજ્યોના

પુણ સંમત કર્યો કે અને યુરોપના મેના વળે પશ્ચિમના સપાળ દશાના સંયુક્ત બંધાના કરનાં થયે છે. હુના કોડ કોડેસ મોટા પાળપરે કરી રાજ્ય સમજ થઈ રહ્યું છે. હાન અને પોતા રોડ તરફથી આપણી સરકારી ફેરજ અને અમેરિકાના અતીવાળ રેશીય પશ્ચિ મમા સમજો કરવાના એક મોખરે ઉભા કરવાના પ્રવળા થઈ રજા છે. સોવિયેટ રશીયા સાથે નોમોલ્યુ નુમા ધાન મવાની ખોડી આપણી દુ તમને કોમન આપવા નથી સમજો સમજ કે કમન દુમા સમાધાનીની રીત મોટા કાદવામાં આવશે. નાન કોમન અને ઉદ્ધાર તરીકે થવાની મેવામાં આવશે.

પરંતુ ગુલા મેળમ નને વિરોધ તા કાવમજ રહેશે. ફમલીતમા માર મોળ માર મેળો જા રજા; મામલીયા ન રાજા કરે છે નેમોને નાન રાજ્યમાં દુનીયાના રીજાના મજ છે રજાના લેની મેવના બન છે

આ મારી માન્યતા ન અને ના વતી અને તા ના થાય છે આ મુલેક રાજીના અને મુલેક અદવાતવા ના ખરે મારે થાય છે

વિવિધ સમાચાર

બીન-મરાઠી ગણપર સત્તા નહિ ચલાવાય

સામાન્યજર્મમાં એક સખામા આપણ કરતા રતીને આપણા પ્રધાન મી. જે. ઇ. રોપરે કહ્યું કે નેટીવાનું પ્રતી નીધીત પાસીએન્ટ સાદી જુદમનીયી નાણુ કરવાનું રાજ્યો. તેમણે કહ્યું કે રેસ્ટોનીસ્ટરના કાવલો પાસીએન્ટ ના કાથમાં ફલ સવા મુલેકો છે અને ચેતવણ આપણની તાન કરવી તલ નહાના છે. તેમણે કહ્યું: યુરોપીયનો એ લવોપરી સત્તા ખેતાના કાથમાં રાખવાની છે. બીન યુરોપીયનોયો નેચી ના ઉપર સત્તા નહિ ચલાવી શકાય દુસરાસના નવા અમ્બીનીસ્ટ્રેટર ડ્ય રીફરેન્ડ નથી મોરારદરે ડા. મી. નેવરન્ડ પીલીયમ નીકર દુસરાસ ના તના એકમોનીસ્ટ્રેટ પતરી. સાપા જાણે છે કે ડા. નીકર નવેચાર તા. તનીએ પોતાના નવા દોહાપર આવશે. નથેના સત્તાવાર પાન પીડી કુરેલીઅટર માં એક મેળ નાખના તેમણે આદિ- દાવરને કાસની રાજ્યો પરિસ્થિતિ મ નરમાસ કાવરવા આદેશ કર્યો હતો. તેમણે કામ્યું હતું કે પૂબીપર ની અનઓપનિટીએક નાનકડી કરવા પ્રત્યે નાનકડી જુદમનીયી એક નવી કરકારને સપાયા ફુડા એટલે આપી

દુનીયા અદલાક તપાની તેના ચીઆસ નજ રાખી રાજીએ.

સવ રોગથી કરમનમાં ફેરજના આર મરજી

નારાય એન્ટી-ટયુબરક્યુલોસિસ એ સોસાએશનના ઉપ-અધ્યક્ષ મી એકર પાવરે મેરીટકમમના તોડી મેકમમા એસોસાએશનની વારીક લખામા રોમ વરે આપણ કરનાં કહ્યું કે યુનીયનમાં સપાળ મળીતા ૪૦,૦૦૦ રાજી એકા અસહવામા આવે છે નેમો મેવી ક્ષય રામયા પીડાય છે નેમોના ૧૦૦૦ કરમનમા છે. જ્યાં રોગના કમળમ આર મરજી થાય છે મી. પોવરે જાણ્યું કે યુનીયનમાં ક્ષય રોગની સ્થિતિ અમિ તો દુકાકેતો એવી મંબાર મિતો ઉપ સ્થિત કરવારી છે કે આ રોમનો ફેસાપો માળી જડપરી થશે અને કોમના સપાળ વચેન લેખમકારક થય પડે.

એ સ્થિતિમાં કેર નાન પડી તો નવ કાકાકાકે કામ મરકાર તરફથી તેવા રોમો રોમી કાદવાની રામપીડો, તેના ઉપચાર અને તેને અસમ કરવા પર પુરી ફેમરેખ રખાવી એકાએક. પોવરે પ્રગળે એવી થવા અનિવાર્ય નુકસાનોના વ્યાસ કરવે નેમોએ. તેમણે કહ્યું કે યુનીયનની યુરોપીયન

સતીમાં હા રોમન પ્રમાણ દુનીયામા સોધા થાયું છે ક્ષમા નેન-સુરોપીયનો ના ન.તો જુદું છે. યુનીયનના દયુ- મરકપુલોસિસ આંધીસર ડા. મી. એ. દારમરના કહેવા મુલ્ય મહેરોમાં એ રોમયા નેટીયોમાં મરજ પ્રમાણ નાળ ન. ૧૦૦ છે. ડા પોવરે કહ્યું કે તો નેટીયો આ પ્રમાણમાં મરજ પામશે ના એવી સ્થિતિ થય પડશે કે આપણી રાજી મળવા નહિ રહે

ગાંધી જુન કેસ

ગાંધી હવા કેસ આગળ નાસતાં તાવના ત્રણે મધીયનાં કલ્પારે મોસેના તંત્રીપણા ફેરજ તીકળના અમણી તમના વાપમાં પ્રસીદ થયેલા ફેરજા સેચો રજી નાન હવા અને જાણ્યું હતું કે આ સેચોમાં ને પીમરિ મોસેએ મોસેના છે તેજ મવાર ને ને આપી વિરોધી હવા મગલ પહાના ત્રણે લખાણ્યુ હતું કે આ લખાણ નાસેના રીચારોના પુરાવા નહીં તરે મહિત કરવા નેકરો નહીં કરવા તમારો રજ આપવાના મરકી લકાય નહીં.

નથા પહાના ત્રણે વળી અવા પુખ મુલકા રજા કર્યો હવા કે આ નેવામા ત્રણેવપમાં આવેલા પીમરિ. ગાંધી વિરોધી નથી પણ આંધીવારના મોકલિત વિરોધ છે. આ આંધ્યિતિ આમે તો આરોગી રીચારના અન્ય પવામ વાનસેએ રીકાઓ કરેલી છે વળી અમુક અકતીએ લખલા સેચો અમુક અકતીના વિરોધ કરનારનું મનના વશોમે છે મારે તે પુરાવા તરીક માનવ કરવામાં આવ્યા કોમ કોવો એક પળ રાખલો અમાલિ મેંધાએસ નથી

આરોપી મરનકાસના વળેન અજા- ણ્યું હતું કે ગાંધીજીની હવા મારે મોટા સમે રજે એસ થાસના નથી પીમનઓ રજોને કારનરનો આરોપ મુકલા છે અને નેટી આ તેના પુરાવા નહીં તરે આરોપ કરવા વંદાએ નહીં. નવાપીડીય આરમ્યારેજી જાણ્યું હતું કે આ આર અર આગળના મુલકો ફોલ આ પામતમા કલ્પ રૂ કોકે લેનરવા માર્યું છે.

આમાં મુખ્યભે મે મુલકો તરે નીચ પ કરવાના છે-એક ને નેમોને પુરાવા તરીકે તરે પાદવ કરી રોમ એવા ફેર્ડ વાપરો અમાલિ અમેક છે કે એસ અને પીમન આવા નેમોમાંથી રજક રામસ કરી મુકારે કેમો ફેર્ડ આફ્ટેએન પડીત નહીં રીકેલી નારીક

એમ પાળ રોમ અમવારે સોસા રીકેલી નામક બાપક કરવા મવા બુધવારે ડા. માર્કિન્ડેએન જાણ્યું હતું કે મોલના વડા પ્રધાન પડીત નેકરના જેવા રાજાન મરકકી નેમણે લખ પીલ્લ એકે નેવા નથી આ રજામા નેમની મુલા રોમ પાળીય નવેજુમક છે. કી:

કોમનવેસમાં રહેલો કે નહીં અમવા ના નના બપીયનો સંપર્ક રોડો રહેશે એ પડીત નકરજ કરાવશે. કી:ને સત્તા સોપાક ન વખલ સુધીના પ્લવેલો ને ઉચ્ચેમ કર્યા પાદ મોડે માર્કિન્ડેએ દને જમ્બ અકતીએને અંબલી આપી. મદામા માર્કિડ, મા રાજ્યોપાલારી અને નેકર

તેમણે કહ્યું કે આંધીયને નેમના સોરો મરકકીરન અને મદમલની કારમાં જુ. છે એ રજુ નેમો સમજ સમજ નથી તેઓ દાંદિન અમલના નથી. પડીત નેકરની કારવણી ફેરજ સપા સોંપાવાના દીકે વળી મુલેકીઓ છૂનાં વળી સારી પ્રગની કરી છે. વધુમાં રોડ આફ્ટેએનને કહ્યું કે આ રાજ્યોપાલ મારીમાં થવો અમાણીકતા અને મારીકતા છે

પંતરી નેકરનું નીચેન

બુધવાર પંતરી પકોચના પડીત નેકરને અમવારી પરીસરમાં જાણ્યું હતું કે કોડ કલ્પ રીપવ્લીકનો મારે ફેરો એવા થઈ રહેલો સુચરને ત્રી કામ કદ પખ મન રજોવો વહેલો મજાળ ખીલત સાથે નકરનો સંપ પ રાખવાની અમલો રવાવારીક કમ્પો છે. કી: સંપૂર્ણપણે રજા રહીને ખીલત સાથે નકરનો સંપ રાખવા કમ્પ છે. વધુમાં પડીત નેકરને કહ્યું કે રજા કરવાના વખત તો હું જાણે અદેશી ઉપર ને વખતે આવશે. કહ્યું તો હમણુજ આવશે આવું છું ત્યારે નહીં

ડા. કાકુએ પડીત નેકરની થીપેલી મુલાકાત

ડા. કાકુ જેઓ મથે અમવારીયે ડોર નેમને જ્યામાં કરી અમવા નહીં મુક વળા છમાસિયત ખાતો સામે કહેલા ફુકમના પરીણોને વરે પાસપેર્ટે કંડન મવા છે તેમણે મથા મંમળવારે પડીત ન નેકરની મુલાકાત લીધી હતી. તેમ ગાંધી મુલકો કાલરો આવવા પેરીસ મજ સકાય તેને મારે કન્ટીયા લીમ તરફથી સપળાં કામરેસર પમલા લેવકા રજા છે.

પૂ. મુ. રા

—કી:માં જામીનદારી બીલ પાસ કરે વામાં આવ પખ કાસમાંજ તેનો અમ જ કરી નહીં સકાય. કારખમાં જાણ- વાય છે કે ને જમાન વર્માનદારી પાસે થી મજ કવામા આવે તેના પૈસા થર વાને કરકાર પાસે કાન સમવર નથી - રાસામ રજા અને તેના પીળ સાથે એને દીલ્હના સામ જાસામા રાખવા મા આવ્યા છે.

—મર્કિન્ડેએન નેટીય અંબોના પહેર વાના કપડાના બાવ પુણવળી જાણી નેટીય અંબોએ સપાઅથ કર્યા છે. કોલકે કપડું પરીવરુ નહીં અને ફુકનો ઉપર પીકીંગ નરજુ એવો રજા ન થશે છે.

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8 x 10, 11/-, 7 x 9, 10/-.

4 Lights. 10 x 12, 10/-, 8 x 10, 9/-, 7 x 9, 8/-.

2 Lights. 10 x 12, 5/9, 8 x 10, 5/-, 7 x 9, 4/6, 18 x 30 & 32, 10/-.

Framing timber for doors and windows, Rainwater goods, ceiling and flooring boards, roof timber, Iron Dike paint, and Buffalo brand paint, imported paint brushes, Laykold, plywood, furniture fittings, hardware and earthenware, etc., etc.

નંદુ ટાબ્હા

જનરલ ટીમ્બર મેન્ટ હાર્ડવેર મરચન્ડાઈઝ ઇમ્પોર્ટર
પ્રખેડે ડોર્સ ઇમ્પોર્ટ ૨૧ x ૬૬ x ૧ ૧/૨; શી. ૪૩-૬. ૨ ફુટ ૮ ઇંચ x ૬
ફુટ ૮ ઇંચ x ૧૧ ઇંચ શી. ૪૫-૩

પ્રખેડે ડોર્સ બ્રાહ્મીના સ્પાઈલ ઇમ્પોર્ટરના ડોર્સ, ૨૧ x ૬૬ x ૧ ૧/૨
શી. ૩૮-૬. ૨ ફુટ ૮ ઇંચ x ૬ ફુટ ૮ ઇંચ x ૧૧ ઇંચ શી. ૪૦-૬.

પ્રખેડે ડોર્સ બ્રાહ્મીની બારીઓ ૭ ફુટની ૧૦ x ૧૨ ની શી. ૧૨.
૮ x ૧૦ ની શી. ૧૧. ૭ x ૬ ની શી. ૧૦.

આર ફાઈની ૧૦ x ૧૨ ની શી. ૧૫, ૮ x ૧૦ ની શી. ૬. ૭ x ૬ ની શી. ૮
મે ફાઈની ૧૦ x ૧૨ ની શી. ૫-૬. ૮ x ૧૦ ની શી. ૫. ૭ x ૬ ની
શી. ૪-૩. ૧૦ x ૧૦ અને ૭ x ૭ ની શી. ૧.

જનરલ, બારીઓના ડોર્સ ઇમ્પોર્ટરના બારી, વરસાદના પાણીના બારી, શીશીય અને ક્રેસીડીય બારી, બાયસ બારીના બારી, બાયસ ટ્યુ-વેર, અને બાયસ બેન્ડ વેર, પ્રખેડે ડોર્સ વેર બેન્ડ, બેન્ડ, બાયસ, ઇન્ડિયન ક્રેસીડીય, હાર્ડવેર અને આયર્નવેર, ટિ. ટિ. ડિઝાયન બારી

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—દહશતીના પ્રવૃત્તિ યાત્રી મળ્યા બાદ ના મુનાઈટિંગ ટેલેફોન સુટલિના પોર જે મનો કામ સોફ્ટમન મુજબ રાજ્યની મર્યાદા થઈ એમ પણ પ્રધાન મંત્રીને નિર્દેશ આપે કહ્યું છે.

—ગુજરાતી મનુ જી, વાગ્ડા નામના પાર્ટીને કોળીપત્રના મુજબ મારે ૩૫૧ ૫૦ હાથરનો હાંડ અને ૧૬ મળી ટાની અગત સગ થઈ છે; અને તેની જેટીમાં કામ કરના માણસને ૫૦૦ મો ફટ અને એક રીપસની ફેટ, એટલે કે મારે તે ૨ મળીનાની બની સગ કરવા માં આવી છે.

—પાણીલાવના વડા પ્રધાન મી. લીલા કલ અર્થાત્તને લીંદ સરકારને ખાલી આવી છે કે પાણીલાવ લીંદ પ્રાથે હશે મ સુરેક સાંતીથી રહેવા માગે છે.

—લીંદ સરકારે રેડીયાની અર્થતોને વેમ બાપવા નાણા મદદ કરવા માગે છે અને મર્યાદામાં પાણી તેની કપરેમા માગી છે.

—હિંદના અગાધિએ દવે પોતાની સમાચાર સરમા જેવા કરી છે કે પ્રેસ્ટરેટ મોર હાંડીઆના નવાયો ઓળખાણે, એસેલાએટ પ્રસ ઓર હાંડીઆ, ને રોપટરની યાત્રા છે, મ એજન્ટરી આ નથી સરમા તક લેતે.

—સી. આર. ડી. પાતાના વડા મેનરે એમ જે. ડુપ્લુ-ફેલ્ડેર્મ છે, સાથે આઈકામાં કોમ્યુનિસ્ટોની પ્રવૃત્તિઓના સંબંધમાં ને કોમ્યુનિસ્ટ કાન્કરેન્સમાં અથેલા થી. એટલે કે મોર માઈની આપસે.

—સુરેકસાંતીનું કામ કરના પ્રુતી ઓના દાથે મારે નવાય રાજે-મરન. કેટલું પાણી આદેર કરવાના પાર્ટીને મુરોપીયન રીલીય ઓરેન્ડેન્સિયન મરન કરી આ મારે કુનીયાબરમથી કે : હાથરલાવની વેળવા કરી છે અને આ હાંડ નાવેરશાન્તિ અને માનવતાના કાવંમાજ વાપરવાને મીલાવ કંથો કે કરણ કાઉન્ટ બરનકેટલું નવા મેમ પાણી એ મેવાઓ મારે હતું.

પાર્ટીદાર જનતાનું સાંકળીય માર્ગદર્શક

પાર્ટીદાર સમાજ

હર તા. ૩૦ મીના પ્રગટ થાય છે
રંગમાં "પાર્ટીદાર જનતા" ગારીક મુલવાજમ બાપુ દશે લેખાને વહવામ આ મારીકે મોકલવામાં આવશે. માર્કેટમાં સરમાને મળવાવવા કૃપા કરવી.

સામાજિક વાચન-સા. ખાસ પરવારમાં રીડીંગ ૧૫.

સુરેકસાંતી— પાર્ટીદાર સમાજ મારાપણ નીવાસ. કેટલું મેમોરીએસન સામે, મીમડા મોકલે, સુરેક.

પ્રકાશકની નોટીસ

અકાશકાર ૧૧ ૧૧મી અને અકાશકાર ૧૨ ૧૨મીના મિનિટમાં ઓરિ સિલ્લા તેમ આઈ પદાર મરિ મરે અકાશકાર ૧૩ ૧૩મી ના અકાશકારમાં આસ આઈ ૧૪કે મારે મરિ. ૧૫ પર્કેમ આઈ નવેરમા ૧૬ ૧૬મીના અકાર મરે.

નવા વર્ષની અલીનંદન પત્રીકાઓ

મહારમા ગાંધીજી, પંચીત નહેરુ, સરકાર પટેલ, રાજેન્દ્રભાણુ, અને શ્રી. રાજગોપાલાચારીની છળી અને સુવાકરો સાથે રંગબેરંગી પત્રીકાઓ, કીમન ડકનની રી. ક. મળવાનાં કેટલાં—
કરમન માં—વનજી કુરુસ, પ્રેસ્ટીક.
પરેક વેલ્ડેરીયન ડીરમ
ફાન્ટેસ્ટિક વીકેટરીયા રેટીક
નેહરુનાં સુભાગ—એસ. બી. મેડ, માસ્ટર વેલ્ડેરસ મેનરન.
આ આઈસિર્મ અમાનદરે પેની કે પેલેરેનની સાથે આકલલી
Manager
INDIAN OPINION,
PHOENIX, NATAL.

હીવાળીના તહેવાર માટે ખાસ પ્રકાશિત આવે

મામી રેટી સુમ. રી. ૧૨-૫
માનરોપારી અમર આચાર હાથમા મારે છે મારના વાજા ફે—પ્રામલ રી. ૧૦
ફેટી હાથની રંગબેરંગી બેન્ડની ૧૮૦ની કુટી-પાઈટ ૨, ૬ ફેટ, રી. ૨ ૩/૮
કુટીની રામલ રી. ૧૫-૫
કેટીકા રીસ કાવરુ મોરેલા ૧૫ તમા મુનો-રી. ૩-૫ માર
અમેરીકન ફૂલવાળી મોરેલા ૨૦ ૨૦ રીસ મનો-રી. ૫-૬ ફૂલ માર
રીસકર પેરેટ વામવા-રી. ૧૨ની કમન
" " અમરી-રી. ૧૫ની કમન.
મોરેલી—કુટી. ૧૮. ૧૬ નંબની.
સમિત અકાશકાર મુજબની તમા હાંડી સામે (સામાજિક અર્થે) રી. ૫ ૪
સરકારની મુલતી ૬ રીસ હાંડી રી. ૨-૨
રમજના હાંડી, અકાશી, બાલક, મુલતી, પિરેરે જાનલતમો રમકડા રી. ૩ ફૂલ કમન.
આકાશકારી મુલતી ૧૮. રી. ૧/૨-૨ નંબની.
અનકર રીમીત કમાલ. કમનનું આકાશ રી. ૧૨
લેટીક કુટીરકામાં કમાલ. " " રી. ૧
આકાશકાર અમારે રાંધી કમવા વાસુલું, બલ બાવલ રમકડા, રેટી મુજબના વાકામાં રમકડા, પ્રકાશક ૨૬૫. આઈસર પેટ્રોલિકસ, રાજેસાઈટ. આકાશકારમા, ફૂલ, પાર્ટીકા, વીડેરે મળશે.

C. (1) 1. આઈસર રિવકારીકા.

ગાંધી બ્રધર્સ ૮૩ વીક્ટોરીયા સ્ટ્રીટ,—કરમન. ફોન-૨૦૧૦૩—૨૦૬૧૪.

| વિવિધ વિશાળના પ્રસ્તુતો | પ્રમાણ મોરેલ | સા. ૨-૨ | ૬ ૬ |
|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-----|
| કામકામી | ૭ ૧ | મરકાંડી (મુમરેટ) | ૪ ૦ |
| વિરોધનાની વાતો | ૮ ૨ | વાલ મારકી (મુમરેટ) | ૫ ૦ |
| કામકામી (નીળ) | ૩ ૧ | કાઈક વર મુજબ | ૫ ૨ |
| કામકામી | ૫ ૧ | વંચાળીના પત્રો | ૧ ૧ |
| કામકામી (મુમરેટ) | ૧ ૧ | મિમ મુજબ | ૧ ૦ |
| નીચીવંધા મોરેલ | ૫ ૦ | વાળામ (ગાંધી મુજબ મોરેલ) | ૬ ૦ |
| ખાસ વર્ષ પાળ મોરેલ | ૭ ૧ | Moore ROOPANAND BROS. | |
| | | 85 Victoria Street, Durban | |

| અકાશકાર પંચાંગ | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| વાર | પાસા | દોડ | સુસવાન | પાસા | સુસવા |
| | ૧૯૪૮ | ૨૦૦૪ | ૧૩૬૭ | ૧૩૧૮ | સુસવા |
| | અકાશકાર | આસો | ગીલકાર | રોડે. | ક. મા. |
| | | | | ૩૬મી | ક. મા. |
| સુક | ૧૫ | સુક ૧૩ | ૧૧ | ૧૫ | ૫-૨૦ |
| સની | ૧૫ | ૧૫ ૧૫ | ૧૨ | ૧૬ | ૫-૧૬ |
| રૂપી | ૧૦ | ૧૫ ૧૫ | ૧૩ | ૧૦ | ૫-૧૮ |
| મોમ | ૧૮ | ૧૫ ૧૫ | ૧૪ | ૧૮ | ૫-૧૦ |
| મંચમ | ૧૮ | ૧૮ ૧ | ૧૫ | ૧૬ | ૫-૧૬ |
| મુખ | ૨૦ | ૧૫ ૨ | ૧૬ | ૨૦ | ૫-૧૫ |
| મી | ૨૧ | ૧૫ ૨ | ૧૭ | ૨૧ | ૫-૧૪ |

—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

સર્વે પ્રસંગો માટે ઉત્તમ વસ્ત્રાલંકાર ખરીદવાનું
જનતાનું માન્યતા મહત્ત્વ.

જોશ રંગની જાડત બરેલી સાડીઓ સુદર જાડત
સીક ની જાડત બરેલી સાડીઓ નવીન ડિઝાઇન
જરી જાડત જોરજોડની સાડીઓ બહારસો આવ
જરી જાડત જોરજોડની સાડીઓ વધુ જાડત
બનાવસ સાડીઓ, અસલ માલ

પા. રી. રૂ.
૫ ૧૦ ૦
૫ ૫ ૦
૧૨ ૧૦ ૦
૧૩ ૧૦ ૦
૮ ૧૦ ૦

જાપેઠ બે જાડત સીક, સાડી પનો
જાપેઠ ૫ નજલ, આરકનીકેટ, સાડી પનો
જાપેઠ ૨ જાડત ૩૫૫, સાડી પનો
રંગીન ૪ જાડત જાડી માલ, સાડી પનો
જાપેઠ બે રંગેટ, સુદર ડિઝાઇન, સાડી પનો

૫૧૨ ૦ ૮ ૧૧
૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૬
૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧
૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧
૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧

૩૫૫ તથા સોનેરી જાડીના પનો, માતાકારી અંગ, ફલ વીંગર મળશે.

સુરેલીન જાડત માલ જાડત જાડત રંગે

જો જાડત અને જાડત જોરજોડના અને જાડત સોનેરી જાડત જાડત જાડત જાડત
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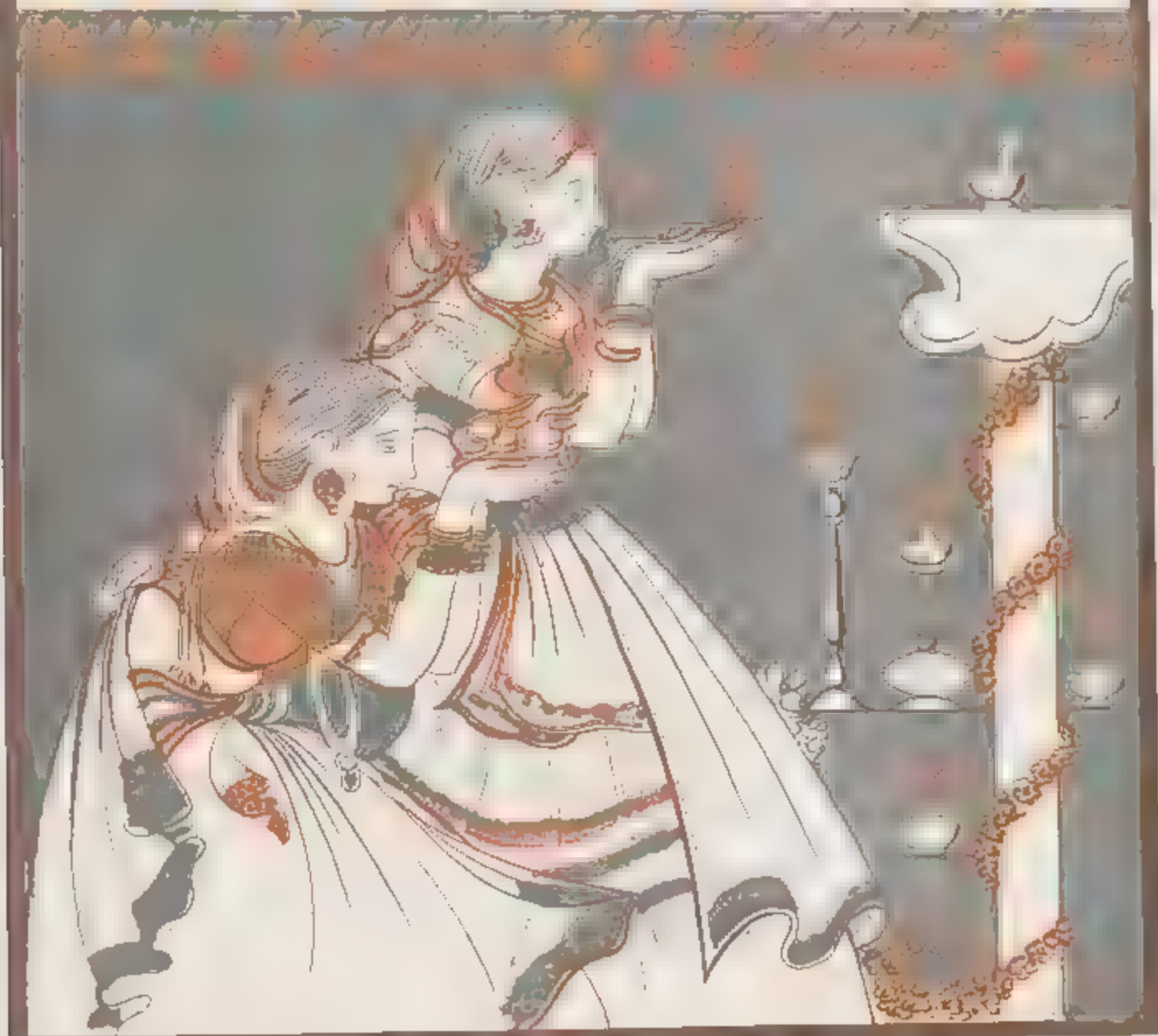
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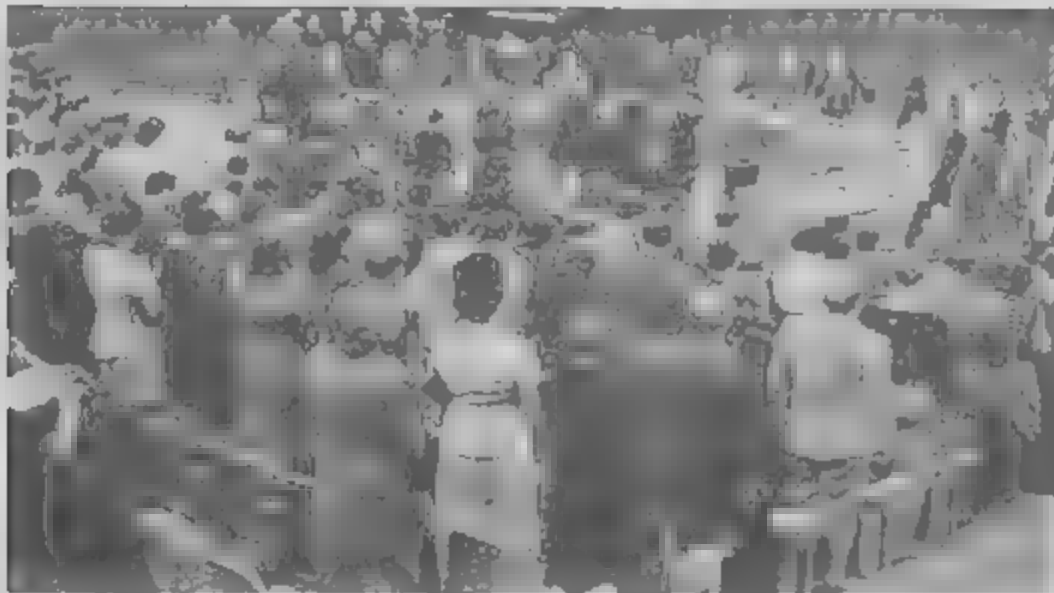


[The following message was sent to Miss Sita Gadhvi, grand daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, on the New Year - 1947. She has great pleasure in sharing it with the readers of 'Indian Opinion'.]

* नीचिना नरु सपता आगिवां: पूरुप पापुळुळि मेमनी पीतां सीता मीथिपदे मग वपं मोक्षमये
दत्ता. ४ अं. ना. वामदेहिने ते लगी नजे फाडे उदे छं.)

$\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{2} m v^2 \right) = \frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{1}{2} m \dot{x}^2 + \frac{1}{2} m \dot{y}^2 + \frac{1}{2} m \dot{z}^2 \right)$

What could be called a New Year when changes are taking place every moment? If we can stand firm amidst these changes why need we bother about the New Year? Nevertheless you have a happy blessing.



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.....



Gandhiji With Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan.

Mahatma Gandhi with the leader of the North-West Frontier Province, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, who is at present a prisoner of the Pakistan Government and is reported to be persecuted by that Government.

ગાંધીજી અને ખાન અબ્દુલ ગફાર ખાન

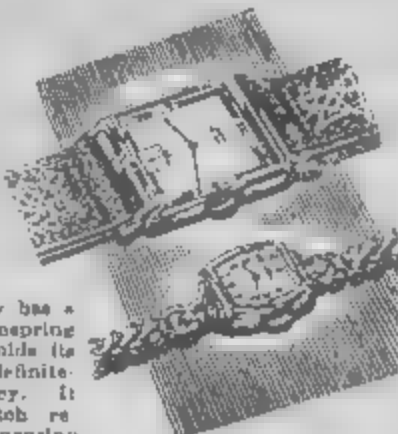
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FRIDAY, 29TH OCTOBER, 1948

Diwali And The New Year

YET another Diwali has come and with it the ending of another year. It is an occasion of joy because it marks the triumph of good over evil and the establishment of peace and happiness. It is celebrated as a matter of custom, the spirit behind it being the "renewal" which existed over two thousand years ago and which exists to-day. In the past the evils that beset mankind were not themselves and to get rid of them men were bound to do it by force. But now, through the world, almost every man and woman, however a consolation that people do think of the Creation even though it be just once a year and only during the Festival Season, though forgetting that altogether the rest of the time. It is a healthy sign that they will have time just during that period to turn their eyes toward the past and to count their profits and losses and to feel life afresh with new and good resolutions. If the seed is still there, there is hope of a germinating one day.

India

When we look back on the year that is going down to end we find that it has been full of unbounded joy and sorrow, full of hope

and disappointment. The joy in every Indian heart was of the attainment of India's independence which was the fruit of the sweat, blood and tears of millions of men, both young and old. Every Indian in India today is looking up with his head raised that he has thrown off his long centuries of shackles and bound him and is able to enjoy the status of free and independent people and no longer they have that he was of a mighty Empire. It is a great achievement for which he has reason to be proud and thankful to the Almighty without whose grace it would never have been possible.

There is at the same time unbounded grief in the heart of every Indian for the Light that guided them that infused vigour, courage, fearlessness into them that brought out the true manhood and womanhood which lay dormant within them which alone enabled them to reach the end they had aspired for two hundred years and which has amazed the world for its power and leaving them groping in the dark for the correct path. That Light was Mahatma Gandhi whose presence is missed sorely by India and every Indian, but by the world. India at least is never recognised

from that terrible blow which, as Providence would have it, followed almost immediately after the joy of the attainment of freedom.

It is a matter of great satisfaction however that India has been able to bear the shock with courage and fortitude and that her leaders have carried on the great task before them with unqualified wisdom and ability, overcoming all the obstacles placed in their way by evil elements. We take it as a sure sign that though Gandhi was not physically present in spirit he was there all the time watching over them and guiding them. India has achieved a milestone in history, to be admired of the world as she has made during the last year of her independence. Britain had left her in fragments and the millions of martyrs who have been able to achieve it that vast population within one year is not a little amazing. To reconcile the Indian States was at one time considered almost an impossibility. But with the exception of Kashmir and Hyderabad all the States are now working together peacefully as part of India and even in the two States mentioned the evil forces have been almost subdued and there is every reason that there will be a living peace there in the very near future.

The progress made in the advancement of education, industry, prohibition and in eradicating the many social evils which were at one time rampant and in

creased under the past Government is more than any other country, situated in similar circumstances, could ever have done. In short India is on the upward march and let it not be proud but thank God in all humility and pray that He may guide her to the right path so that she may be able to play her rightful part worthily in the new world to be born.

Europe

Turning our eyes toward Europe the position there seems to be far from hopeful. The last two wars have destroyed everything that was good. It is with profound regret that we have to suggest that Europe is on the downward path. Politically, socially, morally and spiritually she seems to be on the wane. Notwithstanding her glorious past she will soon be reduced to the status of the Roman Empire unless by some miracle she changes her present course. From one of world leaders and Europe's and she now be come one of self-preservation. It is not a bad thing in itself but it cannot be achieved by destroying or seeking to destroy others.

Though high sounding principles were shouted in Europe's courts and during the first and the second war the real aim was self-preservation and survival. Then we saw the Nazis were destroyed but not Nazism. The hopes of Nazism were put forward then to tempt the world. The hopes of Nazism were not forward now. **CH**

Communists will be destroyed but not Communism. The Communists are putting forward the hopes of Fascism and Imperialism and charging the Fascists and the Imperialists of war-mongering and vice versa. Where is this game going to end? The hands of all seem to be polluted. The result can only be self-destruction and that is the direction in which Europe is going. Nothing can save her from that calamity but humble prayer for wise guidance and an honest and sincere effort to submit to the Supreme Power in whose hands the destiny of the universe lies. This applies to respect to the intricate problems that have arisen as a result of greed of wealth and power.

South Africa

And now coming nearer home to South Africa the position as far as the non-Europeans are concerned is becoming very serious. Their future is in the balance. The champions of the so-called white civilisation see in the non-Europeans a potential danger. They honestly believe that the white man is here to rule and the black man to perpetually remain under the white man. It is an entirely wrong notion. No body in this world is born to rule anybody. All are alike under the one and only Law of the Supreme Being. Those who think and act otherwise are living in a fool's paradise. This should sink deep into everybody, whether he be black or white, high or low. The present Government has become power-mad. There is room in this country for all to live peacefully and happily. There was a time when yabre was inclined to non-power. God has supplied us with the power but our greed shows that all

we to utilise it in the proper manner. The greedy living under the false assumption that they can have all the colours to themselves and live happily want to get rid of the power. That is what has brought about the present state of affairs. And vast millions of dumb humanity are suffering under the heels of the haughty oppressor.

We Indians belong to the oppressed people in this country. But we are intellectually and morally better situated than the others and have a great responsibility on our shoulders. It is, therefore, incumbent on us not to act in an irresponsible manner. We are directly under the fire and our every action must be worthy of emulation by our fellow oppressed people to their advantage and not to their detriment. We are in a stiff fight to put up against our rulers who have given us ample provocation to go on a direct action. Direct action means challenging the unjust and offensive laws and quietly submitting to the consequences of disobeying such laws. But we should not act blindly expecting the help will come to us from outside. We should rely on our own strength with both in the wisdom of our hearts and in God. Our satisfaction should be in the highest and proper performance of our duty irrespective of whether we are able to enjoy the fruits thereof.

Needed A Heart-Search

But before we challenge the Government it is essential that we did a little bit of deep heart-searching ourselves. We are a small community in South Africa. We are better off economically than many of our brethren in India. Are we as a self-respecting and con-

scientified community doing our duty to ourselves? Or are we so engrossed in materialism that we are allowing things to happen?

If the Government will neglect us in the matter of housing, education, health and other necessities, have we done our duty to our people with the resources that we have? Or is each one of us living for himself and concerned about the other? Can we not as a community do more for our education than to rely on the few Missionary schools and few grudgingly supplied Government schools with humiliating conditions? We have only charitable Trusts and liberal donations given by philanthropic individuals. Are we doing proper use of these for the general upliftment of our own people? With the same amount of money that we have we can still produce we can have our own decent primary schools for our children which would save the money that we are asked to have to live on the charity of Mission hospitals, or rely on Government hospitals which have no value in the eyes of the Indian community and the European. Are we trying to be true to our own cultural heritage and to truly represent India? Are we trying to imbibe the culture of the West to our own lives and civilization? Or are we trying to live the lives of the West by frequenting the bars, and picture houses, night clubs and dancing halls which have become popular schools of vice and immorality which we should be searching new ways to get rid of. Daily paper. Do we know the difference between a practice and a principle? Or do we believe that there is no such thing as religion or sentiment or business?

If we truly revere Mahatma Gandhi, as indeed we claim to do, then we should at least try to put our principles into things and not merely pay lip service to them. We claim to have received the wisdom of Satya, but we are not adhering to the principle of truth in our country. We are not emphasizing on Satya. Truth, in our word and deed. Are we trying to be true Satyagrahis by "giving our lives on Truth"? Or are we in fact, actually betraying him and trying merely to exploit his name for our own ends?

We who owe so much to Mahatma Gandhi for our liberation in South Africa, if we wish to be true to him, let us try honestly to follow in his footsteps. Then only shall we be able to win the freedom of the Europeans in South Africa. Then only shall we be true Satyagrahis. Then only will our Satyagraha shine and shall we achieve our desired goal.

We have not the slightest doubt that the salvation of the world and the way to real peace and happiness lies in following the way Mahatma Gandhi has directed us by his own life. May God grant we all human beings the wisdom, the courage and the strength to follow that path. With this humble prayer we wish one and all our readers a happy Diwali season and happiness in our coming New Year.

Fountain Of Wisdom

We are like a story line of a poem, which ever feels that it rhymes with another line and must find it or miss its own fulfilment. This quest of the unattained is the great impulse in man which brings forth all his best creations. Man seems deeply to be aware of a reputation in the end of his being, he cries for fulfilment, it is a longing and sometimes he knows that it is a love which can lead him to a love which is final. —Tagore

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KASTURBA GANDHI

In this Festive Season of Diwali we think of her and pray for strength and inspiration from her noble life of devotion to the service of mankind.

પુજ્ય કસ્તુરબા ગાંધી

દીવાળીના આ પવિત્ર પ્રસંગે અમે તેમના સ્મરણ કરીએ છીએ અને તેમના આદર્શ માનવસેવાપરાયણ
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A group of public workers in the days when Mahatma Gandhi was in South Africa. Fifth in the top row from the left is Mr. H. S. L. Polak, one of Gandhiji's lieutenants, with the late Thambi Naidoo on his left. Seated in the centre is Mrs. H. S. L. Polak, who was also an active co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi and author of "Gandhi The Man."



PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

We offer our felicitations to him in this Festive Season and pray that he may be long spared and bestowed with strength and wisdom to guide the destiny of India as aspired by Mahatma Gandhi and thus enable that great country to make its contribution worthily to the cause of peace and happiness of the world.

★

હોદ્દના વડા મધ્યન
પંડીત જવાહરલાલ નેહરુ

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GANDHI'S body was borne to the pyre on a *warpotia* carrier. There were tanks and armoured cars in the funeral procession, and detachments of soldiers and police. Circling overhead were fighter planes of the Indian Air Force. All these instruments of violent coercion were paraded in honour of the apostle of non-violence and soul-force. It was inevitable irony; for, by definition, a nation is a sovereign community possessing the means to make war on other sovereign communities. Consequently a national tribute to any individual even if that individual be a Gandhi must always and necessarily take the form of a display of military and coercive might.

What Kind Of Home Rule

Nearly forty years ago, in his *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi asked his compatriots what they meant by such phrases as 'self government' and 'Home Rule'. Did they merely want a social organisation of the kind then prevailing, but in the hands, not of English, but of Indian politicians and administrators? If so, that wish was merely to get rid of the tiger, while carefully preserving for themselves its tigerish nature. Or were they prepared to mean by *swaraj* what Gandhi himself meant by it—the realization of the highest potentialities of Indian civilisation by persons who have learnt to govern themselves individually and to undertake collective action in the spirit and by the methods of *satyagraha*?

In a world organised for war it was hard, it was all but impossible for India to choose any other course than that of becoming a nation like other nations. The men and women who had led the non-violent struggle against the foreign oppressor suddenly found themselves in control of a sovereign state equipped with the instruments of violent coercion. The ex-prisoners and ex-pacifists were transformed overnight, whether they liked it or not, into *ajobers* and generals.

Little Ground For Optimism

The historical precedents offer little ground for optimism. When the Spanish colonies achieved their liberty as independent nations, what happened? Their new rulers raised armies and went to war with one another. In Europe Mazzini preached a nationalism that was idealistic and humanitarian. But when the victims of oppression won their freedom, they soon became aggressors and imperators on their own account. It could scarcely have been other way. For the frame of reference in which each one's life

ing determines the nature of the conclusions, theoretical and practical, at which one arrives. Starting from Euclidean postulates one cannot fail to reach the conclusion that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. And starting from nationalistic postulates one cannot fail to arrive at armaments, war and an increasing centralisation of political and economic power.

Basic Patterns

Basic patterns of thought and feeling cannot be quickly changed. It will probably be a long time before the nationalistic frame of reference is replaced by a set of terms, in which men can do their point of thinking non-nationalistically. But mechanical technology advances with undiminished rapidity. It would normally take two generations, perhaps two centuries, to overcome the mental inertia created by the ingrained habit of thinking nationalistically. Thanks to the application of scientific discoveries to the arts of war, we have only about two years in which to perform this herculean task. That it actually will be accomplished in so short a time seems, to say the least, exceedingly improbable.

Hopes Not Realised

Gandhi found himself involved in a struggle for national independence; but he always hoped to be able to transform it, first, by the substitution of *satyagraha* for violence and, second, by the application to social and economic life of the principles of decentralisation. Up to the present his hopes have not been realised. The new nation resembles other nations inasmuch as it is equipped with the instruments of violent coercion. Moreover the plans for its economic development aim at the creation of a highly industrialised state, complete with great factories under capitalistic or governmental control, increasing centralisation of power, a rising standard of living and also no doubt (as in all other highly industrialised states) a rising incidence of neuritis and incapacitating psycho-somatic disorders. Gandhi succeeded in ridding his country of the alien tiger; but he failed in his attempt to modify the essentially tigerish nature of nationalism as such. Must we therefore despair? I think not. The pressure of facts is painful and, we may hope, finally irresistible. Sooner or later it will be realised that this dreamer had his feet firmly planted on the ground, that this idealist was the most practical of men. For Gandhi's

A NOTE ON GANDHI

BY ALDOUS HUXLEY IN 'PRABUDDHA BHARATA'

social and economic ideas are based upon a realistic appraisal of man's nature and the nature of his position in the universe. He knew, on the one hand, that the cumulative triumphs of advancing organisation and progressive technology cannot alter the basic fact that man is an animal of no great size and in most cases, of very modest abilities. And, on the other hand, he knew that these physical and intellectual limitations are compatible with a practically infinite capacity for spiritual progress. The mistake of most of Gandhi's contemporaries was to suppose that technology and organisation could turn the petty human animal into a super-human being and could provide a substitute for the infinitudes of a spiritual realisation, whose very existence it had become orthodox to deny.

Most Appropriate

For this amphibious being on the borderline between the animal and the spiritual, what sort of social, political and economic arrangements are the most appropriate? To this question Gandhi gave a simple and eminently sensible answer. Men he said should do their actual living and working in communities of a size commensurate with their bodily and mental nature, communities small enough to permit of genuine self-government and the assumption of personal responsibilities, federated into larger units in such a way that the temptation to abuse great power should not arise. The larger a democracy grows, the less real becomes the rule of the people and the smaller is the say of individuals and localised groups in deciding their own destinies. Moreover love and affection are essentially personal relationships. Consequently it is only in small groups that Charity, in the Pauline sense of the word, can manifest itself. Needless to say, the smallness of the group in no way guarantees the emergence of Charity between its members; but it does at least create the possibility of Charity. In a large, undifferentiated group the possibility does not even exist, for the simple reason that most of its members cannot, by the nature of things, have personal relations with one another. If that lovely not-knoweth not God; for God is love. Charity is at once the means and the end of spirituality. A social organisation so conceived that, over a large field of human activity, it makes the maintenance of charity impossible, is absolutely a bad organisation.

Decentralisation

Decentralisation in economic matters hand in hand with decentralisation in politics. Individual families and small co-operative groups should own the land and instruments necessary for their own subsistence and for supplying a local market. Among these necessary instruments of production Gandhi wished to include only hand tools. Other decentralists—and I for one would agree with them—can see no objection to power-driven machinery provided it be on a scale commensurate with individuals and small co-operative groups. In making of these power-driven machines would, of course require to be carried in large, highly specialised factories. To provide individuals and small groups with the mechanical means of creating abundance, perhaps one third of all production would have to be carried out in such factories. This does not seem too high a price to pay for combining decentralisation with mechanical efficiency.

Enemy Of Liberty

Too much mechanical efficiency is the enemy of liberty, because it leads to regimentation and the loss of spontaneity. Too high efficiency is also the enemy of liberty because it results in chronic poverty and anarchy. Between the two extremes there is a happy mean, a point at which we can enjoy the most important advantages of modern technology at a social and psychological price which is not excessive.

It is interesting to recall that, if the great apostle of Western democracy had had his way, America would now be a federation, not merely of forty-eight States, but of many thousands of self-governing wards. To the end of a long life Jefferson tried to persuade his compatriots to decentralise their government to the town. A. Cato concluded every speech with the words, *Carthago delenda est*, so do I every opinion with the injunction, "Divide the country into wards." His aim, in the words of Professor John Dewey, "was to make the wards 'little republics, with a warden at the head of each, for all those concerns which being under their eye, they could better manage than the larger republics of the county or State.'" In short there were to exercise directly, with respect to their own affairs, all the functions of government: civil and military. In addition, when any important wider matter came up for decision, all wards would call men meeting on the ground so that the collective sense of the whole people would be produced. The plan was not adopted. But it was an essential

Eventful First Year Of India's Independence

A Chronology—August 15th, 1947–1948

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- progressive de-control of indigenous
Bharosa and Ceylon Independence Bills receive King's
assent.
- 12 The first session of the Constituent Assembly opens.
 - 14 In an address to the annual meeting of the All India Chamber of Commerce and Industries at Calcutta, Mr. Nehru states that the state control of key industries is inevitable.
 - 15 Addressing the Industries Conference, Mr. S. P. Mukherjee, Minister for Industries and Supply, stressed the urgent need for moving production and employment between capital and labour.
 - 16 Orissa and Chhattisgarh leaders sign merger agreement.
 - 18 Three year truce between labour and capital recommended by the Industries Conference.
 - 22 Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister, announces Government plan of total Indianisation of the Army by April 1, 1948.
 - 23 His Excellency Rajaji Shri Mahabadi Singh appointed Governor of Bombay.
 - 27 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his presidential address to the Constituent Assembly calls for Indianisation of the Indian Civil Service and other government organisations and urges the Indian people to co-operate with the Government.
 - 28 The Indian Union, in its first session, at New Delhi, discusses the future of India and the role of the Government of India.
 - 31 Mr. J. B. K. Das, Minister for Industries, Government of India.

JAN 1948

- 2 Pandit Nehru at a Press Conference in New Delhi urges upon the U.N.C. to speed up work done on the Kashmir issue and requests Mr. Zaidi to lead charges of genocide against India.
- 3 The Government of India's new demand for Kashmir requesting the Security Council to end up the P.O. to cease giving assistance to the Kashmiri rebels submitted to the U.N. Security Council.
- 4 Birth of Independent India.
- 5 A British delegation, headed by Sir Jeremy Bentham, arrives at New Delhi to negotiate a new settlement of the Kashmir issue.
- 13 Mahatma Gandhi begins his fast to bring about communal harmony in Delhi.
- 15 Jawaharlal Nehru visits the United States and Canada.
- 16 The Government of India announces that it will not take any action against the United States and Canada for their refusal to accept the Indian proposal for a ceasefire in Kashmir.
- 17 The United Nations Security Council decides to refer the Kashmir dispute to the International Commission for India and Pakistan.
- 23 Nehru visits the United States and Canada.
- 24 Nehru visits the United States and Canada.
- 26 Nehru visits the United States and Canada.
- 28 Nehru visits the United States and Canada.
- 30 Nehru visits the United States and Canada.
- 31 Nehru visits the United States and Canada.

FEB. 1948

- 1 The Government of India decides to ban all foreign organisations and private firms.
- 2 RSS declared unlawful.
- 3 RSS declared unlawful.
- 4 RSS declared unlawful.
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- 31 RSS declared unlawful.

unemployment industry for over 100 years. India's 100 years of progress in the industrial field.

- 21 AICC meets in New Delhi.
- 22 The All India Congress Committee decides to call for a general strike in support of the demand for a Constituent Assembly.
- 23 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 24 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 25 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 26 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 27 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 28 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 29 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 30 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.
- 31 The Constituent Assembly meets in New Delhi.

MARCH, 1948

- 1 Prime Minister presents White Paper on Kashmir in the Dominion Parliament.
- 2 The Maharaja of Kashmir announces his accession to India.
- 3 The Maharaja of Kashmir announces his accession to India.
- 4 The Maharaja of Kashmir announces his accession to India.
- 5 The Maharaja of Kashmir announces his accession to India.
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- 29 The Maharaja of Kashmir announces his accession to India.
- 30 The Maharaja of Kashmir announces his accession to India.
- 31 The Maharaja of Kashmir announces his accession to India.

APRIL 1948

- 1 The Dominion Parliament passes the Workmen's Compensation Bill.
- 2 The Government of India accepts a non-aligned resolution for eliminating communists from the public life of India.
- 3 The Government of India accepts a non-aligned resolution for eliminating communists from the public life of India.
- 4 The Government of India accepts a non-aligned resolution for eliminating communists from the public life of India.
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- 31 The Government of India accepts a non-aligned resolution for eliminating communists from the public life of India.

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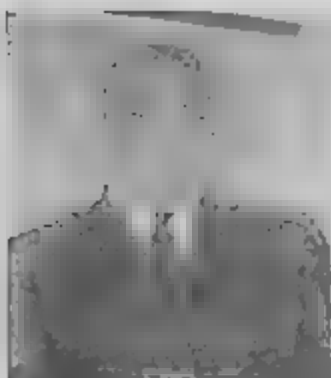
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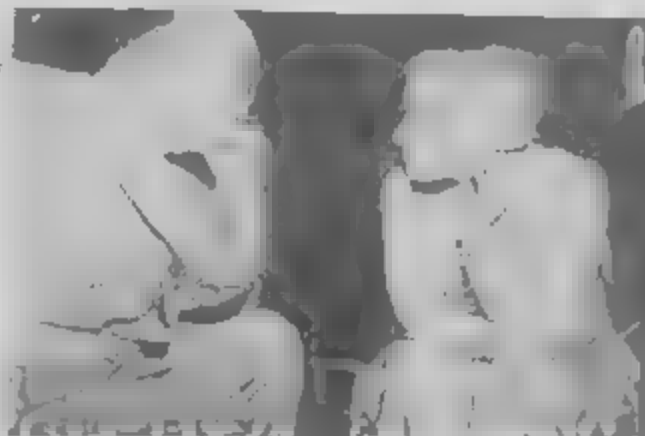
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The late Jan Masaryk and Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit
in the delegates lounge before a meeting of the
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Photo: United Nations





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DIWALI AND NEW YEAR GREETINGS

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On the 11th September 1906, Empire Theatre, which was on the corner of Commissioner and Farners Street, was packed with Indians. Delegates from Indian communities all over Transvaal had come to attend the fateful meeting. Among them were merchants, hawkers, shop-assists, and labourers. Besides these there were shop owners, lawyers, and doctors. There were also women. Various political leaders of Indians in the Transvaal were represented. Prices of property were also present and were sitting in the front row.

Sitting on the platform and addressed by the leaders and workers of the Indian community, Mahatma Gandhi "read in every face the expression of something to be done or to happen."

Nobody was just a what it was all about so that the Transvaal Congress was out to annul the laws and then they also meet the people and they like men.

Someone was saying "If I am asked to give my finger, please, I will produce my registration certificate. I will show the man and then end my own life." Another man was whispering "The best thing for all of us is to pack and go home as usual, and leave this God-forsaken country, to those who would have it. Where will they get cheap labour? How will they fill in the gap in their commercial life created by our departure?" Still another man was pleading, "We should send a deputation to India, and another to England." An impatient man was shouting, "We should get hold of whatever weapon we can find, and fight like men."

Awakening

Gandhi was considered such views, which formed the background of the fierce speeches being delivered from the platform. The tension rose as the speeches progressed. Every one of them was eager to do something; to show his muscle somehow; but nobody knew just what to do or how to do it. The known weapons of violence were not for them; they sub-consciously feared the use of them, knowing their opponent was far more skilled in handling them. Like the Legions of Right in the old epic *Mahabharat* they were merely praying to God to send the sky and throw down to his people a new weapon which would stupify their antagonist. Gandhi rose. There was no more whispering. They were linked, choking with expectation, as they looked upon the young barrister, who was championing their cause.

Without realising what he was doing, Gandhi announced "I for one, would refuse to obey the Black Ordinances and take the

consequence. I go to jail, if need be or die. The atmosphere was charged.

People were on their feet feeling for the first time that there was something that they could do. The chairman of the meeting, who was a Moslem, suggested that each person present should take the same oath in the presence of God. That brought home to Gandhi a sense of what he had done, a sense of immense responsibility. It slowly dawned on him that this resolution, notwithstanding all the others that had been passed previously, was not aimed at any effect upon the people outside the meeting hall. This was meant to steel their own souls, to instil the idea that the battle lay within them, even if Gandhi did not now in full sympathy with them could others have done so.

The Pledge

He began to explain "every one must search his own heart, and if the inner voice avails him that he has the requisite strength to carry him through, then only should he pledge himself and then only would his pledge bear fruit. We might have to go to jail, where we might be insulted. We might have to go hungry and suffer. We might have to work hard labour, might be imposed upon us. We might be flogged by rude workers. We might be fined heavily and our property might be seized and held up to auction if there are a few retailers left. To-day, we might be reduced to three pence a month. We might be deported. Suffering from starvation and similar hardships in jail some of us might fall ill and even die."

Each person present took the oath to resist unto death the Black Ordinances. But they were to resist not by inflicting suffering on their enemy, but by suffering on themselves, as a price for their disobedience, and not evil, and like the consequence, was the central theme. Gandhi and a few others knew that a new weapon was born. It put power as it were in reverse. Power is created somewhere in between the one who imposes his will and the other who accepts it. By refusing to submit to the tyrant's will, his power is destroyed. It was a sort of *Jai-Hau* factor, wherein you embalance the charging opponent by getting on of his way.

After the meeting was over some people went out to secure the signatures from those who had not been present at the meeting when Gandhi spoke. Most of the Indians including women

and children were pledged to offer resistance as suggested by Gandhi. And as the movement progressed Gandhi was anxious to find out the name for his new weapon and to formulate its theory and practice. Gandhi had many friends among the white people. Lighthouse souls are ready to go against the majority of their own kind when they feel that justice is at stake. One of these was Mr. W. Hoskin, a rich man of Johannesburg. While introducing Gandhi to a gathering of sympathetic Europeans, he described the movement in the following terms:

"The Transvaal Indians have had recourse to passive resistance when all other means of securing redress proved to be at no avail. They do not enjoy franchise. Numerically, they are only a few. They are weak, and have no arm. Therefore they have taken to passive resistance which is a weapon of the weak."

Misunderstood

These well meant remarks shook Gandhi from his intellectual slumber. Was his struggle to be misunderstood because there was no better name for it than "Passive Resistance." The term was being used in connection with the great suffragist movement in England. The suffragist had no vote, and they were weak indeed, but they did not eschew the use of physical force. They set buildings on fire and assaulted people. But there was no place for this force in the Indian movement. Another English example of passive resistance was that of the non-conformists who under the leadership of Dr. Clifford, passively resisted the Education Act. They were indeed weak in numbers but Mother India had millions of sons. Gandhi rejected the concept of "Passive Resistance."

His weapon had roots in his Indian heritage. The ancient Vedas had a philosophy of suffering that brought divine as well as worldly result. Suffering, self-imposed and undergone in the spirit of grace, was an instrument of self-purification, and self-purification led to victory on a higher plane or even the highest. Most of our wrongs arise not only out of the oppressor but also from the oppressed. The tyrant has the power to impose only that which the victim lacks—the strength to resist. To discard our own weakness and wickedness is, therefore, half the battle, and that is the way of suffering and self-purification. It is impossible, however, to achieve this without training

the innate goodness of human nature, the unity of mankind, and the all embracing power of Love.

Gandhi's idea of suffering had a firm foundation, at the Western world too. The motive of suffering is central to Christianity. The Cross still moves many. It is an emotion that remains untouched by argument and by reasoning. It was a triumph over the Roman Empire, not through persuasion nor through power, but through suffering and martyrdom. It is no wonder, then, that Gandhi should go back again and, as he does to the Bhagavad Gita to the story on the Mount, and there is a touch of pathos or irony to remember that this weapon founded on forgiveness, was expounded in a Jewish Theatre in Johannesburg. Gandhi exhorted his countrymen, most of whom were Moslems, to discard the Semitic doctrine of "an eye for an eye" with for a tooth. Some of Gandhi's Western friends wondered whether what he taught was in conformity with the dignity of the individual. When the individual is assaulted, they argued, the final recourse he has to protect his dignity is to hit back. By failing to do so he proves to be unworthy of himself.

But Gandhi answered that it required greater courage to remain mentally and spiritually unshaken under the pressure of blows. To refuse to strike back and at the same time, to refuse to submit is the right of dignity.

Violence Preferable To Cowardice

To feel that the bully deprives one of one's dignity by physical abuse is to admit that one esteems one's dignity to an outsider. Fundamental human dignity is part of one's character, and character cannot be changed by mere physical pressure. His weapon therefore was not for the cowards and weaklings, claimed Gandhi. Were it a choice between cowardice and violence, he would prefer violence. More courageous than violence, argued Gandhi, was non-violence.

The movement progressed in this way. Gandhi put upon himself the name his weapon was to be "Satyagraha." "Satya" means Truth in Sanskrit and "Aha" means Love, while "Agraha" means firmness which engenders force. They combine to say, "The force which is born of truth and love or non-violence." He also described it as "moral force" for those who found it difficult to pronounce the Sanskrit compound.

Borrowing the phrase of Henry David Thoreau, of Walden, the New England recluse, who fought against slavery by refusing to pay taxes to the Government which practised slavery, Gandhi called the particular stratagem of Satyagraha, which he was employing against the South African Gov-

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AFTER attaining Independence

India has adopted *Jana-gana-mana* as her national anthem. Previous to that *Vande Mataram* was usually sung on all National occasions. "Owing to its difficult tune . . . it has been decided by the Government of India that while *Vande Mataram* should continue to be the national song par excellence in India, the National Anthem now should be that of *Jana-Gana-Mana*. The wording of *Jana-Gana-Mana* is to be suitably altered to fit in with the existing circumstances." This is what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said on August 26 to the Indian Parliament. The wording has not, to our knowledge, been changed yet.

Indians, particularly in Africa, are lacking, we fully believe, knowledge of our own

music. What we produce, there fore gives an altogether erroneous impression of our music to other sections of the people, which we should try to avoid. The only way to do so is not to sing, especially in public, unless we are absolutely sure of the tune as well as the wording, and to try to learn the correct tune and the correct wording from recording of approved Indian musicians and render them in public only after having mastered them.

If we might digress a little, we seem to be criminally neglectful in many things but we will point out here only two. One about our music and the other about pictures. The pictures of our national and religious heroes. For instance when you see picture of Jesus Christ you are liable everywhere. There

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

not the slightest difference in the features. But you do not see the same thing about Ram, Krishna or even of our national leaders, or even of Mahatma Gandhi. Some pictures we see in the market have hardly any likeness of the persons they are supposed to represent. Within a few years time quite possibly the true picture will be lost and the future generation will have a completely wrong conception of what Gandhi or Nehru looked like.

Dramatic action by the Government of India alone is not an adequate remedy. It is necessary wherever there is a picture of a national hero or religious figure, the picture should be carefully selected and the preserving & selling of such pictures should be made a punishable offence.

To revert to the question of the national anthem, we will find "God Save The King" sung in one and the same tune everywhere. But *Jana-Gana-Mana* our national anthem is not sung in the proper manner. We are very careless about the wording as well as the tune. This is a very painful matter. The Government on several occasions and we have been taken to task for not doing so. It is time to put a stop to it. It is the reason that we have referred to this matter here and for the benefit of the public have reproduced from an Indian paper a notation both in English and Hindi of the tune of the national anthem. It is to be hoped that our people in South Africa will sing the national anthem faultlessly.

INDIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM



Jai Jagadgururama adbhutamaya jaya he
Bharata bhagya wellhata,
Punjab-Sindha Gujerata Maratha
Dravida Utkala Banga,
Buddha Himachala Vamuna . . .

Banga

Uchhata Jadhata mangla
Tava durbha manir gaur, maha dha
Ida uchhata mangla
Gauri . . . jaya gauri
Janaganai mangala dya . . . jaya he
Bharata bhagya wellhata,
Jaya he! Jaya he! Jaya he!
Jaya Jaya Jaya Jaya he!

Aharata tava shivam prachurita
Sua tava abara vama
Hindu Buddha Sikha Jain
Parvata Mahadevina Christina
Purvata prachurita ara
Tava adbhutamaya mangla
Janaganai mangala dya . . . jaya he
Bharata bhagya wellhata,
Jaya he! Jaya he! Jaya he!
Jaya Jaya Jaya Jaya he!

Pattana Jhannava bandhara parat
Vijaya Vajra dharmava vama
Tava Christanada tava mangla
Jaya mangla parat dya . . . jaya he

Divani upama mangla
Tava Shukhachala sam dya
Sankata dukhacharata
Janaganai patra parat dya . . . jaya he

Bharata bhagya
Jaya he! Jaya he! Jaya he!
Jaya Jaya Jaya . . . jaya he

Gauri tava gauri mangla
Purvata mangachala dya
Janaganai mangala dya . . . jaya he
Bharata bhagya wellhata,
Jaya he! Jaya he! Jaya he!
Jaya Jaya Jaya Jaya he!

Karti prachurita adbhutamaya mangla
Purvata mangachala dya
Janaganai mangala dya . . . jaya he
Bharata bhagya wellhata,
Jaya he! Jaya he! Jaya he!
Jaya Jaya Jaya Jaya he!

Jaya Jaya Jaya he jaya mangla
Bharata bhagya wellhata,
Jaya he! Jaya he! Jaya he!
Jaya Jaya Jaya Jaya he!

that of unchangeability. In the labour movement of Ahmedabad, he has shown a way to hypnotise labour and capital. Within the brief span of a few months, his follower, Sardar Patel, has neither liquidated nor destroyed but peacefully absorbed all the feudal princes within the framework of a United India. These by themselves would constitute a

powerful force. He has shown a way to absorb the feudal princes quickly and diplomatically. The forces that constitute society are deep and varied. No one can take the cognitive of correct medicine without a thorough understanding of the equally intricate and complex forces that have given rise to the dark and light of the world.

He has shown a way to absorb the feudal princes quickly and diplomatically. The forces that constitute society are deep and varied. No one can take the cognitive of correct medicine without a thorough understanding of the equally intricate and complex forces that have given rise to the dark and light of the world.

OBITUARY

The Late Mr. T. K. Tandree

It is with profound regret that we record the death of Mr. T. K. Tandree, which took place at his residence in Clarence Road, on Monday October 18. Mr. Tandree suddenly took ill two days before his death by getting a stroke from which he did not recover. He was over seventy years of age. He belonged to Natal where he was well-known and liked by all those who knew him for his kind and hospitable nature. For several years he was living with his family in Montbenia where he had returned about three months ago. His home in Montbenia was a fitting place for all South African who visited that Port on their way to and from India and they all enjoyed the generous hospitality of Mr. Tandree's whole family. The very large number of people, representing all sections of the community, who attended the cremation ceremony and the funeral paid to him by various speakers bore testimony to the esteem in which he was held.

We extend to Mrs. Tandree and the family our deepest sympathy for the irreparable loss sustained by them.

WIT AND HUMOUR

A Scot met an American and both began to relate and boast about their respective countries, adventures and relations. The American said: I have three brothers. One's a baker, one's a bucket-taker and the other's a thief. That is, one bakes, one takes and one takes. Sandy: I, too, have three brothers. One's in a coal mine, one's unemployed and the other's in the asylum. That is, one brings up coal, one's on the dole and the other's up the pole.

It was Tommy's first day at school. Shortly after the opening of the first lesson he walked to the teacher's desk and said: "I ain't got no pencil." The teacher, a shocked expression on her face, said: "Oh Timothy, I haven't a pencil!" A sympathetic look crossed the boy's face, and he replied: "Ye ain't either? Well, we're both in the same fix, ain't we?"

The train had stopped, and refused to budge. "I don't see how we should get on better if we get off," said one passenger to his neighbour. So they alighted and walked on. Two minutes later the train passed them. "Well," said the one who had made the suggestion, "I thought we should get on better if we got off, but we should have been better off if we had stayed on."

Wife: "Is there anything in the paper about the man next door being hit by a law?"

Husband: "I don't know, I haven't come to the sporting news yet!"

Wife: "Oh yes" (this awful lie was here - one of the natives in Africa - a thief was hit by a horse and mule!)

Husband: "In it?"

Wife: "I don't know, I haven't come to the sporting news yet!"

Husband: "I don't know, I haven't come to the sporting news yet!"

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FUNA PUNA

When crops are finished every year
A band of workers will appear
And late in season calm and clear
They'll be there

The summer looking now too glad,
Will then pay off each smiling lad
But inwardly he's feeling mad
That yet a funa puna,

Some be persuaded in one day
Arise, funa puna,

He stands old sore with
How a
He thinks how much he

To be a
When things
"Mina, funa puna!"

He says this year that
The labour that one day
If one day we shall see
And

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[illegible]

Experiments of NDA and DDA will be observable in the following places:

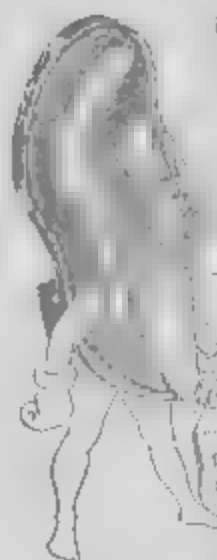
WORKS, DANIEL FRITHTS,

***It makes
all the
difference***



BRASSO

METAL POLISH



"THANKS TO
NUGGET
I'M FIT-
AND CAN
STAND UP
TO HARD
KNOCKS"

NUGGET

Mr. Choonilal Raghavjee Parekh, eldest son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Raghavjee Devjee Parekh will lay the FOUNDATIONSTONE of the BABU TALWANTSINGH MEMORIAL SCHOOL in memory of his parents.

Mr. Parekh has donated the sum of £240 towards the **BUILDING FUND** of the Veerulam & District Indian School Board

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મદદરમા મંડીદેના કલે
કલે ૧૪૦૩માં લેવાયું.

ਧੁੰਦਲੇ ਅੰਗ ੨੧. ੧

હીવાળી અને નવું વર્ષ

[illegible]

અન્ય કોઈ કાર્યમાં પરિચિત હોય તો પણ એક કારણ છે. અને કોઈક વક્ર ચાલતીઓ મારફત જલ્દીથી પણ નીચે કમરડા રજા છે.

આપણે દોહિયા આ દેશના કમરડા મેળા પ્રાદેશના કોઈએ પણ જાણ નહીં આર્થિક દૃષ્ટિએ આપણે ગીતવતીના કરનાં વધારે સારી સ્થિતિમાં મકાન દેહ આપણા પર પછે મોટી જગ્યા રાત્રી રહેલી છે આથી આપણે જાન ખાન જગ્યાપર રહેવા નહિ જોઈએ. આપણા પર પણ આજસુધી રજા છે અને આપણે મન્ય રજા જેવું જોવા નોમણે છે જેનું અનુકરણ કરતા આપણા કમરડામાં જોઈએ તેની નહિ પરંતુ સામાન્ય રજાકરનાં સામે આપણે સત્ત્વ મન્ય અમાવવાની છે. સીમા વગરનાં મેળાએ આપણને પ્રવેશી ઉચ્ચેરવી કરેલી છે નામી પગલાંની અમે એ થાય છે કે અન્યથા અને અપમાનકરતા હાથ દાખોએ સામના કરી તેના અપાદેના જે કઈ પણ પરિણામો હોય તે સાંતી થી સદન કરી લેવાં. પરંતુ મહારથી મહત્ત્વ મળી રહેશે એવો મહાર પાંચ આપણે અવિચારીપણે ન ગઈએ આપણી મહાત્મા અમાવવાપર અને કમરડા પર આપણા આપણ-પણના પોતાના જગ્યા પર જુલમ નામી આર કમરડા નામી રીતે કરવા નહિ વાંતી પ્રમાણિક પ્રવળ કરી આપણે સંતોષ માનીએ. તમા રજાની માવજત ન રાખીએ.

આમનીરીકણ

પરંતુ સરકારને આપણે ચેતે ન કરી એ તે પહેલાં આપણે આપણે કમર નપાકરનાં કરે છે. સાથે આકાશમાં આપણે એક ન્દાની કામ કરી છે. દોહમાં આપણા મળા વામજોના કરનાં આપણે વધારે સારી આર્થિક સ્થિતિ મેળવીએ છીએ. એક સિસિત અને જગમગત કોમ તરીકે શું આપણે આપણી કરવા વધારે જગ્યાએ છીએ ખરા? કે આપણે અમાવવામાં એટલા સ્થાનિત છીએ કે ગીટ લખવા વચ્ચેની આમણને કરી પરવાર નથી રહેવાનાં થશે. કમરડા, આ રાજ્ય અને અન્ય જગ્યાનાં પુરી વાવવાનાં સંવેષણ જે તરફ આપણા તરફ નીવડાવવા જગ્યાની હાથ ના કમરે આપણને આપેલાં સંધના જે આપણે પોતા આપણા આજીવન માટે એ નમનાં કોઈ કરવાને ના કરીએ છીએ ખરા? કે આપણે પ્રવેશ આપવાની રજા કરવા છતાં ગીતા પોતાની જગ્યાએ જીવન કરીએ છીએ? ગીતાની કુલોની જગ્યાએ, થોડીક કમરડાની ના જુલકે પુરી પાડવામાં આવેલી અને અપમાનકરતા પ્રતિજ્ઞાઓ મર

કારી રજાઓ આપણે વાવવાને ખરા આપણા જગ્યાની કમરડાની આપણે અને એક કોમ તરીકે શું વધારે કરી ન રાખીએ?

આપણા મળા પરવારની હરે છે અને ઉદાર વ્યક્તિઓએ આપણી કામ ના રકમો ના પોલી છે. આપણા પ્રેરોની સત્તાએ કોમને અર્થ તેના આપણે જોવા ઉપમામ કરીએ છીએ ખરા? આપણા કમરડામાં કમરડા છે અને ખીલ નવા પાડવા નામી.

શ્રી. આર. ટી. ચારીનો સંદેશો

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના દરિયા કિનારેની રાજ્યના નવા મેટેરી શ્રી. આર. ટી. ચારી તરફથી મળેલા નિયેના મંદેશાને મારે અમે તેમના આભારી છીએ.

દીવાળીના પ્રસંગે 'અનિવચન' આપણને આપણને મારા પ્રેમભાવો અભિનંદન પાઠવું. દીવાળી એટલે દીપકો પ્રકટાવી નરસા ઉપર મારાનો વિજય જીતવાનાં શુભ પ્રસંગ તેની સાથે હિંદનાં યજ્ઞ આજીવનાં નુતન વર્ષનાં પણ ઉદય થાય છે.

'અનિવચન' આપણને આપણે વાચક ન દીવાળીના અભિનંદન પાઠવવા નામી કે આ વર્ષની દીવાળીના દીવા યુગીયન મા વચી રહેલા દરિયાના અપિચની ખરાજ આપણીઓથી આપણા પ્રકાર છે. પરંતુ નામી પર મદદના મોંધીએ સ્વચ્છતાને પ્રથમ પ્રયોગ કરીએ છીએ નામી સુખી પર નામી નામી કોઈથી, અન્યથા પર આપણે આપણે વિજય અમે, એ વીધે કેશ પણ શકે સાચીજ કેમ રાજ્ય? અન્ય રજાઓ આપણી વધારે મળીર આજીવની આમે અન્યમદનો વિજય થશે છે, અને આફ્રિકામાં પણ થશે જ.

પરંતુ સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના દરિયામાં સ્વચ્છતાની દ્રવ પાવવા નહિ હોય ના એવી આશા મેળવી વાજણી નહિ મળ્યા, દીવાળીના દીપકોનો સ્વાસ્થ અને નામીના અપાદે સુજીવિત મા પ્રકાર પોતે કે જેથી દરિયા કોમ નામ અને આફ્રિકાને અમે રીત થઈ વાજણી નામ.

ખરા સ્વચ્છતાથી આપણાં પ્રકાર દોહાજ નહિ શકે કેમકે જેઓ નામી આપણે નામી નામી વધારે નામી, પ્રેમ અને અહીંસા સિવાય જેઓને ગીલુ એકે શ્રમ નથી તેઓમાં પ્રકાર કોણ કરાવી શકે?

માધીજનો તમને જીવન સંદેશો છે કે તમારા સવાજ ના નામીમાં, સંજાતમાં અને સ્વચ્છતામાં વિશ્વાસ રાખો.

તેઓ જક કા આપણી એક નામીય મળ છે. તમા નીવડાવવા સુધારામાં શરૂ થઈએ નામી નામી વધારે નામી અને ગીલુને તે સવાજની કમરડાને નામી રજા પર નામી નામી અને મરકારી કમરડામાં, અમા ગીલુને નામી નામી પ્રેમની કરી રીત દાવા નથી, તેનાં ઉપર આપણે નામીને વધારે તે શું આપણા મરીજ આપણી આપણી જગ્યામાં નામી નામી નામી.

આપણે આપણી મદદન સંદેશો ના સરકારને દીવાળીના રીતે આપણે જાન પડી કોઈના ખરા પ્રતિનિધીઓ પાવવાનો પ્રવળ કરીએ છીએ ખરા? આપણે જીવન નામી આપણી સંદેશો નામી આપણે પચિમના મદદનો પ્રવળ કરીએ છીએ ખરા? કે દાવા પીડાઓ, રેસકોસ સીમમાં મેલો, નામી નામી નામી નામી રીતે નામી, ખૂન, મુકાદ, જેના દેવાનો મદદનો અપાદેમાં આપણે મરકારી વામી છીએ, નામી મેલનાં નિશાળા પતી

નામ મરકારા રીતે નામી નામી સિદ્ધાંતો મેલનાં નામી નામી કરનાં મારે અમે પણ તેના અમર કરવાનો આપણે પ્રવળ કરીએ છીએ. આ દેશમાં આપણી સામે કમર આપણે નામી નિવારણ મારે આપણે માધીજનો સત્તામદનો સત્તા મદદનો કરીએ છીએ નામી, અમે અને કમરથી સત્તામાં પાલન વેપર મોથી નીમોપ ખાર મુકતા કમર, આપણે સત્તા ઉપર આપણે જીવન પડી ખરા સત્તામદી બનવાનો પ્રવળ કરીએ છીએ ખરા? કે પછી આપણા જેવું કો માધવાને જગ્યા તેમના નામનાં માલ કમર તેમને શીમીપણે રજા કરી રજા છીએ.

સાઉથ આફ્રિકામાં આપણી હિંદન મળે અને માધીજનો આપણી છે અને આપણે તે ખરા પર તેમને ધરા દારૂ ખાવા કમરડા હોઈએ તે તેમને વચ્ચે માલવાની પકિસિલ નામ પ્રમાણિક પ્રવળ કરીએ છીએ. તેજ આપણે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના અમેલોના મામળી સંપાદન કરી કરીએ; તેજ નામી નામી સત્તામદી કમરડામાં નામી આપણે સત્તામદ કમરડા નીકળે, અને આપણા પ્રકાર આપણે પહેલી રજા.

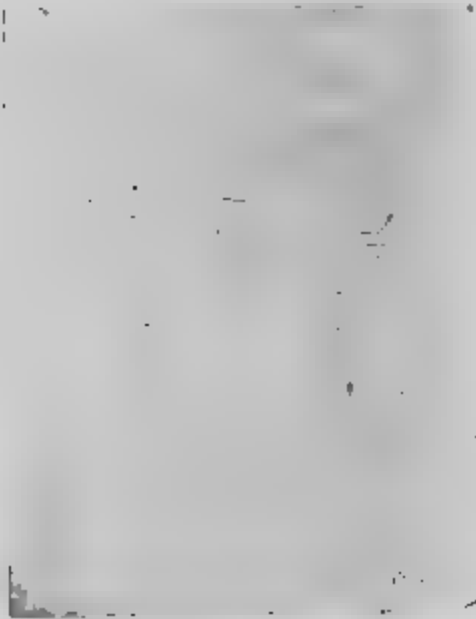
જમતના કમરડાને મામ અને માનવતાની સુખસાંતીના મામ વાંતી જીએ નિદેશોમાં સામે અનુકરણકર રહેલા જે એ ગીલુ અમે તેમનાં પછી રજા નથી એ આપણે અને નરના કમર રીતે કમરડા, દીમત અને સહિત પછી એ નામ પ્રાચનાથી અમાવ સમજા વાચકને દીવાળી અને નામ વર્ષના અભિનંદન આપીએ રજા.

જેમ સંદેશો કિમા, રામને આપ નામને કમરડા કરનાં તેમ આપણી જીએ આપણી મોખિતમાં આમ સેલી આપણા સાથે વારંવાર કરવી, આપણા ઉદગારો સમજાવી, તેને પોતાની, પોતાની અલોપક પ્રેરના સક્રીય આપણી વાજીપાથીએને સાનમાં સમજ નામી આપણે જીતી, આપણને મીતજનામ પોતાની દેલી થશે સારેજ-પણ તે પહેલાં નહીં-આપણી ઉદાર સંવેદ છે.

માધીજ

જેણે અંતર કિસે પાનાને રાટલો આપી નથી, જેણે કાલે મારે રડીને અને મળીને આજીવી રાત પસાર કરી નથી ને, જે બગવાળા, પોતે મિત્રપણો નથી.

ચરવડાનાં કટલાંક સ્મરણો



૨૩. મહાદેવભાઈ.

[૧૯૩૧ માં મહેવડા નગરમાં યાત્રીક, મહાદેવભાઈ અને સરદાર વાઘજીભાઈ વચ્ચે એ વહેંચ સાથે રચા થતા એ સ્મરણના રચણ પ્રસંગે મહાદેવભાઈની રાવડીમાં નેમિવામાં આપ્યા હતા નગરથી થોડીકે વાનગી અમારા વાચકોનાં જાણે અહિં આપીએ છીએ.]

આ ને એવડાનાં રચના તરફથી નગરના લોકજાણકારના નામાં પુરતકે આપ્યા. એની પાછળની વિષયસૂચી ની બધું અર્થમાં મળેલ થયા વિષય સૂચી લેતા લેતા કહે "ચિટોશ બાઈ-ગમ" ના મુ મુકીર વસ્ત્રભાઈએ પૂછ્યું "ચિટોશ બાઈગમ" કેમકે?" બાપુ કહે: "એટલે ચિટોશ લોકોને બાઈગમ એ છું" એટલે તરતજ વસ્ત્ર ભાઈએ કવાળ આપી, તલિન્દ યોગે બને પોન્સ." પુરતકમાં નર બાર પાન્દ-ક યોગે બને એને પોન્સ એ ચિટોશ બાઈગમ એમજ ગણાય છે. વસ્ત્રભાઈ કહે: "જુઓ આપુ અપુ એને આરંધ એ ના!"

આવી જાયું ચોમવાનો વસ્ત્રભાઈ એ હાથે, એમના વધુ ફિલ્મોએ જાણ હોય તેની એમને જરાય નવા નહીં ખાસ કરીને મદાસ તરફના નામે ના સ્મરણ તે એમને હમે કરી એકે ચક્ર નહીં. આરોબકવાળી મુદતી ચારને અંગેટમાં લેવડીના પાંચમા પ્રયોજ. એમાં "આરોબક" નામે એને મન દસડુ આવે, એટલે પછી એકાકીને કહે. અને હસડુ આવે કે જુઓ બાઈ-તો જે જાણ્યું તે વચ્ચે

કે "બાપુ કહે જાણે વસ્ત્રભાઈ" નામોએ "એ" નામ "એ" ની વચ્ચે ફેર નથી," એટલે વસ્ત્રભાઈ કહે: "બાપુ અંગેટમાં તે "કે" છે નાર તે એ માત્ર નથી લખતા!"

બાપુ જાણીજી સાંભળી ચોનાની નર ના મુલાકાતનું તથ્યને આપતા કહે: "આવીજી (યોગીવાસ) એ કહ્યું કે: "હું આમ અભાષાએને મરી જાત કર્યો એવી અમે આજા નહોતી રાખી." એ નામ "હું તમને દુઝ્મ આપીજા એવી મને કહ્યતા નહોતી" ન નામ. માગી એવી એ લોકો એ નારો અસર થઈ નહીં એ અમને ખની મળું વસ્ત્રભાઈ કહે "તમને ના બધાની સાથે બનીજી જાય જે તમારે થી લખીયા મૂળ નીચી!" બાપુ કહે: "જુઓની આરોબક કવાળી બાપુ છે ના!"

એ દમ્ભા રંગીને પાત્ર દત્તો તેણે કુદરતી યજ્ઞને માટે બાપુ ખાસે આગેદર્શને માર્યું હવે એ બાપુને કહ્યું. આવા કામવાના કામ જવા, આપણી "બાપુ-હવે" "અમ." એમ

કવનિ કામને કાઢવો વસ્ત્રભાઈ કહે એને હવે ના જે કવાળા જે માટે બા, કાપુ ના મોડા પો, બાપુ ખડખડાટ હરેયા અને મને કહે મહાદેવ એ કામને કવાળી લે, આમ એ એને લખ્યું ના નામ આરોબક કવાળા લખાવો

બાપુને કહે કાપી જામના મોજા એ ના ના ના એમના એ કવ નહીં જરી તે કહે વાતોની અવગત નવા પકડી પકડી કહે "આરોબક" ના નામ પછી કવલ મજાલો. જાણુ જાણુ એ એને હાથે હાથે જામના નેની રીકા નામ કહે "હવે મોટકી ના ના નામ કહે પડ તમને બાપુ" ક મુમતી આમને મુખ સામેજ આમ નેમના સામેજ અંગેટમાં એ કવાળા ના પકડ્યા માટે નામ અવગતી બાપુ અમારી હતી ને મનવાળી જામની ચાલી તે જામવાળી કલમ ના એને એને રેરી ના નહીં આવી મજા હા પામવાની પૂછી ના બિચી મજામ નામની વાત છે. હાથ ના અકાકવાની પ્રતિભા નામ આજ બાપુ પડે કેટીમે કવલના ના નામ નામ કવી ને કવનના બાપુ એને મનના જામના હવા વસ્ત્રભાઈ પડે માટે પાડે કવનના હાથ ના બાપી પાડી કહે.

એટલે ફુનીવાળા જવામ સારકને છેક ના બચાવી નાખીને બનાવવામાં આવ ના હાથ ના ને હીંદુસ્તાનમાં છે. ચીજ નના પુરતકના આરંભમાં છે કવલાર કે જાણી નીચી અને આજ શીજ ની વાત છે. તેની આપણી રચા ન આપણે બાવાના એને કવીમ રવાર કરી મુકવા એનેક અસાધાના રવાર કરી મુકવા એનેક અસાધાના રોહમાં એને એ અસાધાના રવારને માટે ના નામ બાપુની છીએ." એ કહ્યું કેટલીક વસ્ત્ર અસાધા બાપુ નજ બચામ. મીકુ સરજ પાડ્યું નામ શીજામ વધુ વસ્ત્રનું સરજ નો અસાધા રીતો નજ બચામ." બાપુ કહે "એ એ સરજ ના બચા હાથક માટે, એમ રીતો બાપુ કહે એકેલા બાપુ ન તરી કાશ્વો બચાળી તરી નામ બચા નથી એટલે એમાં મહાદેવ લોક એને પૂછા પછેર કહે નામની એ હીરમ. એ પાત્ર બાવા ગાયક નવી એમ કહે ન અમરુએ"

૧૯૩૨ માં કવરુએ વસ્ત્રમાં બાપે કોઈના "મોર" પત્રમાં એમ એટલે જામના મી. પોલાક ઉકળી જામ હતા બાપુ હાથે મહેવડા નગરમાં હતા સામે સરદાર, અને મહાદેવભાઈ હતા. એ ફિલ્મોનાં બાપુને "મુ

"બસ આ ના ફિલ્મોનાં મહાદેવ ના જાણુ મુખ, એને ફીલ્મ બાપુની ની કવલને માટે રચા થઈ નહોતી, પણ બાપુને બાપે વસ્ત્રભાઈનાં જામના નામે એ નવી મવા એને હાથે લોકોને કવલો બાપુ કહે હવે. પોલાકથી જાણુ સમન ન મળે એટલે આ જાણુ ના."

વસ્ત્રભાઈ: "બાપુ ના કોઈ નામ બાપુ માટે તમે "બા" ના અવડોલાની મુળી એવી અવડોલાની જામ ના પોલ કામ જામના મુખ કવરે એક નથી. એમની અવાજ નવાના, એમની સરવાળા, ફિલ્મ પામ કવર પામ નવા એ."

બાપુ "જાણી જાણ" વસ્ત્રભાઈ: "બાપુ ના બાપો નીચી મારે મુખ એની કીમત અને પાકાદુરી તાલ છે. એ અવાજ ના કોઈ કરે, એકેલામ કવર, પણ એ જાણુ જાણુ પછી આપણે ફિલ્મ આરોબકથી આજ સુધીની એની કારકીરી જાણ ના એની પાકાદુરી ના રહે છે."

બાપુ જાણા રચના હવા મીન લેવામાં અમલ થવા આપણે હવે પામ માનીક બાપા જાણ, સરદાર કહ્યું "હવે પામ માનીક બાપા રચી એ બાપુ ના કોઈ જાણુ નામ કરવી જોગ ને કરી નામના." મહાદેવ જાણુ કહ્યું "ને તે જાણુ નીમ કરવાને કહેવા જોગ નેમ કહે છે."

બાપુ "તો ત્યારે કદા કહે, કામ જુમનુક માટે હીંમ તે માર કરને." એને કહે "બાપાક કવી પકવા એને કહેલા ચીનિજ પાર મોલા કલતા, જામ એ ના એમને એક મધુર દમરમા કલાવતુ હતુ એ પોતેજ કલા બતાવ્યું." બાપુનારી કહે "જુમનુક માટે હીંમ તે માર કરને." વસ્ત્રભાઈને બાપુ નેમની એટલે પૂછ્યું "કવાળે" જાણુ મને પકડવા આજ નામેજ ના આજમાથી જાણુ પડ એને "જુમનુક માટે કરને" એને ના બીનારી ને શક મળુ હશે જે હવે આ જામને મળવી ના અમળ, અને મારી માંગવી રીતો મરી મરુ તો રુ મરો" સી અમળાકા હવે

જે મળ્યાનાં જાણુ રચેલાઓનાં અમળા બધા, અને રવાળાઓની વિનુબીત પકડા હોય તમને મારે ફુનીવામાં એવું કવલો કામ નથી નામ ન રહે.

આપણે

[illegible]

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પાયા બુદ્ધ માનવ મૌર્ય કે આશુક
ના આશિષના સ્નેહ વાગ્યો જે અને
આશિષ કેવળ સારો બળથી ધરણી
અંકુરે તથા તેથી આશિષથી સ્નેહ
સર્વ કુશળ કે તેમનું મન તપાસી
માને તાબેનું તથા તપાસે એ તામ
સર્વ અને હોસા પસંદ પસંદથી કર
વાના રાજ ના આશિષ હોસા પસંદ
કરના આશિષથી કરું કે અહોસા
અ હોસા કરના પસંદ હોસાના શુદ્ધ
પર છે

[illegible][illegible]

પાઠશાળા સંસ્થાએ અદ્યતન તરીકે
પત્રમાં જણાવેલ સ્થળે ગ્રીષ્મ યુદ્ધમાં
મળેલ તમારે મારા કૃતજ્ઞતા છે કે
યુદ્ધમાં જીત્યા પાછા છે તમારે જાણ
આપીએ તો જાણે તે પછીના પાછા છે
તમારે જાણે તમારે અત્યંત

પ્રત્યક્ષ અને અપ્રત્યક્ષ સાક્ષીઓ દ્વારા છે. પૂર્ણ
અનુભવે છે અને જાણે છે. એકાદા
પરિસ્થિતિમાં, વ્યક્તિઓ ગાંઠાયેલા અથવા નિર્મળ
ભર્યા થઈ શકે છે, જ્યાં સત્યાગ્રહીઓ સત્યાગ્રહી
કર્તા તરીકે ભરવામાં આવે છે અને સત્યાગ્રહી
અનુભવ છે. અનુભવે છે અને સાત પાંચ
માં બધું જાણીને સત્યાગ્રહી અને સાત
અનુભવે છે અને સત્યાગ્રહી અને સાત
અનુભવે છે અને સત્યાગ્રહી અને સાત

ગાંધીજીએ કહ્યું કે જે વાંચનાર
 ગાંધીજીનાં પત્રો વાંચીને તેઓ
 પોતાના મનમાં બદલાવ લાવે અને
 મહાત્માને તેઓનાં વર્ણનમાં વધુથી
 મહાત્માજીની ભાવનાઓ, તેની રચનાઓ
 વાંચનારનાં હૃદયમાં ગમી જાય છે તે
 તેની જ જાણવાની સલાહ પછી આપે છે.

ਮੇਜਰਸ' ਹਰੀਲਾਲ ਨਥੂ ਐਂਡ ਸਨਜ਼

ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ

પોતાના મર્દ માલકો અને મિત્રોને હીવાથી અને નવાં
વર્ષના અભિનંદન આપે છે.

૧૪૮-મંમ બીજેડી, રૂ. ૧૦૦.

ଉତ୍କଳ-ସମ୍ଭାଷଣ-ସମିତି, କଟକ ।

આ જાહેરાતમાં મુદ્દા મુજબ પ્રતિષ્ઠિત યોગેશ્વર સ્વામી "ગીતાનાં બોધ" રચનારના
ગી. ર. ૪ ક્રીદાર છે.

કેટલાક વાંચવા લાયક પુસ્તકો

[illegible]

India's Governor-General And Governors

હિંદના ગવર્નર-જનરલ અને પ્રાંતિક ગવર્નરો



Sir Sarojini Naidu, C. S. I.



Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. S. I.



Sir R. K. Khajuria, C. S. I.



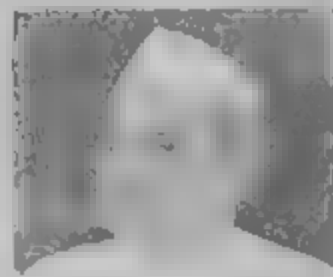
Sir Mahatma Gandhi (Bombay).

Sir Archibald Nye, who was the Governor of Madras, has recently resigned and Krishna Singhji, Nawab of Bhavnagar, is appointed in his place.



Sir M. S. A. Khan, C. S. I.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
AND
GOVERNORS



Sir M. S. A. Khan, C. S. I.



Mr. Asaf Ali (Bombay).



Mr. Asaf Ali (Bombay).



Sir G. S. Dhillon, C. S. I.



This is one of the rare pictures in which Mahatma Gandhi appears with the late Hon. G. K. Gokhale during the latter's visit to South Africa in 1910.



Here Mahatma Gandhi is seen among an Indian soccer team dating as back as 1910. On Gandhiji's right are Miss S. Schlesin, his private secretary at the time, and Mr. L. W. Ritch, his co-worker and one of the Trustees of the Phoenix Settlement. On Gandhiji's left are the late Thambi Naidoo, one of the heroes of the Passive Resistance movement, and the late Mr. H. Kallenbach his staunch lieutenant.

પોતાના અમદાવાદ કલેજી ગુપ્તી બનાવી
 સાત-પાંચ વીંતના અમદાવાદમાં તપાસવા મા
 તેથી તેની વિશેષ જાણનારે તે ગુપ્તક શુદ્ધિ
 કાઢી જાય તથા. પણ એવી પોતાના
 અમદાવાદ એક બહિષ્કારમાં જાય છે. તેથી
 એ પણ એક બહિષ્કારમાં જાય છે એમ
 અમદાવાદ માટે સામજિકતાની દૃષ્ટિ જેવો
 બની જાય છે.

ଡିଡ଼ି ପ୍ରାଣୀ ଡିଡ଼ି ସଂପ୍ରଦାୟର ଅନ୍ୟତମ
 ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ି ଅନ୍ୟତମର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର
 ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର
 ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର
 ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର
 ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର
 ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର
 ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର ଏକ ଡିଡ଼ିର

[illegible]

ઇશ્વર નિષ્ઠાનું બળ.

શ્રી. કિશોરભાઈ અમરેયાવાળા

બી ... એવા વખતે શાખરે છે.
 ... શાખરોએ કહે છે જ્યારે
 કહે છે. જ્યારે નવા અમલો લેવા કાલ
 માં હતાં તો સંપ્રદાયો કે જવાબ અનિત
 મોડો પછી એકસત હોતા નથી. 'શુધરે
 એવા જવાબ શાખરેમોના એક પણ વાક્યો
 છે. શાખરેમત પર તોપીએમ નવાઈ
 એવા કહ્યું કે 'સલામદીનાં સ્પષ્ટરમાં નવા
 લેવાનાં જોઈએ. 'પરે વધુ શાખરેમ
 જાણેલીએના અગાં મુજબનાં રીતો
 મળી વાળી. સ્પષ્ટરના અનિત. 'પરે કે
 નિ જોવાનાં નામપરે કરવા વિષે કેડમા
 ... મોડા છે. એકાં ... નથી. પણ
 આપણેથી શાખરેમો કાકારે કહે છે. જ્યારે
 સલામદીનાં અગાં શાખરે છે. ...
 માંથીએના નવા શાખરે મુજબ છે. જ્યારે
 ન સલામદીનાં મળા મરે સ્પષ્ટરેના
 જાણેમતે જોવા લેા એ સલામદી વધુ
 કેમકે વાળ છે કે કામ અનિત કામ
 શાખરેમતે જાણી—સુરેમોનાનાં વનનાનાં
 જોવાનાનાં આપણેએમનાનાં શાખરે
 માનનાનાં શિસ્તીનાનાં પારેમનાનાં સુ
 નમાનાં નિયંત્રણનાં કે માંથીએના
 'શાખરેમતે' 'પરે' અગાં એ લેવાનાં
 અને હવે નિશાખરેમતે સંપૂર્ણ અગાં.
 જોવાનાં સુ' શુ મેમતે મરે નલામદી
 ના માં 'અંધ સુઅગાં'

આ વરુ સુમનના મોટે ધમ મને
જીવનની મીઠી સમીપી કંપના
આજે કે વરુ એ સમીપી કંપના
કરને સુમનના જીવનને જી. મોટી
પ્રિય સુમનના વરુ આ જ

३. निम्नानां प्रविष्टासुतां व्याख्यानं अंश
 ४. विद्वत्सुतां व्याख्यानं अंश
 ५. विद्वत्सुतां व्याख्यानं अंश
 ६. विद्वत्सुतां व्याख्यानं अंश
 ७. विद्वत्सुतां व्याख्यानं अंश
 ८. विद्वत्सुतां व्याख्यानं अंश
 ९. विद्वत्सुतां व्याख्यानं अंश
 १०. विद्वत्सुतां व्याख्यानं अंश

[illegible]

આમ જનવા કોઇ જગતરના સ્થાનમાં
તે અનુભવ થવો લેખકને એમ આવી શકે
સાદાને આકાષી વિના - નાશો નથી.
આખાનું ઉત્ક્રિયાની વીચારણા, સંકેત-
વિદ્યોત્તેજી એ માનવીની નાની, પણ એક
સંવેદ અનુભવ છે જે જો સમીપે ન આવે
તે જાણે વીચારણાના છે કે, પોતાના
કોઈક જાણી સક્રિયતાથી પ્રવેશી કાઢે
કરી રહી છે તે જુના પાત્રની વાણી
અર્થાત્ જનિતિઓ કરતા વધારે વાજવાનું
છે, તાત્કાલ સંચરિત અર્થો પ્રાપ્ત કરતા
પોતાની વધારે અર્થો છે.

આ સંકલિત કોષ્ટક... સ્વરૂપિયનું 'મન'
કલેષોનું 'પસંદ' શરૂ છે. તેમ 'અજ્ઞાન'નું
અર્થ 'spiritual force' નું 'મન'
અર્થ 'physical force' નું 'મન'

[illegible][illegible]

તમે જા

૧. કામગીરી માટે કુપરચી આ
સાધારણ દુરીએકર આવી રહ્યા છે
મળે તે અંગેની નોંધ

३. इन्डोनाया भाषी भाडी दोशिएर
गिरिजाभा भि, गुनी अन्दरे रुदण भि
नी सुमपडे ॥ अन्त गुनी नाम प्रसन्न
अपाना दोशिएरु छे

1. ବିଶିଷ୍ଟତା ଅର୍ଥାତ୍ ସମୟ 12.30
 ରେଳ 2) ସମୟ 2.30 ରେ ନିର୍ଗମନ
 3) ସମୟ

१. मध्यमोक्तं च पश्य गीर्वाणं
 त्रैलोक्यं समस्तं च ... गो वि, समस्तं च
 त्रैलोक्यं गीर्वाणं त्रैलोक्यं समस्तं च

4. $\frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}}$
 $\frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}}$
 $\frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}} \sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{2}}$

१४१ - १५१३ ॥ २१७१ ॥ २१७२ ॥
 १४१३ - १५१३ ॥ २१७३ ॥ २१७४ ॥
 १४१४ - १५१३ ॥ २१७५ ॥ २१७६ ॥

[illegible][illegible]
$$^{\circ} \text{H}(\text{CH}_3)_2 = 20.1 \text{ kcal}(\text{mole})^{-1}$$

તમે જણો છો?

૧. કામગીરી માટે કુપરચી આ
સાધારણ દુરીએકર આવી રહ્યા તે
મળે તે અંગેની નોંધ.

[illegible]

૩. આગા મહમદી અને કૃષ્ણ સેવક
સાથે અભ્યાસી દોઢ માસ છે.

॥ श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

१. २. ३. ४. ५. ६. ७. ८. ९. १०. ११. १२. १३. १४. १५. १६. १७. १८. १९. २०. २१. २२. २३. २४. २५. २६. २७. २८. २९. ३०. ३१. ३२. ३३. ३४. ३५. ३६. ३७. ३८. ३९. ४०. ४१. ४२. ४३. ४४. ४५. ४६. ४७. ४८. ४९. ५०. ५१. ५२. ५३. ५४. ५५. ५६. ५७. ५८. ५९. ६०. ६१. ६२. ६३. ६४. ६५. ६६. ६७. ६८. ६९. ७०. ७१. ७२. ७३. ७४. ७५. ७६. ७७. ७८. ७९. ८०. ८१. ८२. ८३. ८४. ८५. ८६. ८७. ८८. ८९. ९०. ९१. ९२. ९३. ९४. ९५. ९६. ९७. ९८. ९९. १००.

५६. के.के. साधारण मालका इन्तें
महिला एवमे लो नेटल टाईमगा
मा गेट मोडी भी कडे रु

३, माधवसिंहा कीदृशता से मी.वि.
से प्रभावित हो पाया है,

३. $\frac{1}{3}(\pi + 2\pi i) = \frac{\pi}{3} + \frac{2\pi i}{3}$. अतः

ਮਨੁਖੀ ਅੰਤਰ, ਪੰਨ ੨੪



The Late Mr. Jethalal Naroo

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OUR SPECIAL DEEPAVALI OFFER:

| | per lb. | s. | d. | | per lb. | s. | d. |
|-------------------|---------|----|----|----------------|---------|----|----|
| Sattlereni | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mawa Barfi | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Sattler (Sweet) | 1 | 0 | 0 | Kewra Penda | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Kewra Barfi | 1 | 0 | 0 | Baklava Candy | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dudhi Penda | 2 | 0 | 0 | Mawa Gulabje | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Misgani | 3 | 0 | 0 | Goodie Candies | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Bomali Candies | 3 | 0 | 0 | Nice Khatir | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Choomny Lohani | 1 | 0 | 0 | Amrat Penda | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mohanthar | 1 | 0 | 0 | Paeta | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Kopra Pak | 1 | 0 | 0 | Paeta Special | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Lawaga Special | 1 | 0 | 0 | Paeta (Dull) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sev Parani Flower | 1 | 0 | 0 | Paeta | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Powari Chenda | 1 | 0 | 0 | Kewra Sweet | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sugarpane | 1 | 0 | 0 | Paeta | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Kopra Penda | 1 | 0 | 0 | Paeta | 1 | 0 | 0 |

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ઇમ્પોર્ટેડ ડોર્સ બાકમાંના ટીમ્બરના જાણીતા કાપાળ, ૨૦' x ૧૦' x ૧ ૧/૨" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૨'૬" x ૬'૬" x ૧ ૧/૨" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૮'૬" x ૧ ૧/૨" x ૧ ૧/૨", ૮'૬" x ૧ ૧/૨" x ૧ ૧/૨".

ઇમ્પોર્ટેડ ડોર્સ બાકમાંના ટીમ્બરના જાણીતા કાપાળ ૧૦' x ૧૨' ની ટી. ૧૨' x ૮' x ૧ ૧/૨" ની ટી. ૧૧', ૧૦' x ૮' ની ટી. ૧૦'

માટે કાપાળ ૧૦' x ૧૨' ની ટી. ૧૦', ૮' x ૧૨' ની ટી. ૮', ૧૦' x ૮' ની ટી. ૮' માટે કાપાળ ૧૦' x ૧૨' ની ટી. ૧૦', ૮' x ૧૨' ની ટી. ૮', ૧૦' x ૮' ની ટી. ૮'.

ફ્રેમિંગ ટીમ્બર ડોર્સ અને વિન્ડોના માટે, રેનવોટર ગુડ્સ, કોલિંગ અને ફ્લોરિંગ બોર્ડ, રૂફ ટીમ્બર, ઇર્ન લુક પાઇન્ટ, બુફાલો બ્રાન્ડ પાઇન્ટ, ઇમ્પોર્ટેડ પાઇન્ટ બ્રશ્સ, લેયકોલ્ડ, પ્લેવુડ, ફર્નિચર ફિટિંગ્સ, હાર્ડવેર અને ઇર્થવેર, એલ. એલ.

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પા. ૭ આપીશું

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વધુ વિગતો માટે લખો:

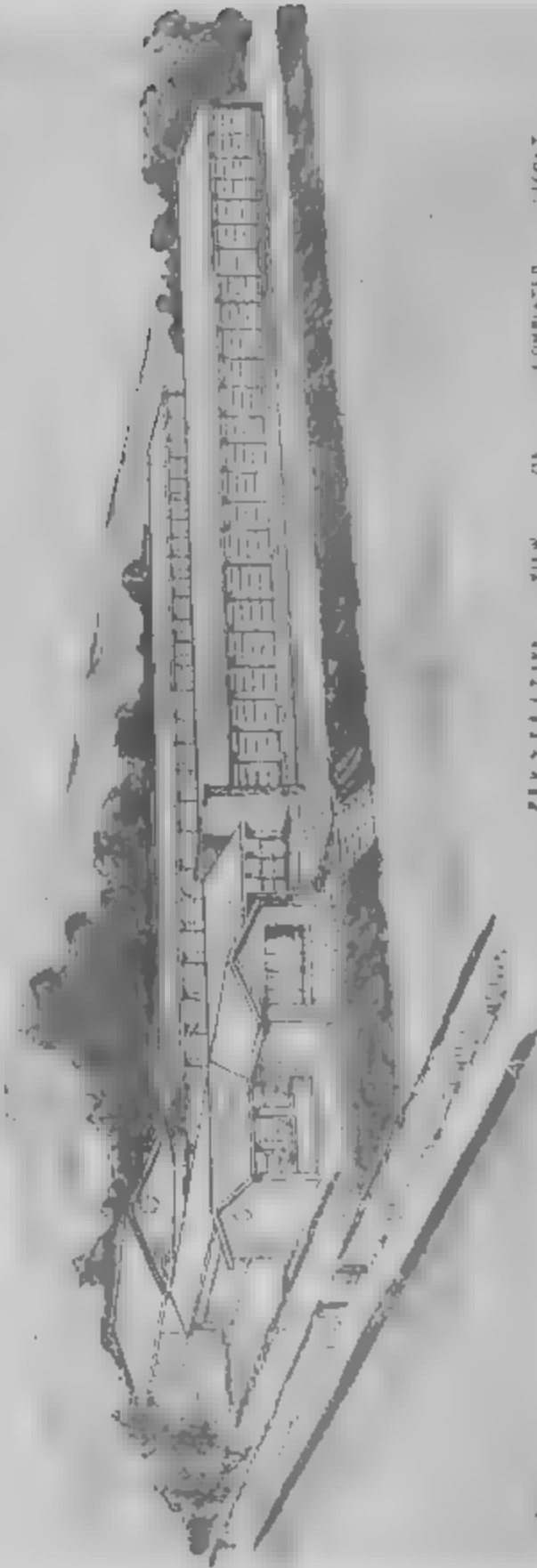
THE

**BULLBRAND
FERTILIZERS LTD**

SARNIA

NATAL.

TWO NEW SCHOOLS TO BE BUILT BY THE VERULAM INDIAN SCHOOL BOARD



NO. 1

PICTURE VIEW OF COMPLETED

PROPOSED NEW SCHOOL FOR VERULAM AND DISTRICT INDIAN SCHOOL BOARD

The Verulam and District Indian School Board is building the two schools shown in the pictures. The cost of erection of the schools is estimated at over £35,000. When completed the schools will provide urgently needed accommodation for 600 children, who are without educational facilities at present. The school in picture No. 1 will also provide secondary education.

The site for the larger school was purchased at a cost of £1,000 and the site for the second school was donated by the late Babu Talwantsingh of Verulam, after whose name the school will be called.

Funds are now required for the erection of the buildings. The local Indian community in Verulam have responded very generously to an appeal for donations to the building fund, but large sums of money are still needed for the completion of the project. A sincere appeal is now made to the general public for their financial support. It is confidently hoped that the public will make a generous response. Donations should be sent to: VERULAM AND DISTRICT INDIAN SCHOOL BOARD, 15 Moss Street, VERULAM, Natal.

વરુલમ ઈન્ડિયન સ્કૂલ બોર્ડ તરફથી બાંધવામાં આવનાર બે નવી સ્કૂલો

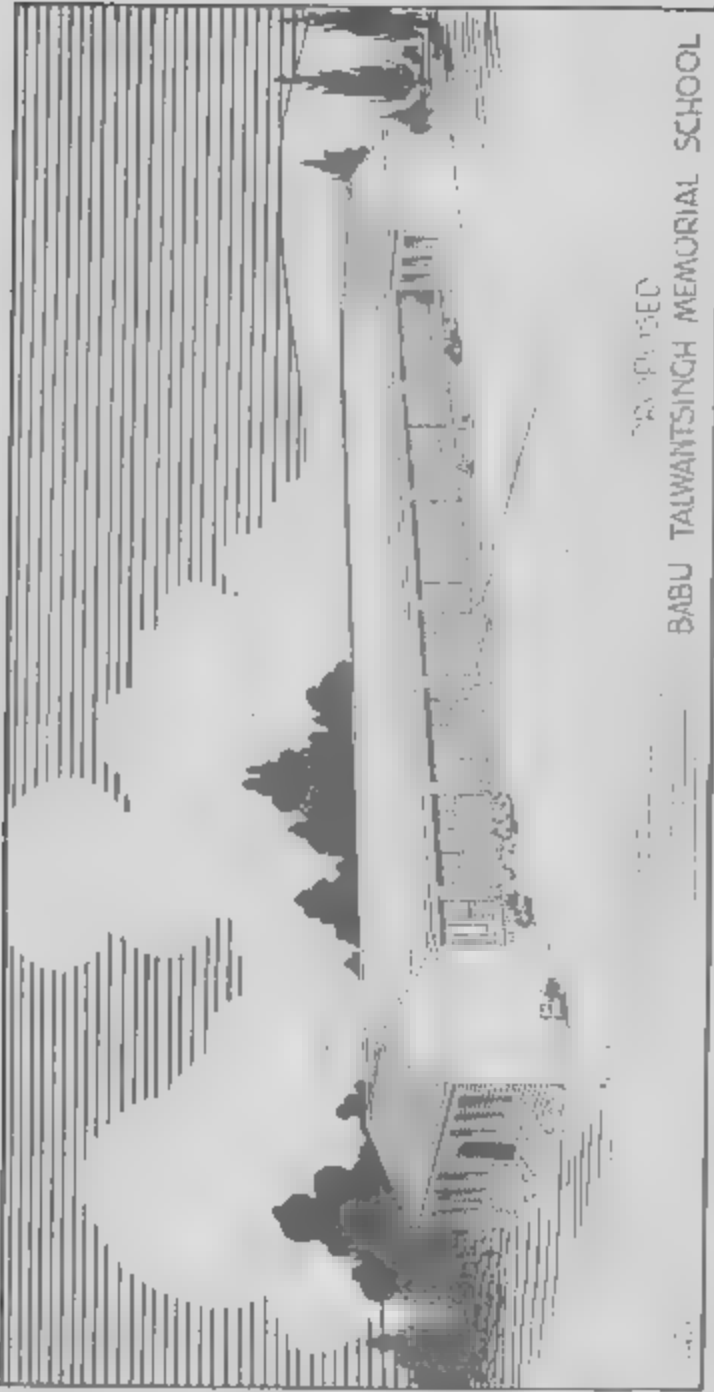
કુલદી સ્કૂલ બાંધવાને પ. ૨૫૦૦૦ નો ખર્ચ થશે. આ સ્કૂલમાં વૈદ્યક્ષિક ડિસ્ટ્રિક્ટના ૧૦૦ બાળકોનાં જગ્યાએ તારે વિદ્યાર્થીઓ કોઈ પણ સમગ્રી સંસ્થામાં નથી મળતાં આટલે વાતાવરણીય સુવિધા થશે. આ સ્કૂલ બાંધવામાં થયા બાદ તેમાં આધુનિક શિક્ષણની પણ સુવિધા થશે.

વૈદ્યક્ષિક ડિસ્ટ્રિક્ટ ઈન્ડિયન સ્કૂલ બોર્ડ આ સ્કૂલ બાંધવાને ૧૦૦૦ રૂબાઈ ફંડની મુજબ કચેરી સુધેરેલું કામ કરેલું છે. બેસેલ પ. ૧૧.૦૦ સ્કૂલમાં જરૂરીની સુવિધા દરિયા છે. બેસેલ બાંધવામાં આટલું પૈસા આપવામાં આવે છે કે જેમાં સમગ્રી કારણથી આપણને વાળશે. આ સ્કૂલ વૈદ્યક્ષિકના પાસાં થીના અને વાળીના સમયરૂપે બાળુ તાલુકાનાં સંસ્થાનાં તાલુકાનાં બાંધવામાં



The Late Babu Talwantsingh

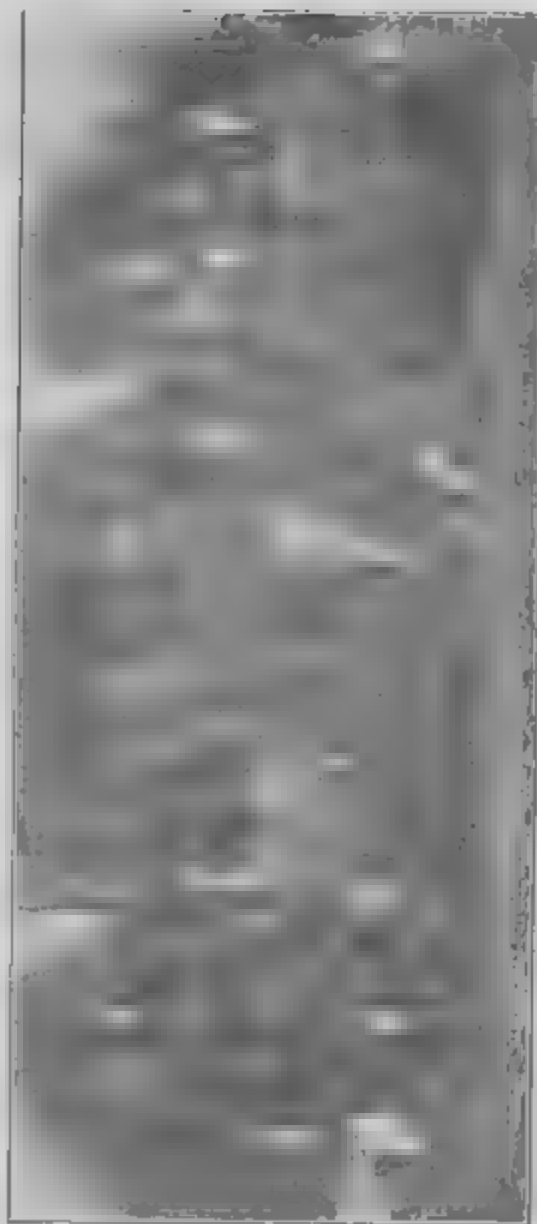
NO. 2



PROPOSED
BABU TALWANTSINGH MEMORIAL SCHOOL

TWENTY-TWO YEARS AGO

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એટલાસ ગરાજ

૧૮-૨૦ એલીસ સ્ટ્રીટ

ડરબન

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409, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રિચાર્ટ.
ફોન 64. પો. બો. 106.
ટેલ.બો. "કાન્જી."

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—: હોલસેલ વેપારી ::—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

43, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાનનિસબર્ગ.

• **St. Ignace** is a small town in the heart of the state, with a population of about 1,000. It is known for its beautiful architecture and its proximity to the state capital, Lansing.

[illegible][illegible]

“विश्व अंधुत्व”

[५५]

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

“ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਨਗਰੀ” ਸ਼ਾਬਦੀ ਸ਼ਿਲਾ ਅਖਾਸ
ਮੁਢਲੇ ਤੋੜਪੌਰੇ, ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਮੰਦਿਰ - ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰ
ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਅਖਾਸ ਨਾਮਕਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰ
ਨੀਅਤਾਂਗੇ ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰ ਦੇ ਪਥਰੇ ਅਖਾਸ
ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਦੇ ਨਿਰਮਲੇ; ਤੇ ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਤੋੜੇ ਤੋੜੇ ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇ
ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਦੇ ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਤੋੜੇ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇ ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਪੈਰਾਂ ਪੈਰਾਂ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਅਖਾਸਪੁਰੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ
ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ ਦੇਸ਼ਪਾਲੀ

[illegible][illegible]

અંદકમાં મગધની હાંસિ સમિતિનું
 કાર્ય ચલાવે પાલી બાજીમાં ગાંધી
 હરિજન આંનદાન મનાદરમાં મળ્યા
 સંઘે ભોલા દિવસ પાંચેનાર કુદરતી
 'હરિજન મેજ' મેળોમાં મગધ સારી
 કલાકમાં ભગી રમી દેવા મેળો
 પંચાંગમાં ગાંધી જયંતિ, મેળો ભગી

[illegible]

“અહરે અરે, અહરો પહોરો રાત !”
 અનુપ સાથેના તાલુકા કોપાલ, “તેના,
 પપા કોહરો સાથેના અપે રો, એના
 પપા !” પાપાના આપણા કોહરો
 રોતે આપણા આપે કોહરોના પ્રમુખોના
 તોડો પપા, કોપાલોના હરો મારો
 આપે રોહરોના કોહરો સાથે રોહરો
 કોહરોના પ્રમુખોના કોહરો પ્રમુખોના
 પપાના !” તો રોહરો પપાના રોહરો
 કોહરોના પ્રમુખોના આ રોહરોના રોહરો
 કોહરોના પ્રમુખોના પ્રમુખ પપા પપાના
 રોહરોના પ્રમુખોના પ્રમુખોના રોહરો
 પપાના પ્રમુખ પપાના પ્રમુખોના
 રોહરોના પ્રમુખોના પ્રમુખોના
 રોહરોના પ્રમુખોના પ્રમુખોના

[illegible][illegible]

નવી રેકોર્ડોનું શીપમેન્ટ આવી ગયું છે

શીશ્મ રેકોર્ડો: હરેકનું હાથ શી. ૬-૬.

| ગાયક | પનો મેલ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૬. | ગીતન | પનો મેલ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૬ |
|--------|---------|-------------|---------------|---------|------------|
| મનમોહન | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬. | સંજય | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬ |
| વૈભવ | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬ | સુખના | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬ |
| સરમન | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬ | ચંદન | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬ |
| સીમારી | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬ | શીશ્મ રેકોર્ડ | ૪ | ૧-૧-૬ |

આ સંવાય મહાકુર માસનર મુખતાજ અલી કવાલ-મરફુમ પીયાર કવાલની જગ્યાપર આવી ગયા છે નેની કવાલી રેકોર્ડો.



માસનર મુખતાજ

- 14035 અમર નગર
- 14041 તબક્કાની સાસમે એકબર
- 14079 કરાસને કુરેન
- 14722 અમીય કુ મોનલ
- 14733 ખાલ કામે નવર
- 14744 અમર મે કો દુલકન પાની
- 14755 અમર મે કો સવાપર
- 14756 મે અમર મે કો દુલકન
- 14761 કાલને અલીરન મે
- 14762 મે અમર
- 14763 મે અમર
- 14764 મે અમર
- 14765 મે અમર
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- 14788 મે અમર
- 14789 મે અમર
- 14790 મે અમર
- 14791 મે અમર
- 14792 મે અમર
- 14793 મે અમર
- 14794 મે અમર
- 14795 મે અમર
- 14796 મે અમર
- 14797 મે અમર
- 14798 મે અમર
- 14799 મે અમર
- 14800 મે અમર

અમર મે અમર

- FT 15288 અમર મે અમર
- 15368 અમર મે અમર
- 15700 અમર મે અમર



- 15730 કરાસને મોલ આર
- 15760 કુરુપેપર કીકો કરા
- 15780 આ રાજ વળી કરા
- કરેન અમર
- 15772 રાસીનીયા કરા
- 7770 મોર ગીતન ૬ કરા
- 12215 કોલી ૬ કરા મુસાબા
- 12687 અમર મોલી કરા
- 12826 અમર મોલી કરા
- 12917 અમર મોલી કરા
- 10159 અમર મોલી કરા

માસનર મુખતાજ

- FT 7774 મોર કરા મે ગીતનનીયા
- 7946 આ મોલી ૬ કરા મુસાબા
- 10159 કરા મોલી કરા
- 11. 370 અમર મે મુસાબા
- 2110 અમર મોલી કરા
- 422 અમર મોલી કરા
- 2111 મે ૬ કરા
- મુર અમર મોલી કરા ૬-૬

RADIO RECORD TRADING CO.

DURBAN: 88 Victoria Street.

JOHANNESBURG: 38A Market Street.

CAPE TOWN: 145 Hanover Street.

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... ॥
... ॥

[illegible]

ગેરફાળામાં ને મહિના પહેલાંજ એ
 આમના બાબમાં જાણી, યુગ નેત્રો કાન્સ
 નો રક્ષક, પાળી અજ વસનારો જોડા
 અર્થ નેત્રો ૧૦ જણ પહેલાં અમેરિકન
 શિશુનરી સ્વધર્મના જોડાવા દાણ, અને
 પદતર દિવસે આપના દાણ, મુજરાતનાં
 અર્થ આમજોડાના નેત્રોજ દેવ ૧૪
 દેવ, આસ કરીને દિનુ ધમે કાન્સ
 કરેલો પાળા પાનકા નેત્રોજ દેવો
 મેવાઓ તપાસી દાણ નેત્રોજ દેવ,
 આપજોડાના અર્થ અર્થનાંત્રોજ
 શિશુ આપના નેત્રો પાળના અર્થો
 યુગ કૈલાનો પાળ કરી અર્થો કરતાં,
 દિનુધર્મનાં રતી પશુધર્મ અર્થોજ
 આપના કરતાં પદતર અર્થ કરી
 આપની તરીકે અર્થ પદ પદ કરતાં
 કરતાં રતિનો શિશુ પાળી અર્થો દેવ

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કેડવાલાના રહેવાસીઓ તેા મેઝીયાલ
નાં સ્થાપના વર્તમાનમાં કાલે થઈ ગયા હતા.
કેડવાલામાં લોકોને અત્યંત કષ્ટાગ્રી. તારા
કપામાં મહેસૂલી સ્થાન સુધી કેડવાલા
માગની અંતે પોતાના સગાના મહેસૂલી
લોકોમાં જ રહી, તેમને સેવકા જેવી
સંજ્ઞા મળ્યાં તથા પોતાના કાળા માથાના
કેડવાલા અંદરનાં મહેસૂલી પ્રદેશ ન હતા.
પણ આ કેડવાલા અંદર તેમના માર દંગરા
પાકું રહેતું.

ਧੀਰੋ ਧੀਰੋ ਮੋਹੀਆਤਿ ਰਖਾ ਭੋਲ
 ਦਰਿਆਯੁ ਪਾਇਯੁ ਅੰਗ ਅੰਗੀਨੀ ਮਰਾ
 ਧਾਰੇਧਾਰੇ ਧਰਾ ਭਾਂਡੀ, ਅਰਧ੍ਰੁਤੀਨੀ
 ਭੋਲਕਾ ਭੋਲਕੀਯੋ ਮਾਂਦੇ ਨੇਨਕ ਮੋਖ

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જાણે એકબીજા જુદા કળાકાર હોય
તપાસે. એને એકી દવા લઈને એક
બેચેરોને વખા આપ્યું. વખા એના
જીવનની કલે અદા આપા ન કરી.
આપામાં એવો પાણી એના મનમાં
ધકો ભર્યો હતો. નીરાસ પડે તેઓ
પહોર આપ્યાં રૂપની આકર્ષ એમની
પાસે ફોટાની માળી અને આજીવન
એકે પુણ્ય કાળે... સ... એકી બીજી
બચી ને એકી અલગ... બીજી આસી
બચી આસી એકીબીજીને નરક પાળી

હીવાળીનેા અર્થ ?

ક્રીડાપાત્રના નાદ જગાતે જુદાં જુદાં
ગાજનાં માથા છે અને તેને ગજગજા
ની અનેક કીર્તિ જોવામાં આવે છે
આપણા દેશમાં પરદેશી મિત્રજૂમાં જાણ
કેને કીર્તિપાત્રી માટે અમરજુની આપના
કાં કહે છે:

১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫ ১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫ ১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫ ১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫
 ১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫ ১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫ ১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫ ১৫৫৫৫৫৫৫

[illegible]

પણ એનાની કુળવંશી સ્ત્રીઓ ન મળી
તમણી મના : ન કાલો : પાનાની આના
ન હતી : કાળા કુળવંશી પાના પાના
કિન્તુ મુઠાના આ ની : પાના : એકદમ
ન પાના સમનાના કુળવંશી મળે નો
તમણે પકડે તુડી પકડે કળા વિપ્રકા
તમણે મળે એક સંજોગ કુલ મળી
કોઈ કાળાની પોતે કળા : પણ એના
અર્થે કળા સ્ત્રીની મળા કળા પોતે
કોઈ પોતે કળા પોતે કળા કળા :
પાનાના અર્થે કિન્તુ કળા એક
પણ મળે મોળા કળા એ પોતાના
મળ પોતે પોતે મળી નીકળી.

[illegible][illegible]

ମହାବଳନାଥ ଶ୍ରୀଧରୀ,

મહાન તરોવાર આરે ઉપરની જુની
પ્રથામાં સંપૂર્ણ રાત્રી દુરુદ્ધાને લેવી
મા આજનો તર્જી. અને એ પ્રસંગને
તેના અર્થમાં રજુ કરી ગાદીવાચક
તર્જી ને દિવસે પણ કેમપણા નગર
કાળે અને દિવસે સુરતોથી પ્રવર્તે
તરૂલે કરવાને મહાન જાનરે કોઈ
જનો કેવામાં આવે છે. તે આજના
પ્રવાન મુજબ પણ શેરવાનસ ગણાય

દિવાળીની સાંજે તબાકાની આગ
 ખાલી સંધ્યા અને તાપા પ્રથમની
 સંજોગીક શ્રીયાની આસપાસ કોઈ ખાલી
 ધૂનગને આકુળની તબાકાની કપડી સોજા
 તે રાત્રે ફૂલેક ગંભીર કહેલા પુણ્ય
 આરે ચોપકાનું સંજોગ કાઢ અને
 પોતાના જાતના રંગી સંજોગ પાતાના
 જડી તાપા તબાકા પાસે આનંદ
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 ખાલી આનંદના કોણે તબાકામાં ફૂલ
 અને પ્રતિભા એ સંજોગ કાઢી આનંદ
 ના કાઢી આનંદ પોતાની સંજોગની
 સંજોગ રાત્રી સંજોગને તાપા દિવાળી
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WOMEN IN INDIA IN PUBLIC SERVICES

જાહેર સેવાઓમાં પર કેટલીક હોદ્દાની યોગ્યતા



Girl operators attend to their switch boards in a New Delhi telephone exchange.

ન્યુ દિલ્હીના ટેલીફોન એક્ચેન્જમાં કામે લાગેલી યુવતીઓ.

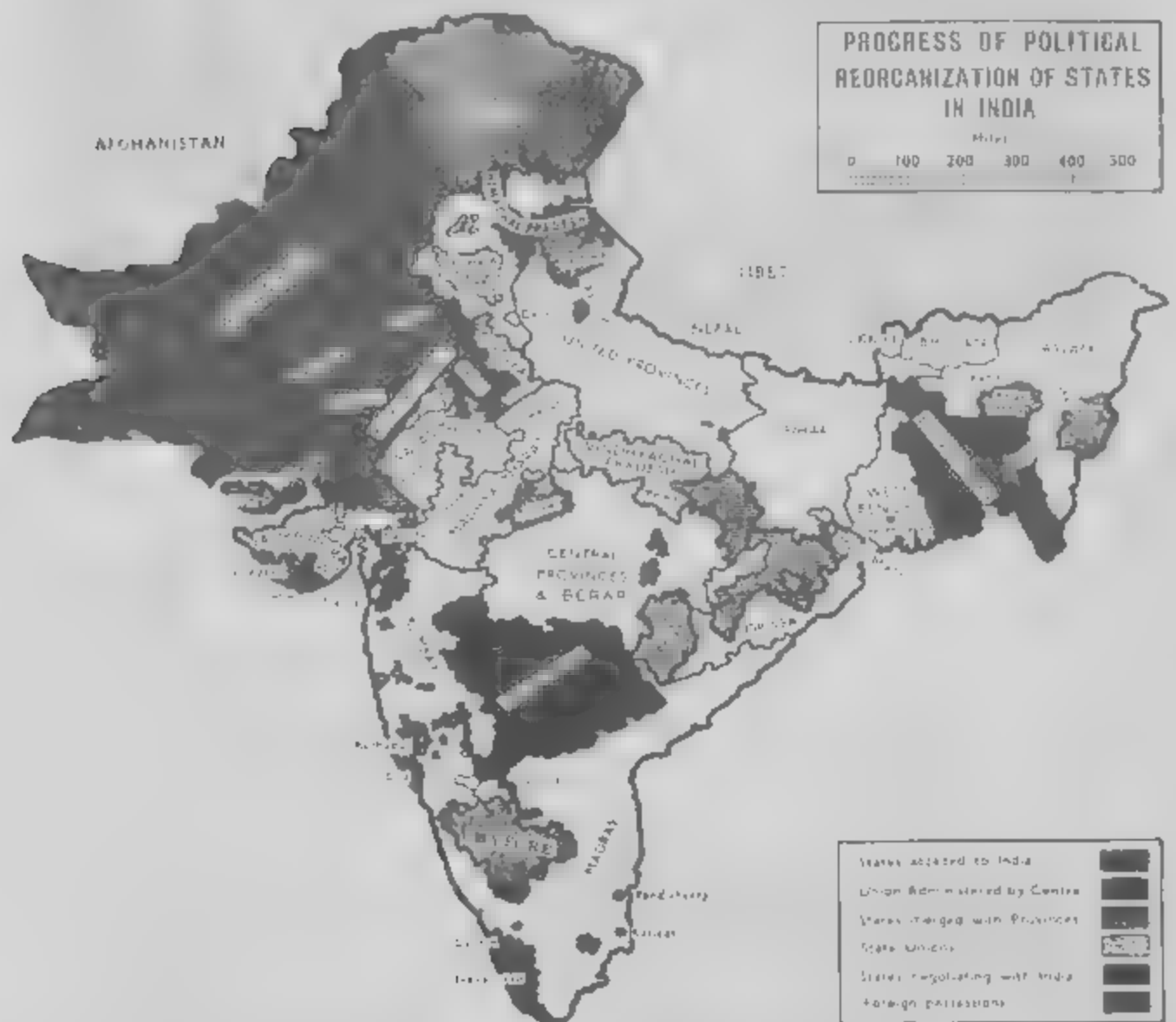
★ ★ ★



H. M. S. "Delhi" (former H. M. S. "Achilles" of the Royal Navy) is the first cruiser to be acquired by the Royal Indian Navy. This cruiser along with two others won a major naval victory against the German Battleship "Admiral Graf Spee" during the last war.

સોદિની પહેલી જૂલદ નેલુ' ના પ્રધાન પંડિત નેલુએ કુંડ સમયપત્ર સુધારના બાબતમાં સ્વાગત કર્યું હતું.
આ જૂલદ નેલુ નામ "દેલી" રાજધાની આપ્યું છે જે પ્રથમ ભારતીય નેલુ છે. "દેલી" નામની નેલુ, જેણે પૂર્વમાં તેણે બીજા નેલુ સાથે બગાડી
બેલુઓને "દેલી" નામ આપ્યું છે તે જાણી શકે.

આ નકશામાં હીંદના દેશી રાજ્યોની રાજકીય પુનર્વ્યવસ્થા થએલી
ખતાવવામાં આવી છે

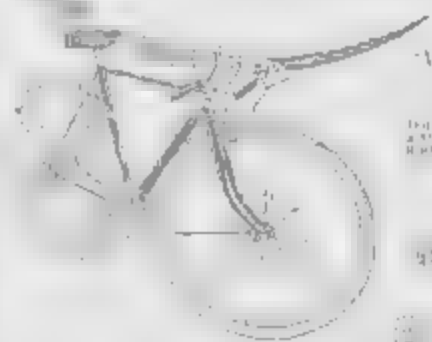


હીંદની સાથે જોડાયેલા, મધ્યસ્થ સરકાર તરફથી નેરો પોલિટીકલ નેશનલ રાજ્યોના બહાર ગયેલા, જાંબની પોલિટીકલ ગેવેલા, હીંદ સાથે અસહન ચલાવી રહેલા અન્ય ગરજનો નવા રાજ્યો કે નવોગો, અન્નાપેટા આપ છે.

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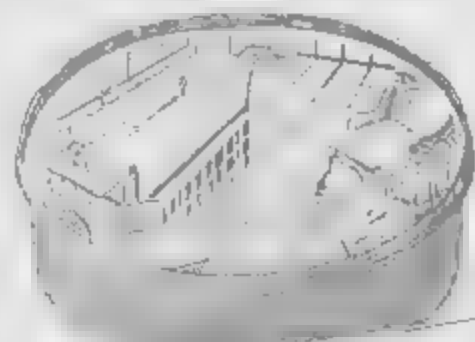


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At a time when all the world's peoples are in a state of unrest,
 The torch of freedom is needed to guide the way;
 The torch that has been kindled by the hand of the people,
 To burn the darkness of the night, and to bring the dawn;
 And to show the way to the people of the world,
 Who are in a state of unrest and in a state of pain.

Imparting the light of freedom to the people of the world,
 Who are in a state of unrest and in a state of pain;
 The torch that has been kindled by the hand of the people,
 To burn the darkness of the night, and to bring the dawn;
 And to show the way to the people of the world,
 Who are in a state of unrest and in a state of pain.

Remembering the day when the people of the world
 Were in a state of unrest and in a state of pain;
 They have been kindled by the hand of the people,
 To burn the darkness of the night, and to bring the dawn;
 And to show the way to the people of the world,
 Who are in a state of unrest and in a state of pain.

You have been kindled by the hand of the people,
 To burn the darkness of the night, and to bring the dawn;
 And to show the way to the people of the world,
 Who are in a state of unrest and in a state of pain;
 Remembering the day when the people of the world
 Were in a state of unrest and in a state of pain;
 They have been kindled by the hand of the people,
 To burn the darkness of the night, and to bring the dawn;
 And to show the way to the people of the world,
 Who are in a state of unrest and in a state of pain.

Yours, O Muse, in the night of the world,
 This dismal world, where the people are in a state of pain;
 Poverty, hunger, and the people are in a state of pain;
 The day of our land is the day of the people,
 For Strength and Health and Love and Open-hearted Generous;
 Amidst the people of the world, who are in a state of pain;
 O Muse, in the night of the world, where the people are in a state of pain;

—TAGORE.

(Translated from the original Bengali.)

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No 43—VOL. XLVI

Friday, 27th November 1953

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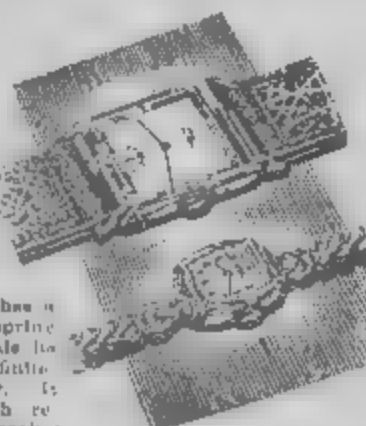
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હેડ ઓફિસ :
૪૦૯, ક્રુગર સ્ટ્રીટ, લુઈસ ટ્રિચાર્ડ.
ફોન ૬૪. પો. બોક્ષ ૧૦૬.
ટેલિગ્રાફિક એડ્રેસ : "કાન્જી"

એચ. કે. ગોકળ,

—જેલસેલ વેપારી :—

—જનરલ મરચન્ટ અને આયાત કરનાર—

૪૩, મારકેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, જોહાન્નિસબર્ગ.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1905

NO. 43.—XLVI. FRIDAY, 12TH NOVEMBER, 1948.

REGISTERED AT THE R.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER
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FRIDAY, 12TH NOVEMBER, 1948

Our Future

"I regard education as the greatest value in life. At present, however, it is still a very rare thing. It is the only thing that is worth something in the future."

THE position of Indians in South Africa is daily growing serious. Indians are aware of it and are perturbed. The Nationalist Government seems intent on not allowing them to live in peace. Their existence is being threatened on all sides. There is a persistent and almost unanimous cry from the Nationalists and from the reactionary elements in the United Party too, that Indians must be repatriated. As things are moving it would not be at all surprising if Indians in South Africa would have to suffer the same fate as the Jews had to suffer in Germany under Hitler. The Government seems ill-disposed to heed the warnings given by General Smuts and Mr. Hofmeyr, nor the trend of events at U.N.O.

While the Government here is pursuing a policy to oust Indians it is interesting to note that Mr. Eric Louw was busy parleying with the Prime Minister of Pakistan to barter South Africa's coal for iron from Pakistan. This is just a small instance to indicate how both countries might need each other's help. Indians are a foreign element in this country. It is

said. Past history is quoted to prove that it is so, but it is not fully quoted. History also tells us that there was a time when the sugar industry which is one of the main industries of South Africa was about to break down for want of reliable labour and that the industry survived only when labour was introduced from India. Labourers who had thus come to this country were induced to stay on and the then Government, after negotiating with the then Government of India, had agreed to give better trading facilities to Indians resident in this country. Should the supply of labour from India be continued. That was history, and, for all we know it might repeat itself. General Smuts has very rightly said, no country, great or small, can afford to stand alone. If South Africa fails to take this lesson it will do so at its peril. South Africa is treading on dangerous ground. The sooner the Government realises it the better for itself and the country.

As you sow so shall you reap. This is as true for the Government as it is for the Indian community. We are in for difficult times. If we suffer we shall suffer together. Nothing comes to us without suffering. There are no-day victories

at work in our community and both are harmful. Our force is based on untruth and the other is cowardice. One is based on untruth because it has on its lip Gandhi and Nehru but in its heart Stalin. There cannot be a divided loyalty. We are either loyal to Russia or we are loyal to India. One has to be very cautious in allowing one self to be guided by that force. There is a grave danger of the innocent being misguided. The other force is as we have stated above, based on cowardice. Submission to that force will destroy our very life and soul. That force treads on fear and hypocrisy. Fear because it lacks faith and courage to face the evil. Hypocrisy, because it does not believe in right and would not hesitate to do wrong if it were sure of its power. With these weapons we cannot face the powerful enemy before us with the slightest hope of succeeding. So we must have faith in ourselves, in the justice of our cause, and in God. If the humiliations imposed on us are intolerable if we value our self-respect more than life itself then we must shed all fear and be prepared to stake our lives for a cause we consider to be sacred. For that we must develop the strength and courage not to kill but to die. Our victory is in dying for the cause. Should we survive it will be the grace of God. If we die we shall have set the greatest

example to posterity. On the other hand we think only in terms of material gain we are doomed and we shall deserve our fate. We have been deeply impressed by the words of a national saint, a quoted dove which he uttered in one of his famous prayers. It is not leadership but character that we are lacking. There can be no leadership without character.

NOTES

General Smuts On Present Government

Opening the Transvaal United Party Congress in Johannesburg on Wednesday November 4, General Smuts is reported to have said, it was clear that so nation, great or small, could stand alone to-day. The new Government wanted to break off South Africa's connections, to keep the country small, to keep out foreigners, and not to bother about the country's friends. You cannot follow that line without bringing the deepest suffering on South Africa, he said. He was afraid that if the Government succeeded in strengthening its position in the years that were coming, South Africa would go through very difficult times. South Africa has friends in the world, it was not necessary for us to send an Ambassador-at-Large, overseas to explain ourselves. But it is necessary to do so now. But deeds speak louder than words, and whatever Mr. de Waterbury say abroad, the basis of trust in us, is gone. The people of South Africa, who were not isolationists, who were liberal-minded, decent-minded, should make up their minds that the sooner they get rid of the Government the better for South Africa. I am prepared to go into a fight, but it is very hard to see the work of

GENERAL SMUTS ON THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT

OPENING the Triennial Congress of the United Party in the Johannesburg City Hall on November 3, General Smuts said: The Government was prepared to cause the greatest ill-feeling between the black and white people, to break its own solemn undertakings and the provisions of the South Africa Act.

"They are not consulting the people; they are simply going ahead with their plans. This is Fascism, this is Nazism, pure and simple."

"The United Party has done its best to make its Native policy clear," he went on. "We do not as the Nationalists say, stand for equality, and we are not 'Kaffir booties.' Our policy is that the white man should retain his superiority, and we shall see to it that all sections get fair play."

"I see no other way for our future. If we at this grave moment in history are going to whip up colour prejudice, then White South Africa is in danger."

"To me, the most serious thing of all is the attitude of the Government towards immigration. If ever there was a time when European immigration was necessary to strengthen our European population it is to-day."

"What does this cry about White South Africa being in danger mean if we are not willing to see suitable people come into the country to strengthen ourselves and to develop our industry?"

The Union had been going forward but it was not now.

"The election was a great shock not only to people in this country: it was a world-wide shock. People over the world knew what our opponents stood for. They remembered their war policy; they remembered their attitude over Hitler, their pro-Nazi policy."

"On top of this came the new policy towards Natives and coloured people's political rights, and the new immigration policy."

"The result is this: there is a loss of confidence in South Africa. People of other countries are beginning to doubt us."

"Up to the time the Nationalist Government came into power, South Africa was the favoured country among the small nations of the world. On May 21 we had a Treasury full of money, abundant resources, great gold reserves. We had a stream of capital pouring into the country."

"Where has it all gone? This

Government has destroyed the confidence of the world in South Africa."

"I will tell you what is going to happen. It will not be long before the people discover that they have a depression Government. The stream of money does not come any more. The Government has tried abroad and cannot get any money. They find that our money is running out."

"It is this Government that has lost us the confidence of the world, and it will bring a depression to South Africa. You cannot do as the Nationalists have done—fight the policy of your own people during a war and have a Native and immigration policy they now have—and think that you will still have the confidence of the world outside."

"We cannot stand alone. If there is one thing in the world today that no country, great or small, can do, it is to try to stand alone. The United States learned that lesson."

"Our new Government says they want to cut off the country's outside connections and keep the population small and hold out strangers."

"You cannot do this without getting into trouble, and our people are going to realize this. We are the signs already. I am afraid that if this Government manages to dig itself in and we cannot restore South Africa in the confidence of the world, we are going to have a very bad time."

"When the United Party was in power it was not necessary for

us to send Ambassadors abroad to explain ourselves. But it is necessary to do now. It is deeds, not words, that count, and whatever Mr. Water may say, the loss of confidence in us is gone."

"South Africa is dependant on world opinion, world goodwill, and the support of her friends everywhere. These friends are now very dubious about us. The Union must get out of this position as soon as possible."

Speaking at a United Party rally in Pretoria General Smuts said: "You ask me what is our policy? I want this country to progress and become a great united nation with the maximum of good feeling among all sections of the people, among all colours. In this idea that you can build your future on antagonising the black man, you are not saving South Africa. You are only saving the Nationalist Party. Once you create this bad feeling between colours you cannot have the united effort which alone can make South Africa great."

"We are not surrendering our mastery, but we do not believe in a top-dog policy for any race or colour. Once the British thought they were top dog and the result was three years of bloody war. Now some of the Afrikaners think they are top dog."

"There may have been chosen people in the Bible, but there are no chosen people in South Africa. We are all much of a muckness and we have to work together. This is common wisdom and it is also high politics."

"That is our faith. But it is not only faith that saves you. It is faith and work. Your cause won't save you. You must save your cause."

VISIT TO PARIS SCRUPULOUSLY BANNED

Mr. Ashwin Choudhry, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, who was travelling in India on a private holiday visit, and who left by the Kampha last week, was interviewed by immigration officials before the boat sailed. Mr. Choudhry's passport, issued in 1946 and valid for India, the United Kingdom, France, the United States and various other countries, was demanded and endorsed with effect that his passport is now valid only for India, Pakistan and South Africa. Mr. Choudhry was advised that this endorsement was effected on instructions from Pretoria.

As the Rev. Michael Scott was waiting at Palmietfontein last week to board an aircraft for London he was asked by the immigration officer to surrender his passport. Mr. Scott refused to surrender the passport and cancelled his passport. Mr. Scott told Sapa that he had intended to go to London and then to the United Nations General Assembly at Paris at the request of the Natives of South West Africa. Mr. Scott said he had passed through the Customs and Immigration at Palmietfontein Airport and was waiting to board the aircraft when he was recalled by the immigration officer and asked to surrender his passport. He was told that the immigration officer was acting on an instruction from the Ministry of the Interior. The instruction had just been received by telephone. Mr. Scott said the officer told him that he could give no explanation now or show him any written instructions. The officer also told him that the cancellation of his passport did not necessarily prevent his departure. Mr. Scott declined to surrender his passport and said he would make representations to the Minister. He told Sapa that the mission he had been asked to undertake could not be fulfilled without passport and visa facilities.

Shree Kasi Vishwanath Seva Sanjiv of 50, Burtello Street, Calcutta undertakes that sometime back, a philanthropic gentleman of Natal donated a handsome amount to the Seva Sanjiv or made a suitable provision for them. The Sanjiv will be obliged if the correct address of the donor is furnished to them.



Mr. Amar Nath Sehgal, an artist from Punjab, with a bust of Mahatma Gandhi recently made by him.

WE reproduce below from *Harvard* for general information, the full text of the speeches made in the Union House of Assembly during the debate on the Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Bill, which was recently passed.

The Prime Minister: I move that the Bill be now read a second time. With the previous Bill we talked in calm waters. May I express the hope that the same will be the case with regard to the Bill which I am now presenting to the House?

Before I go any further to explain and to defend this Bill, I would just like to give an explanation which I feel that I owe to this House. Namely, why the Bill in the form it was first introduced into the House was withdrawn to be replaced by the Bill in its present form. In the Bill as it was first introduced a definition was given of Asiatics. It was the ordinary definition which has been used in various laws since the days of the Transvaal Republic, because it is actually a remnant or a heritage of those days. Subsequently, delegates from Turkey made representations at one of the meetings of U.N.O. directly to the previous Prime Minister in connection with the legislation of 1946 which by that time had become known, and they pleaded for a change to be made so that the word "Turk," which was specifically mentioned in the previous definition in this Bill and also in the Act of 1946, should be deleted, that the definition should be amended. The Leader of the Opposition, the Prime Minister at that time, gave an undertaking that it would be done and that undertaking was brought to our notice. As the Bill was introduced originally no effect was given to that undertaking and I considered that under the circumstances, also for diplomatic purposes, it would be desirable to give effect to the undertaking of the Leader of the Opposition. It could not be done according to advice we obtained, in the ordinary manner by an amendment on the Committee stage. Both the law advisers and the Table advised us that it could not be done and that why the Bill as first introduced was withdrawn and why we have introduced the Bill in its new form. There was thus no malicious intent in this regard, nor was it intended to be a joke, as it was interpreted. It was necessary under the circumstances.

This Bill is intended to repeal the second chapter of the Act passed by this House in 1946, namely, the chapter dealing with the representation of Indians in the House of Assembly and the Senate. A few amendments are

FULL TEXT OF DEBATE OF ASIATIC BILL

also proposed in the first part of the Act, the part dealing with the penetration of Indians into urban areas in Natal. That is the part which replaced the previous Act, the Pegging Act in other words, the part of the Act of 1916 which dealt with segregation. But these amendments proposed in this Bill are exclusively of a consequential nature. It does not actually affect the substance and the contents of the first part. That does not mean that we are completely satisfied with Chapter I as it stands today, nor does that mean that we are not going to amend it at some later stage; but that is a matter which can stand over until later and in all probability it could be dealt with when we come to the matter of which the Minister of the Interior has already given notice, namely, that with regard to the penetration by Indians into towns in the Cape Province, we will have to take similar measures to put a stop to it or restrict it, as has been done in Natal. When that takes place, there will be an opportunity of also making amendments to the first part of the Act of 1946.

The question may be put: Why do we come forward with this Bill now during the first session of the new Government? Various conjectures have, of course, been made in that connection and members on the opposite side and also people outside, interpret it as being an attempt on our part to cause trouble in the United Party and to exploit the position on the party opposite. All I can say to that is that there is not really any intention of that nature, but that it follows quite naturally that, having regard to the views we have always had and still have, and the long battle against that Act in this House with regard to Chapter II regarding the representation of Indians in Parliament, we would take the first available opportunity of putting this matter right in our own mind and in the country.

If we recall the struggle in 1946 to which I have referred, then it must be quite clear that there was a marked difference of opinion in the House. Let me emphasise that this marked difference of opinion did not exist only between the Opposition of the time and the Government party. That difference of opinion extended further in this House and also throughout the country. It is well known to everyone, and all those who were in the House at the time will remember, that this measure which was introduced by the Leader of the Opposition, at that time Prime Minister, in 1946, was the cause of an acute disagreement within the Labour

Party and the result was that the Leader and Deputy Leader of that time of the Labour Party left their party. We also know that the Dominion Party, which was represented in this House at that time, strongly opposed the representation of Indians in Parliament. That was an indication that at any rate a large portion of Natal did not agree with it. Nor did a large portion of the Labour Party. It was not only a dispute between the Opposition and us who are sitting on this side of the House. It was a deep rooted difference of opinion in a much wider circle, irrespective of party division, as it now exists in this House.

The question is why the Government at that time passed the measure through this House? Why were they so anxious to pass particularly this second part of the Act through the House? I think if we read in *Harvard* the speeches made on that Bill in 1946, it becomes quite clear why it was done. This second part of the Bill, dealing with the representation of Indians in Parliament, was a compromise. It was not a compromise concluded with the Indians of the country, because the Indians opposed and rejected the first part of the Bill as well as the second part, tooth and nail. It was not an agreement with any other party in the country which insisted on it. It was purely and simply a compromise effected between the various sections within the Government Party at that time. It was more a compromise made between the Government of that time and one of its Ministers—namely the hon. member for Johannesburg (North) (Mr. Hofmeyr), the Deputy Leader of the Party and the Deputy Prime Minister, although he was not called that yet, who indicated very clearly in this House that if Chapter I on the representation of Indians in Parliament was not to form part of that Bill, he would not be prepared to acquiesce in any part of the Bill and that as a matter of conscience he had to oppose the other part of the Bill. And the result would in all probability have been that, as he has done on a previous occasion, he would have resigned from the Cabinet under those circumstances and he gave to understand very clearly from his speeches on the Bill in 1946 that if his objections were not met, the compromise was not made with him by the Government and his Party. He would not remain in the Party and that he would therefore not remain in the Cabinet. That is the reason why they yielded to him. That is the history of the origin of the granting of representation to Indians in Parlia-

ment.

My own reaction at that time in the House, and that of my party was in the first place this: we felt that in that legislation we were being confronted not only by the Indian problem, but by the whole colour problem in South Africa in all its ramifications and that the steps which were being taken at that time would affect the whole position with regard to the native question and also with regard to the problem of the coloured people in our country. The whole non-European problem would be affected by it. We emphasised the fact at the time that if the 200,000 Indians in the country, and there are no more than that, are given three representatives in the House of Assembly, then we are giving three representatives to this section of the population which does not actually have its origin in South Africa. They come from outside. They come here with a temporary purpose and they are regarded by the population as a menace in the economic sphere. They have shown that they are to a large extent un-Asiatics because they are continually running to other countries outside South Africa with their grievances. I say they are given three representatives in the House of Assembly, and we give them representation in the Senate, and we feel that through that an agitation would be started in the country, which already existed in an embryo stage amongst the other sections of the non-European population, for being treated on the same basis. We pointed out that it would not take long before the Natives in the country, who are not 250,000 but approximately eight million, will rise and they will be entitled to ask—If the Indians can get three representatives in the House of Assembly, why should they then be satisfied, being eight million, also with three representatives in the House of Assembly? They were born in South Africa, they do not come from another country, and why should they then be satisfied with three representatives. Treated on the same basis they would be entitled to no fewer than thirty members. That is the way they also viewed the matter and they adopted resolutions to that effect. We were therefore quite right in saying that the colour question in general was being affected by this step taken at that time.

It is for that reason also that I moved an amendment that if the whole colour question was being affected why then not deal with the colour question, which has become more acute than ever before, which has assumed greater dimensions than before, as it was dealt with before 1936? Let the two Houses of Parliament deli-

berate jointly by means of a joint Select Committee and let the matter be decided by the representatives of all the parties of the House together and let the whole colour question then be removed from the arena of party politics and dealt with on a non-political and national basis. That was my proposal. That was my reaction at that time. Unfortunately my friends opposite would not accept it and they would not accept it because the step they had taken was the result of a compromise, a compromise made on the ground of purely party political considerations. To them it was a party matter, and by doing that they pushed the national interest into the background and disregarded it.

We opposed it also for another reason, and that reason is that the Government of the time, as Hansard will very clearly show, I mean the two leading figures, namely, the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of that time—both indicated clearly that it could not stop there. That was only the first step that they took, and that they intended to build further on that same basis. The Prime Minister of that time was careful, and when he was asked what he was further going to build on that basis, his reply was that time would show us. He would not commit himself any further. His deputy, however, was more candid and told the House clearly on that occasion that on that basis there must and shall be further extension. This further extension on that basis was inter alia that where the franchise had been given to the Indians for representation in Parliament the same had to be done with regard to municipal franchise more particularly in Natal. That had to come. He did not only say that, but his Government actually tried to introduce it in Natal. Various municipalities were approached and they were asked whether they approved of it and whether they were prepared to take such steps. In some municipalities resolutions were passed which in general were opposed to it. They refused. Durban, the leading city in Natal, had a vote on the question and the result was that this suggestion, and attempt on the part of the previous Government to persuade the Municipality of Durban to grant representation to Indians, was rejected, I believe, by a majority of 62 to 1.

Field Marshal Smuts then in question for the provincial government.

The Prime Minister: It went through the provincial council to the municipalities, but it was the request of the previous Government that it should be done. They wanted to extend the principle further. The Deputy Prime

Minister of that time was still more open-hearted and he told us how these principles should be further extended. He said: Well, the logical conclusion—it was not only a matter of conscience with him, but he wanted to be logical and consistent, and he was logical—is that eventually the Natives should be represented in this House by Natives and the Indians should be represented by Indians. You see therefore, logically, if one looks at the implications of that step, how dangerous and how far-reaching it ultimately had to be.

But we looked at the matter also from another point of view. As it has appeared now from the last general election, there is not much difference in the strength of the Government party on the one side and the opposition parties on the other side. The result of the election was that there was a change of Government, but with a small majority. Do you see how easily a situation can arise here, if the Indians also had three representatives in this House, that there would be a block of non-European representatives here, three for the Natives and three for the Indians, which would be able to turn the scale and which could thwart the will of the European electorate in the country? I think that is a material danger. There was an election in Australia recently.

Dr. C. F. Steyn: In New Zealand.

The Prime Minister: Yes, in New Zealand. The Maoris have separate representation there just as the Natives and Indians here. There was an election, and there are only four representatives of the Maoris in the New Zealand Parliament. The strength of the two parties also proved to be more or less equal and those four Maoris were in a position where they could turn the scale to one or to the other side in Parliament. The Maoris in New Zealand are more or less harmless to the European population there, but it caused quite an upheaval in New Zealand because such a position had been created. Let us assume that the European population, even together with the Coloured people who have the franchise make a certain decision at the election, they are in favour of a change of Government; but here in Parliament you have a block of non-European representatives consisting of six and they are section which represents not only the majority of the population of South Africa, the non-Europeans, but they also represent demands made by that portion of the population, demands which are made with vehemence today, of absolute equality and the removal of all colour bars. You see the danger to which South Africa and the future of South Africa is ex-

posed under those circumstances. The previous Prime Minister stated that he had not assured the proclamation required to put this Act into operation. It is part of our Statutes, but it is also provided in the Statutes that he could put into operation at any time by proclamation and if the result of the election had been the same as at the previous general election and he was afforded an opportunity of being able to make that proclamation and he had three Indian representatives in this House together with the Native representatives, then he would have been in a position to thwart the will of the people as expressed at the election. He did not issue that proclamation for only one reason, as far as I can see, and that is that the Indians themselves rejected that representation in Parliament and he was afraid that if he did issue that proclamation, if he defined those three electoral divisions and he held an election, that those Indians would boycott the election and that they would not nominate any candidates. He was afraid of that. He would then have appeared ridiculous in the eyes of the whole nation and that is the reason and the only reason, as far as I can see, why he did not issue that proclamation and why today there are not three Indians' representatives in this House. I and my party were married at that time, together with the Dominion Party when they were also here, together with a part of the Labour Party, to have this legislation pushed aside. We did not succeed, not by the amendment I moved to refer the whole colour question to a select committee in both Houses in Parliament in which all the parties would be represented, but when we were eventually defeated by the majority against us, I asked and again asked what I had already asked previously: why did you not take such an important step, one consult the people about it, how can you not bring this House with a proposal of that nature with a majority which you, as were obtained accidentally on another occasion at a previous election when the circumstances had changed when the war had been over for years. Why do you now come before the House with that proposal, and why do you not put before the people first? There was no reply to that. The proposal was pushed through this House with a party majority and I told the House on that occasion: I do not want to consult the people, then as will, even though it may be an accomplished fact by that time, inform the people as that matter and I will call on the people to judge you. That has been done and the right that we have to come forward with this

Tell me derive from the fact that the people have given a reply in that call on them. The people have expressed their opinion on this matter when they had the opportunity to do so.

Mr. C. F. Steyn: And you only want to do it in Natal.

The Prime Minister: The reason I have given for the introduction of this Bill can be amplified by saying this: that the Indians themselves rejected it. What purpose does it serve to allow a law to remain in the Statute Book, granting them representation in Parliament when it is not acceptable to them? Not only did they reject it, but they are still busy outside South Africa appealing to India to UNO, and in the process pointing South Africa as black as it is possible for them to do.

The question may be asked and it is a quite justified question: what chance, really, do we have to maintain peace with the Government of the Union and to have peace in this country as far as possible at the moment to foresee. The answer I want to give to that is in the first place this: It depends very largely upon the Indians themselves.

The question that can be asked is this: Do these Indians in the opinion of the European population of the country make them in their own opinion actually belong to South Africa? To this question history has given us the answer. In the first instance years ago, when the Indians came here, they were obviously imported for a temporary purpose. Matters developed in such a way, probably through laxity and through pressure exercised by those interested, that they remain here but in my case the intention was to have them here in South Africa only for a temporary purpose. They are thereafter regarded not by our Government only, but by various successive Governments as part of the population which did not belong to South Africa and that is why years ago I think it was at the time when either the late General Smuts was Prime Minister or when the present Leader of the Opposition was Prime Minister

a repatriation scheme was introduced and the country spent thousands of pounds to get these Indians out of the country and back to India. What did that mean? That the Indian population in the country was regarded as a foreign element which as far as possible had to return to its national home. After the National Party Government came to power, the repatriation scheme was continued and it was continued with greater energy and great expenditure, because the Government paid the Indian for him to re-

turn to India was considerably more than what it had been before. Again we have the answer of history that they were part of the population but did not actually belong to South Africa. I may add that at that time negotiations were conducted with India and myself, representing the Government of which I was a member then, on this Indian problem and there was one solution that was put forward and that was the repatriation of Indians to their home country and that it should take place if at all possible, and that was eventually agreed to with the assistance of the Government of India itself. Again we have the same answer given by political history. They are a portion of the population which does not belong to South Africa. They are a foreign element. But as far as the Indians themselves are concerned, here they have given the clearest proof and they will give it today, that when they have any grievance, they do not go to their own government, the Government of South Africa, they do not abide by the decision and the policy determined in that respect by the Government as other sections do who also have grievances. How many sections are there not, who have grievances from time to time, but they put it before the Government of the country and even if they do not get what they want, they abide by the decision of the Government or they keep on protesting until they finally get what they want? But they do not go to a foreign country to seek justice there. The Indians in this country, however, are regularly going to countries overseas, to India, and stirring up India so that India is boycotting us today as far as commerce is concerned. They go to UNO time and again to poison the minds of the peoples of the world against South Africa.

I maintain that under those circumstances the Indians have not the right to regard themselves as part of the permanent population of South Africa which belongs to South Africa and under those circumstances, they must be content to live in this country under restrictions. A part of those restrictions we are not touching today. That was the Peggling Act. It was the law existing in the Transvaal, the anti-penetration law, which we also want to pass in respect of the Cape Province. There are restrictions which have been imposed on them, and under prevailing circumstances, those restrictions are justified because the Indian population is a foreign element also according to their own view. Will we neglect them? No, we will not neglect them where they are in their own areas and do not penetrate into areas where they come

into fatal competition with the white population. We will look after them properly there. We will do for them what we can with regard to proper housing and proper health conditions. We will not neglect them. We have already done for them what we can as far as educational facilities are concerned. They have their schools. They have their technical institute in Natal where the same staff which teaches the Europeans, teaches them in their own institution. We have not even closed the door to higher education for them. They could go to Fort Hare and some of them received higher education there, but today they can enjoy higher education also in a separate department of the Natal University, but in their own section, in their own area with their own race and not with the Europeans. We do not intend to pursue a policy of repression, but while conditions in South Africa are what they are, they have to be subject to certain restrictions and those restrictions are justified.

As far as contact between them and us is concerned, we will consider creating the contacts which cannot be completely avoided.

There must be contact. It is right that there should be. Give them an opportunity when they have grievances and they want to make representations, to be able to do so, but we cannot go further than to create machinery through which they will be able to make contact with the Government and the Government with them and certainly on a different basis from that upon which they want it today, namely, through their own Indian congresses which are very largely Communist controlled and with which we are not prepared to negotiate. We will consider whether we are able to create our own machinery for such contact on a healthy basis, more or less along the lines of such machinery existing today between the Government and the Coloured population, machinery created by the previous Minister. That is the furthest we are prepared to go to which we will probably want to consider in order to create such contact. That is all I have to say about the matter.

(To be continued)

Mr. Hofmeyr On Nationalist Policy

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Parktown North Men's branch of the United Party, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr said the Nationalists' general plan was to attack first the Indian—the most popular element in the country—then the Coloured man and then the Native. "When they have got that far they will start on sections of the European population until they ultimately achieve what is their design—the domination of South Africa by a minority clique and the establishment in this country of a republic run by that minority clique." In an attack on the financial policy of his successor, Mr. Havenga, Mr. Hofmeyr said that Mr. Havenga's budget took no account of the future. Mr. Havenga had also not heeded the warnings of Dr. de Kock of the Reserve Bank about South Africa's dwindling gold reserves, in the five months in which the new Government had been in office one-third of the gold reserve they had inherited had disappeared. The serious failure of the £30,000,000 conversion loan had added to the Government's problems in financing capital expenditure. "Today we are facing a position where it seems almost impossible to raise the money to meet our requirements. It means that it has to be raised in the United States, and the present indications are not too good for raising money in the United States. It looked all very nice on Budget day, and quite a number of people were impressed. There was a good deal of lavish display at that time, but now the honeymoon is over." Dealing with the non-European problem Mr. Hofmeyr referred to a statement made recently by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Schoeman, that European supremacy should be maintained at all costs. "They claim for themselves the right to judge what those costs may be. They are prepared to tick the law, to put aside the Constitution and to make South Africa a police State." There was no room for obscurity about what the United Party stood for—for national unity, democracy, for acceptance of the principles of the United Nations and for racial harmony.



PANDIT NEHRU

who will celebrate his 59th birthday on November 14. Indians of South Africa offer their felicitations to Pandit Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of India on their birthday and wish them health and long life to serve India and through her—humanity.

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ସମ୍ବଳ ନିମ୍ନ.



SARDAR PATEL

who celebrated his 74th birthday on October 31 and was presented by citizens of Bombay with the Ashoka wheel made of about 272 ounces of gold, and a statue of Mahatma Gandhi made of silver.

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PANDIT NEHRU ADDRESSES U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THE South African delegation to the United Nations heard India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, attack racial discrimination in South Africa on Wednesday, November 3. Although Pandit Nehru did not mention South Africa, his words clearly identified the country against which he was directing his criticism says Sapa-Reuters's message from Paris.

The South African delegation afterwards expressed surprise that Pandit Nehru, who was not a delegate and who had been granted the special privilege of addressing the General Assembly, should have embarked on such a controversial subject. They said the circumstances in which Pandit Nehru spoke, prevented South Africa or any other country from answering him.

Before he spoke, Pandit Nehru sat in the crimson chair which the President of France, M. Vincent Auriol, occupied when he opened the Paris session of the United Nations in September.

Approaching the subject of racial discrimination, Pandit Nehru said India had committed herself inevitably to freedom for every colonial country.

"Great countries like India which have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of colonial rule," he said.

"We in Asia regard it as a vital problem, because it has been a vital problem for us, and it is a question to which I want to draw attention—that is, the question of racial equality."

"This is something that is laid down in the provisions of the United Nations Charter."

"It is well to repeat that, because this question of racial equality has been spoken about frequently in the Assembly of the United Nations."

"I do not think I need dwell particularly on that question, but I remind this Assembly of the world wide aspects of this question."

"Obviously, there are large regions of the world which have suffered from this question of racial inequality," he added.

World Full Of Fear

An appeal to United Nations delegates to take a holiday from political problems and deal with those of hunger was made by Pandit Nehru.

"If people prepare for war and in existing circumstances it is difficult to say that people

should not prepare to defend themselves—they must have clean hands," he told the General Assembly.

Pandit Nehru had accepted an invitation from Dr. Evatt (Australia), Chairman of the Assembly, and spoke after the debate on a Mexican resolution which called on the great powers to make fresh efforts to settle their differences.

"The world is something bigger than Europe," Pandit Nehru declared. "In Asia and elsewhere there are vast tracts of land where

people are waking up to consciousness of world affairs, and will not be passed by Asia calmly in world affairs—and will count much more tomorrow than it does today," Pandit Nehru said.

"If racial discrimination is not removed it will sow the seeds of conflict," he said.

Declaring that the world was full of fear and where there was fear evil consequences would follow Pandit Nehru said: "Although India, militarily speaking, is of little consequence, we are not afraid of the great powers, with their enormous armies and navies and with their atomic bombs. There is another force than the force of arms."

INDIA OPPOSES RUSSIA AT UNO

SOUTH AFRICA'S restriction on inter provincial immigration was cited by India when she opposed the proposed limitation by Russia on the movement of citizens within a State.

The matter arose during discussion in the Social Committee on Article 11 of the Draft Declaration of Human Rights. This article says: "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state, and everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own."

Russia proposed a qualification, namely that these rights should be "in accordance with the laws of the State."

Dr. A. Appadurai (India) said that the article as it stood was important, because freedom of movement and residence affected the lives and fortunes of large numbers of people everywhere,

and more especially Natives and Asians who lived in Africa.

"The proclamation of this right," said Dr. Appadurai, "will give hope to millions who are now denied this facility."

"Our own draft constitution categorically states that all citizens shall have the right to move freely throughout the territory of India, and to settle and reside in any part of the territory of India."

"We all agree that this right, like every other right, is subject to the interests of general security and welfare."

"It strikes me that the inclusion of the phrase, in accordance with the laws of the State, is only onearthly article in the declaration and not in the charter may be taken by some States to mean that this is an over-riding phrase, and thus to justify restrictions on free movement not

contemplated by the Declaration," said Dr. Appadurai.

"There will be an attempt to justify such restrictions on inter-provincial immigration and on residence, and the maintenance of a reserved area for Asian people and the Natives of Africa such as are prevalent not only in the Union of South Africa but in several other parts of the African continent."

"I do not propose to refer to the details of these laws, the whole world knows them."

India knew that Soviet Russia was far removed from any thought of curbing those of similar law. However, for the reserve system in the Soviet Union against Russia's amendment, because it was capable of misinterpretation.

OBITUARY

Indians in South Africa deeply mourn the death of Mr. B. G. Horniman and Mr. K. G. Narayan in India. Mr. Horniman was a staunch supporter of the Indian Home Rule movement and a severe critic of the repressive and oppressive policy of the Government of India in the independence struggle. His name will ever remain in the history of India as one of the staunchest European friends of India. Mr. N. G. Horniman was one of the leading personalities in Bombay and has played a prominent part in the struggle for freedom.

Indians in South Africa also mourn the death of Mr. Hakim Hameed Hidayatullah, Governor of Sind, whose loss is great to Pakistan.



S.A. delegates ask UNO to amend the clause on human rights.—Paris Item.

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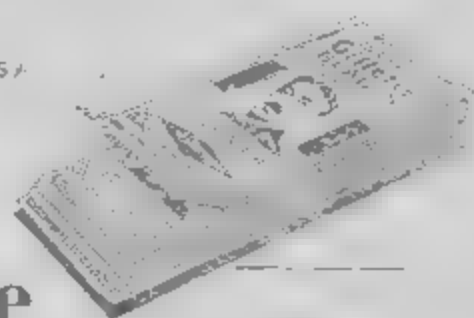
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અવસાનની નોંધ

સાથે આદીકાના દોહોનો હોદમાં ગી. બી. ડી. કે. એનિયન અને યી. જે. એફ. નરીયાનના થયેલા અવસાનને મારે ઉઠી મોક કરે છે. બી. હોરની મેન દોહોની સ્વચ્છતાની સતતા સુરતે ભેદાત્મકતા હતા અને હોદ સરકારની એ વખતની યુગ્મચમર નીતીના સ્વપ્ન દીકાદાર હતા, તેમજ તામ એક મારા

અમેજી બીજ તરીકે ઇતિહાસમાં અમર રહી જશે. બી. કે. એફ. નરીયાન મુખ્યત્વે એક બાહ્ય નાગરીક હતા અને હોદની આઝાદીની લડતમાં મહાન ફાળો આપ્યો હતો. સાથે આદીકાના દોહોનો સંપત્તિ મરવરતે ગી. યુધામ જેસેન પિંદામતુસ્સાહના અવસાન ને મારે પછી ઉઠી રંગ કરે છે. ગાદીસ્તાનને તેમની મહાન ખાત મરજી.

રાષ્ટ્રસંઘ સમક્ષ પંડિત નેહરુનું બાબલુ

પ્રથમ નવેમ્બર ના. ૪ થીએ રાષ્ટ્ર સંઘમાં મહેલા સાથે આદીકાના (સીમિયન) દોહના વડા પ્રધાનને સાથે આદીકાની જાતી બેઠી ગીતી સામે ફક્તો કરતાં સાબળવાના માળ મળ્યા હતા. પેરીસમાં સાધાનવરેનો ખખર પતી જણાવે છે કે પંડીત નેહરુએ એ કે સાથે આદીકાનું નામ નહોતું લીધું પણ તેમના ઇન્દોપરથી તેમની દીકા એ દેશને ઇરેશિયન હતી એ મારા મધ્યમ બાબતું હતું.

તેમને સાંભળ્યા પછી સાથે આદીકાના કેશિયનને આશ્ચર્ય કરીએ હત કે પંડીત નેહરુ દલીલે નહિ જોઇ રાષ્ટ્ર સંઘની સહાયતા અમલ બાબતું કરવા ની તેમને ખાસ છૂટ આપવામાં આવી જોવા જતા આવી અસીરપદ બાબત ઉપર ન જોવા. તમનેએ કહ્યું કે તેમનું બાબલુ એવા સંજોગમાં થયું હતું કે તેમના જાતિય પછી રાષ્ટ્રી આપી હતા તેમ નહોતું.

પંડીત નેહરુ જોવા ઉભા મધ્ય ને પહેલાં તેઓ રાષ્ટ્રસંઘની બેઠાનું સારું-અમર પેરીસમાં ઉદ્ઘાટન કરવાર રાષ્ટ્રના પ્રેસિડન્ટ બી. બી. સેન્ટ એડીયાસના આસનપર બેઠા હતા જાતી બેઠના સપાસપર આપના પંડીત નેહરુએ કહ્યું કે, હરેક સંસ્થાનક દેશને સ્વતંત્રતા મળવી જોઈએ એ મુદ્દાપર હોદ અનિવાર્ય રીતે પાયાય છે હોદ નેવા મોટા દેશો જેઓ સંસ્થાનીક દેશોમાંથી તારા તીકાયા ગયા છે. તેઓ અન્ય દેશોને સંસ્થાનિક તંત્રના કુલરી કેળા રહેલુ દાકર કે એ ચાની રહેલા નથી.

અમે એશીયાના ના સવાનને પછે મહત્વનો માનીએ છીએ અને એને લીધે હું અહિં બાબ (અમર માથું) છું. એ સવાન આદીકા સમાનતાનો સમાલ છે. રાષ્ટ્રસંઘના ખરીલાઓ એ બાબત નો ઉલ્લેખ થયો છે. તની પુષ્ટાકિત કરેલી જરૂરી છે કેમકે જાતીય સમાનતાના સવાનનો ઉલ્લેખ રાષ્ટ્રસંઘની મહાનતામાં વખતના વખત કરવામાં આવે છે.

એ સવાનપર ખાસ બેઠવાની મારે અરે રહેતી નથી, પરંતુ તેના વિષય સવાની અમરતા વિષય આ સમાન માં વાર આપની કોષ્ટએ એ કેમકે તુલ્ય

કે કુનીયાના મોટા જાગેને જાતીય અસમાનતાના આ સવાનથી પછી સદન કરવું પડ્યું છે.

પંડીત નેહરુએ રાષ્ટ્રસંઘના કેસિયેટને વિનંતિ કરી હતી કે તેઓએ સ્વતંત્ર સમાલેને રાષ્ટ્ર આપી રહેને આને લોકોને અનાજ પુર પાડવાના સવાનો પ્યાન આપવું જોઈએ.

તેમણે કહ્યું કે લોકો ને મુકની તૈયારી કરતાં જોય. અને આજના સંજોગમાં પોતાનું સંસ્થાન કરવાની બાહ્યે તૈયારી નહિ રાખવી જોઈએ એમ કરવું મુદ્દેક છે-તે નેમોના કાય મોખ્યા જોવા જોઈએ.

પંડીત નેહરુએ મહાસભાના પ્રમુખ ડૉ. એવેટ તેમને જાણ કરવાનું આ પેલું બાબલુ સ્વિચાઈ હતું અને એકલાએક મહારાજાને પોતાના મત બંધના રીતે ગાવા હરી પ્રમુખ કરવાનું કહેનારા મુકેસા રાષ્ટ્રપરની અગાં ખાદ તેઓ બેઠવા ઉભા મધ્ય હતા

તેમણે કહ્યું કે કુનીયાનો સમાવેશ પુરેપુરો જાતિય થવો નથી પુરેપ કરતાં ને પછી મોટી છે. એશીયા અને અન્ય સંસ્થાના વિશાળ પ્રદેશ પટેલા ને અમર લોકો કુનીયાને જાતી બાબતે તીવ્ર અમર થવા માગ્યા છે. અને તેઓ પોતાની અવમજાના મતી સદન કરવાના નથી કુનીયાની બાબતે માં એશીયાની અમરતા મતી જોઈએ. આજે તકિ યાય તા આપની કાલે કરેલી પડાવન જાતીયદ દર કરવા ના તકિ અમે તા સદાવન ખીજ રાષ્ટ્રી.

કુનીયામાં આજે કાય પ્રવર્તી રવા છે અને અમર અમર જે તમા તમા પુરા પરિણામે પછી તીવ્ર છે એમ કહી પંડીત નેહરુએ કહ્યું હોદ નો કે સરકારી પ્રદેશને અંતર અગત્યનો છે. જ્યાં મહારાજાની વિશાળ સેનાઓ અને ગણકારી અને તેઓના અર્થ બેઠવાથી અમે કરતા નથી સંસ્થાન કરતા મરી પત્ય તુ બીજા તા પાલ રહેલુ છે.

એશીયાટીકાનો આદીકાપર સત્તા જમાવવા નો કહેવાનો હેતુ

પંડીત એશીયાટીકા પ્રધાન ડૉ. નેહરુને ગળ ના. ૨૪ થીએ રાષ્ટ્રસંઘમાં તેમ ના માનમાં આપવામાં આવેલા નહેરુ થાય પ્રસંગે બાબલુ કરતાં જાણવું હતું કે એશીયાટીકો સાથે આદીકાપર અને આપા આદીકા ખંડપર સત્તા જમાવવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરી રવા છે અને મુનાઈડે નેહરુ-સદાસ આ જોવાનો સિદ્ધ કરવામાં મધી રવા છે. કે નેમસને કહ્યું: મુનાઈડે નેહરુ-સતી ભેદને અમે પ્રમાર કામ ચાલી રહ્યું છે સાથે આદીકાની વિષદ ત્યાં પ્રમાર પ્રમાર કામ ચાલી રહ્યું છે એ સમજા થય વળતી પાછા ભેદ શુ રહ્યોએ કુનીયા માનમાં, કે માત્ર મતાધીકારીના સવાલ જોય. આ વખતી પાછા કુનીયા માનું છું કે એશીયાટીકા સામાન્ય રીતે સાથે આદીકાપર અને આપા આદીકા ખંડ પર સંસ્થાન કાય મેળવવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરી રવા છે અને હોદ, અમેરીકા, ઓરન અને પ્રેસા ખંડમાં તેમજ ખાલ હરી મુનાઈડે નેહરુ-સતી સમાન આ પછી તીવ્ર અને પછી પાળા જુદા ચાલી રહેલા સવા અમારું આજ કારણ છે.

આદીકા ખંડના આ રક્ષિય મામ માં તાં ગાની રહ્યું છે એથી મોટી પ્રવ નેહરુ એમ નથી થતી એ મને તાજુબી થાય છે. આદિ બેટી લકા ચાલી રહી છે કે તે તેઓને મારે પછી ન અમરની છે. અને જ્યાં તેઓને ભાગિ તેઓ સમજ રહેલા નથી અને વરુ રિયલિ તાપ્યા વિનાજ સાથે આદીકાને વખેલી રવા છે.

સાથે આદીકા ને, મમમમ ૩૦૦ વખત અનુભવના પરિણામે એક નોની અમરમાં મુકવાનો પ્રયત્ન કરી રહ્યું છે એને પહેલેથીજ વખેલી કારવાની વખત જોવામાં આવે છે

આ વખતે અમર સાથે આદીકા માં હોદી મળેલા સવાની રવા નથી. મોરના પાપદા હેલા કાલી રહેલા મામલ ને મળાવી રહ્યો છે. મોર સાથે ન હરીકાઈ કરી થયે છે. મોર ને હાદા કહી પોતે માનેલો અને ના ખાદ બની થયે છે આ પછી સાધારણ મામલ નથી કરેલો સમજા જાતો કેશરી રહેલો સવાય છે.

એ સીકોલ પરદેશમાં તમા યુગમ ની હરિમાર કરી રવા છે દોહોનો કેવા બિંબાલુમાં ખંડાઓવા રહેલું પડ છે તેના દાખલા આપી રવા છે. પરંતુ રાષ્ટ્રસંઘના પડાવ બાબતમાં તેને તમા કે મોરમાં હોદી માલીકાના તમાન ના પાળવા વાડાઓમા એ કરતા જુદી રિયલિમાં રહે છે તેને તમા યુગમન પારખાય તકિ એ મોર.

આજ કારણથી આ સવાન કે તમારો ખાનપર બાબત મારું છું. આપણા નામપરજ નહિ પરંતુ આપણી હરીપર થય રહેલા ના પ્રકારની આને આપણે એક થઈ જમાવવું છે. હારિજ, આ બાબતી પાછા સાથે આદીકા અને આદીકા ખંડપર એશીયાટીકાના કાય જમાવવાનો હેતુ રહેલો છે હોદીઓને પોતાના સંસ્થાન નો વીરતાવ વખતવાને આદીકાને એક સેન મળવામાં આવ્યું છે અને એ વરુ આપણે અને સમન કુનીયાની પુરી પાળ પ્રવર્તન સમજવાની છે. મોર સુધારના આપણે મોરકારી છોએ અને આપણી લડતમાં આપણે સાથે આદીકાનું હિત જમાવનાર સમજાના સામ માગીએ છીએ

લોકો કહે છે કે કુનીયાના રીકમતને સાથે આદીકાને વખતું નેહરુ પુનાઈડે નેહરુ-સમાં અમે રાષ્ટ્રે આ રીકની તીવ્ર ના આપવામાં આપવા ત્યારે ખરીકા દેશોમાંથી એ એશીયાટીકા દેશોએ વિષદ મા આપ્યા હતા, અને એ રીકમાની સત્તા રાજના દેશોએ આપ્યા હતા,

કુખવાનો કહ્યું જમાવ

તેહાનીસામગની નીસાળના કેશર વીલાયીઓ મારીયા નજર આવેલા હોદીસ્ટપુટ એ ખીજીક મરવા દીવળને બીજે દીવસે થવા હતા મધ્ય એક કરમ જમાવ થયો હતો. કેશર વીલાયીઓ મુકાવેલા દાપરને આપણે પાછીમાં તકાવા પડ્યા હતા. જેમાં ના ને તેહાનીસામગની દરજ પી કમ્પાલુ છે અગત્યના ૧૮ વખતી પાળા પુર રહેલ અને કેશરના પાળા થી. મોરનામાં હીરાજાળના ૧૮ વખ ના પાળા પુર જમાવનાસ દાપરને આપણે છૂટી પડ્યા કુનીયા. કેશર તાક કાદ નાદ તેઓની તાસ પાછી મારી મેરી કાવામાં આવી હતી. મરનાવા કુદીખીલોપર આપણે પડે તા અમારે કુખમાં અમે તેઓના તરે અમારે જોવા રીયલિ: મરનામે છીએ.

માથો પુસ્તક માળા
આંધીજ અહીં હતા તમારે તેમણે કહેલા અને બીજા કેટલાંક પુસ્તકો ને કીનીકસ સંસ્થા તરફથી પ્રગટ થયેલાં છે તેવાર પુસ્તકોના એટની પોસ્ટર સાથે કીમત રકત થી. ૪-૬.

મધ્ય કોઈ વર્ષથી પણ જોઈ સમય થયે ચાલ્યા મળ્યા છે છતાં આપણે ખ્યાલ આપે પણ તેમને જલન કરીએ છીએ."

તેમને શબ્દ સમજાવે છે પરંતુ કોઈ કરનાર ને તપાસ આપતા કહ્યું હતું કે:

"મોંઘીજીએ આજે શનિવારે કરેલું હતું. પણ મોંઘીજી એમ નહોતા હતા. તેમણે આપણું પાપમા શબ્દ આપેર રાષ્ટ્રીય પરીસ્થિતિ જોતા શબ્દ સમજાવે પણ જરૂરી છે."

આકસ્મિક રીતે આમને સરકારે નથી લેવાયું એ તો કિંમતી સંસ્કૃતિના આપણને મળેલા વારસાની વિશદ છે. કહે કરી કોઈ રીતે પણ પ્રમોશન કરી નથી, પ્રમોશનમાં આમને સરકારે આમને સંસ્કૃતિની ફેલાવો છે, આમની પાસે વિમાનના રજા મોકલું છે અનેકર પણ નહોતું. પરંતુ આપણો મંદિરો શાંતિ, શ્રમ ને સુખમળોનો હતો. મોંઘીજીએ પણ એમ મંદિરો આપ્યો છે. અને એમ મળ્યા આમને જડીએ એમ મોંઘીજી સમજાવે હતા.

મોંઘીજીએ જે સિદ્ધાંતો પર મહત્ત્વ મળ્યા તે સિદ્ધાંતો પર સમાજના કાર્ય-સાધના રચના થઈ રહ્યા અને એમ મળે તો જ હુનિયા સુખી થશે અને હુનિયામાં શાંતિ ફેલાશે પરંતુ આપણે એ મહત્ત્વ નેતા તરફ મોંઘીજી ને સહાનુભૂતિ આપવીએ છીએ મુસામ કોવા જ્યાં આ મુસામ એ મહત્ત્વ નેતા પેલા કરી છે મુસામ કિંદ ને આપે તેમ પેલા કરી શો ને આપાદ કિંદ એથીએ મહત્ત્વ નેતાઓ આ મારે પેલા ન કરી શકે."

મોંઘી 'જુન કિર'

આ કસ્ટી ઇલ્લી મુખના કે. પો. કમિશનર માં નમરવાલા ની ના. પ. મી અરેસ્ટરથી, રેવાઈ કરી. તે એક અરવાડીકુ ચાલી હતી. પો. નમરવાલાએ જણાવ્યું હતું કે,

તો ૨૨ મી નવમ્બ. ૧૯૪૮ ને રાત્ર મેં ટાન્કસ એક મોંઘીયા પુરમાં મોંઘીજીના પ્રાર્થના સભામાં શ્રીમ ફેડાવાના સમાચાર વાંચ્યા હતા, એમાં મદનસાહન નામ પણ વાંચ્યું હતું.

એમ કીવસે સાંજે ચામપોચ કમિટીના અરસામાં મને મુકમ્મી તરફથી ટેલીફોન પર સંદેશ મળ્યો હતો કે મને તરતજ તમને એકેટરીમેટ પર મળવું. પણ હું તેમ તરફી રહતા ફોલોથી તેમને મદાસ જેમ જીવવાના સમયે મોરિખર રેસન પર મળવાના કહેવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

હું ત્યાં મુકમ્મીને મળ્યો હતો અને તેમના તરફથી સાવરકરના મકાન પર રાત્ર ૯-૨૦ થી છુપી તપાસ રાખવાનું મને જણાવ્યું હતું.

તે સુલખ મોદવજી મળે હતી. ત્યાર પાદ તો ૩૦ મીએ મહત્ત્વમળ્યું

અવસાન થતા તરતજ મુખના રમખાણ ફાટી નીકળ્યું હતું અને એ આજે સરકારે મોદાવવામાં આવ્યું હતું. ખીજા કીવસે સવારે મને પોલીસ કમિશનર તરફથી કોમ સાવરકરના રક્ષણ મારે પોલીસ સમક્ષ કરેલી મામણી આમે તેમના સાવરકરના નીવરવાને તપાસુ સુરન મળ્યું હતું. હું ત્યાં જતો મળ્યા નહોતા પણ મારા કામ નીચેના અકસરને મોકલ્યા હતા.

મેં તો ૩૧ મી નવમ્બ.આર.એમ. અપોરે પછી સાવરકરના કરેલી તરતી લીધી હતી પરમાં પરમો મારે. પંચેરના કમના પંચેરો માસમ પડેલા હતો વધુમાં એ વર પર મોદામ્મ કુમચો કરીને તેની પાસે પાવવાને મુક્યાન પડેલાવ્યું હતું.

કરેલી પંચેરો માસની જરૂરી મેં મને લીધી હતી જરૂરી કેવા પદાર્થ કરેલી પાકા કોકોનું મોડું દોણું મળ્યા થયું હતું, મેં એ આજે પોલીસને પાવે મેકમ્મી અપર આપી હતી, એ પેલા પો. સાવરકર માદા મળ્યાના નહોતા પણ તેઓ મોંઘીજી અને મહત્ત્વમો મળ્યાના હતા.

ત્યાર પાદ મી. નમરવાલાએ કોપી કોપી જરૂરી લીધી ને જણાવ્યું હતું. કોપી નામુરામ મોડાસેકે અવી અરજ તો ૮ થી અરજાવરે કરી છે કે તમે એ અરજીમાં જમાવેલા પ્રકાર મેં પત્ર તેમ ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૯૪૮ એ વાન અરી છે એમ મા. ફેબ્રુઆરી ના. નમરવાલાને મુકતા નમણું જણાવ્યું કે એવો કોમ કામના તપાસ કરવાના મારા જવામાં આવ્યો નથી. વધુમાં તેમણે જણાવ્યું કે આરોપીઓને મારી રીતે રાખવામાં આવ્યાં હતાં અને સંગ્રામો મેં મળ્યા ફેવામાં આવતાં હતાં અને રમા સાચી નામની આ વધુ ના સંબંધમાં સંડોવાયેલી છે એમ મેરો મને કે એમ કેક પ્રવળા જણાવ્યા તેમણે જણાવ્યું હતું.

પ્રેક્ષર જામનનું નિવેદન

સાં મોપરકરની વધુ લેકટ તપાસ માં સાફી મા. નમરવાલાએ જણાવ્યું કે આ. જામન જમણું મુખજીના મક પ્રધાન પો મોરારજી રેવાઈને મદામમાં મોંઘીજીના ખુનને સંગતા કાવમને સમતા કહીકત જણાવી હતી તેમની સાથે મારી પરીચય તો ૮ કે ૫ ફેબ્રુઆરીએ કરાવવામાં આવ્યો હતો અને તો. ૧૫ ફેબ્રુઆરીના અરસામાં મેં પ્રેક્ષર જામનનું નિવેદન તથા ૧૩ ફેબ્રુઆરીએ મા. મોરારજી રેવાઈનું નિવેદન મોંઘી જી. કહું મેં મોંઘીસા મા. જામનના નિવેદનમાં એવી માં જ કે મદાસાં એમ કદમ્મ દળ કે તેના સમક્ષમાં તો સાંબળ્યા પછી કિંદુ મદાસાવાળા પો સાવરકર મેં મોદામીને મોંઘીજીએ આપેલા પોના

મકાનમાં અરી ક્યાક સુધી વાતો કરી હતી અને મારા કામ માં મારી પો માં મારી હતી.

સાં મોપરકરની વધુ લેકટ તપાસ કરવાના સાફી મા. નમરવાલાએ જણાવ્યું કે મોંઘીજી પ્રમોશન મળેલા મળ્યામાં મોંઘીના ખુન અને તે મારે કાવમ એ મુકમ્મી મારે પકડાવ્યા તરફી મા. સાવરકરને તો ૨૨ માયે ફેબ્રુઆરીએ આવ્યા હતા.

અરેસ્ટની રીત

માને તો મેં તો ૨૪ મા નવમ્બ.આર.એમ. તપાસ ને પાડી તેમ પકડાવે કહે પ્રવળા કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા અને તેના મર જીવર ફેબ્રુઆરી

રાખવામાં આવતી હતી પણ તેને પકડી સકાતો નહોતો.

કિંદમાં કરી પાછા અંકુશ.

કાવમો અંકુશ કરી આવ્યો. મળ્યા તેમને પણ કરી આવે એમ માં કે અંકુશ ને સાવતાં લોક મેવકની મરવા ને અવાજ સાંપી કા સરકાર ને સરવા ને મદદ કરે અમર મદકારી મંડળો ફાર આ પ્રથ કોમ્મી મધે તમા અંકુશને મરો કારકી અમ નેતરો મને કે. અલી મુકી નાં અનારખી મેં સહ અનાજની અજન થયા સુખવ રહે છે.

| અરવાડીક પંચાંગ | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|
| વાર | પ્રાચીન રજાત નવેમ્બર | તીથ ૨૦૦૫ ક્રાતીક | સુસમ્પાત ૧૯૬૭ ગ્રીષ્મ | પારમી ૧૯૫૮ રોહિ. | સુધીક ૩.૫૦. | સુધીક ૬. ૫૦. |
| શુક્ર | ૧૨ | ૧૬ | ૧૦ | ૧૧ | ૪-૫૧ | ૧-૨૫ |
| શનિ | ૧૩ | ૧૭ | ૧૧ | ૧૨ | ૪-૫૨ | ૨-૨૬ |
| રવિ | ૧૪ | ૧૮ | ૧૨ | ૧૩ | ૪-૫૩ | ૩-૨૭ |
| સોમ | ૧૫ | ૧૯ | ૧૩ | ૧૪ | ૪-૫૪ | ૪-૨૮ |
| મંગલ | ૧૬ | ૨૦ | ૧૪ | ૧૫ | ૪-૫૫ | ૫-૨૯ |
| બુધ | ૧૭ | ૨૧ | ૧૫ | ૧૬ | ૪-૫૬ | ૬-૩૦ |
| શુક્ર | ૧૮ | ૨૨ | ૧૬ | ૧૭ | ૪-૫૭ | ૭-૩૧ |

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SPECIALIST IN DRIED BEANS, POTATOES, ONIONS, GINGER AND GARLIC.

81-81A VICTORIA STREET, DURBAN.

ખુશ ખબર

અમારે તમા નીચે મુજબનાં માત્ર મળીજા શકેલાં મળી શકેલાં.

સોપારી : શાલી જાવાના ચોરાશાળી રોષમળી નાનાં રોષાવારી

અર : કુશિનનો મોદ ૨૨૮૦ કેડ વાવાના ખુશબોદર

સોમ : અનારના ૫૬૫૨મા લાલક મુખમળી તરતુર સાકાના વાપરો

રમાડીક, એમ જમત અમારી લીજ વાપરેલાં તે વીજથી કાંઈ ફેરફાર કરી નહિ,

અગ. અરક, અજા, અજાવાળ, મુમેરવાળ, પીચેલી તપાદર, મુક, વીચેરે અમરે ત્યાંથી લેવામાં મળીજા ફાવેલાં થશે.

વિવિધ

એપાર્ટહેટિડની નીતી પર નેટીવ પાર્ટીમાં

કેપ તાલેટરક પ્રેસિડે ડીનેશનલ નલ એક્શન પીનીસ્ટર્સ એસોસિએશન ની એક્સિસેટ (કેપ)માં મળેલી તાલીફ પરીપદમાં જાણણ કરવા નેટીવ પાર્ટી કોએ એવા અપ દસીઓ કલે કે એપાર્ટ હેઇન્ટી નીતીથી પુનીપનમાં રાજકીય અપધાઈથી જીવનન થશે અને સરકારના પ્લેટફોર્મ પર ગોરા પુણ્ય અને ગોરી આંતરે કથાવાર આપ પાને મરાડો પુનામરકમાં પરીપુમરો, પ્રમંચાઅમાં તેને પાનગી રાવવામાં નહીં આવેલું કોવાળા અને પુનીપનમાં રાજકીય અપધાઈથી મવાળા આપારે એપાર્ટહેટિડની નીતીને પગોડી કાઢવા રો દરાપ સતીસમને પસાર થયો કલો બીર્લે દરાપ એવો થયો કલો કે અપ પરીપદ પ્લેટફોર્મમાં ગોરા પુણ્યને અને ગોરી આંતરે કથાવાર આપવા ના સરકારના નીણુંપને અપની નજરે જાએ છે. તેવું પમક્ષ આસ કરી સામ્ય પાર્ટીઓની વીરક લેવાને કોલ આ દેશ ની બાપી રાંતીને પ્રતીક્રમ છે, કેમકે પમક્ષ દાખલામાં નીર્દેશ નેટીવો પંના ભોમ જનશે. આ કોન્ટ્રેન્સ માને છે કે એક્ષ પમક્ષ જાતી જાતી પમક્ષના સંજ્ઞાને જીવન કતી કલ પારો અને દેશને પુનરેકર તરક દોરી કરશે. આથી કોન્ટ્રેન્સ એ નીતી અમલમાં નહીં મુકવા રો. કાનુસને માગણી કરે છે.

ફોર્સેટની નેશનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટી

અમુકન્ટીનમાં મળેલી ફોર્સેટ નેશ નલીસ્ટ પાર્ટીની કોંગ્રેસમાં, જે સરવા આ સામ્યવાદને વિરોધ કરતી કોલ તેને સરકારના કો મળવો તેક્રમ એવી એક કરખાસપર ભોલતા ન્યાપ પાતાના પ્રધાન થી રજાઈ કલું કે આ લેખક બરેલો વીમાર જે તેનો અર્થ એ આપ કે રોષ પણ જીન જાપાદાર મંરકા પોતે સામ્યવાદો વીરોધ કરતી કોલવા આપારે સરકાર ની મદલો વધો કરી રો. તેમજ કલું કે સામ્યવાદના વીરોધ કરવાનું કામ સરકારને જ દરનટ રહે એ કી છે. સામ્યવાદની આમે વધારે બં પમલા એવા સરકારને માગણી કરવારો દરાપ ફોર્સેટ પસાર થયો કલો.

બીજે દરાપ ગોરા અને જીનગોરા વચ્ચે મળેા મેરકાપરે દરાવનરો કાપકો સાવવાની માગણી કરવારો થયો કલો. એક દરાપ ફોર્સેટની રીપેટીએટ કરવા ની માગણી કરવારો થયો કલો અને તીજે ફોર્સેટની રીપેટ નેશનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટી ની નીતીને સખ અમલ કરવાની માગણી કરવારો થયો કલો.

ના. દવાઈ ફોર્સેટની નેશનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટીના તીરક અપોમને મૂકાવા કલો.

સત્યાગ્રહીઓને ડા. રાનીસની મમકી

મને અદવાદીમે પોટ એક્ષાજેસમાં મળેલી કેપ નેશનલીસ્ટ પાર્ટીની કોએ માં એક દરાપ મુકાવો કલો કે ન દોડીએ સત્યાગ્રહમાં આમ મળેને કાપ કાને અર્થ કરે તેઓ પ્રતે મરકા વાળ દવા નહિ બનાવના તેઓને રીપેટીએટ કરી દેવામાં આવે આ દરાવના અપામ માં મુકાવો પ્રધાન ડા. રાનીસે કલું કે કલવાના સખ રીંગ અમલ કરવામાં આવશે.

શીખવા જેવું

પૂર્ણ વાગલા જુકનો એક ક્રિપ કલો. એક ક્રિપર કે જુક અમવાળ પાસે મળે અને તેવું પોતાને સહેવા માં થશેપરેક કરવાની જુકને પિંગનિ કરી. ક્રિપદેશ પગ થયો પાર્ટી જુક અમવાળે પુખ્ત, કે પ્રુથ કલે વું કલો મેરકમાં અપાવો છે.

પૂર્ણ:-અમવાળ. આ આપના ક્રિપ દેશને મદળ કરીને સુનાપરન નામના પ્રેકમાં અપાવો છે.

પૂર્ણ:-પૂર્ણ સુનાપર. પ્રાતની કોલો નાકર કરે છે તે તેઓ અને માથો દેશ કે તારી નીંદા કરશે તા તેને જેવું કાપશે!

પૂર્ણ:- જે અમવાળ અને ને જાળ એવુ સામરો કે આ દોલો મળા સારા છે; કારણ તેઓએ મારાપરે કલથી પ્રકારે કલો નથી.

જુક:- અને જો કાપથી પ્રકાર કરે તો!

પૂર્ણ:- તો નમે પમ્પરથી તેઓએ માથો નહીં, તેથી તેઓ સારા છે એમ કુ અમલ.

જુક:- અને પમ્પરથી માને તો!

હી હરેક લાંબ અને ગાર્ડર મોચી મંરક

કેપકોલ મંરકની તારીફ સખા રવી વાર તા ૧૭-૧૦-૪૮ તા રોલે કીપ મંરકને કોસમાં થી કાલાખાઈ કલથ કલો પ્રમુખ વક મળી કલો.

ક્રિપર આર્થના વાર માર્કિંગ નાક કરવામાં આવી કલો, મન વરસની પોલીટ થતા આવક મરક નો કીસાળ થાયો કલો.

તારે વાલ પ્રમુખમાં એ બાક મળેા આપાર માતી જુરસી કોડી કલો. તેમજ ક્રિપ-પ્રમુખ, મવા અને અમલમાં ક્રિપ સખ અમલો આ વાર માતી જુરસી કોડી કલો વાર માલુ પપ માને કાપવકાઈ નીજે મુરજા મુકાવા કલો.

ક પ્રમુખ. કાલાખાઈ કલથ ક્રિપ પ્રમુખ ગોપીકનાક ફારક (ક્રિપ-સરકાર)

પ્રેક આદીકમાં પ્રેક અધીમાં અમલો મરકો

પ્રેક આદીકની સરકારે રોલરનું પર્થ ઓલું કરવાને આનર કરેકની વકામમાં પોટા મરકો કલો છે. મુખ્ય પટાઈ નીજે પ્રમાણે થયો છે:

આદીકમાં સીકપર મો દકા સર વાલે કલો તે દુર કરવામાં આવેા છે સપાળ સુતરાક્રિમસ મોટરો અને રેપર પારેસપર વીસ દકા સરવાળે કલો તે દુર કરવામાં આવેા છે. વાલ કામ ની વસ્તુઓપર કરેક અધી કલો તે કમલમ સપાળ દુર વાલ છે.

પૂર્ણ નો મારાપર તેઓએ કો પ્રકાર કલો નથી, તેથી તેઓ પમક્ષ સારા છે, એમ કુ અમલ.

જુક:- અને કો પ્રકાર કરે તો!

પૂર્ણ:- ના સખ પ્રકાર કલો નથી; એ નમની અમલ સાર છે; એમ કુ કલો.

જુક:- અને સખ પ્રકાર કરે તો!

પૂર્ણ:- ના અને કાર મારો નથી; એ તેમનું બાપ પલું છે; એમ કુ અમલ.

જુક:- અને તે કાર મારે તો!

પૂર્ણ:- અમલ; કેટલાક વિસુઓ આ સરીરથી કંટાળીને આમલના કરે છે. સુનાપરના રહેવાસીઓએ ને એવા સરીરનો નાસ કલો; નો તેમજ મારાપર જાપાર કલો છે અને તેથી તેઓ પમક્ષ સારા છે એમ કુ અમલ.

જુક:- સામરો, સામરો. એવા પ્રકારના સમવરથી કલથ અપાવી સુના પરલ પ્રેકમાં થશેપરેક કરવા તે અમલ થકા.

આપાર

લોકાનીસખમાં રા. મમલમા અપાવના એ જાળો નવસારીમા રવર્ગે વસી થતાં તેમના રતકીજનો તરકથી દિસીજના સદેશમાં કોકાપામાં આ બધા કલો તેઓ મર્વો રા. મમલમા તમા રા. કાન્તીલાસ અપાવ અન કરવાથી આપાર માને છે. રવર્ગેક ના મુપાઈ રા. મમલમા તરકથી દેશની તેમજ અનની છુદી છુદી મંચા આને કાનતી વકો આપવામાં આવી કલો.

પટાલિનના થી. અપારામ તરસોક ના દુ:ખર અપાવના કુકાઓના દુ:ખમાં જે ને માલમેએ તપ દપાળ પા કરમાં જાળ કીધો છે તેમનો રવર્ગ રમના કાપ થી વસનપમા તરસોક આપાર માને છે.

કેપાલિનના ગોવીંદાઈ પ્રામ અને ફક્ષબાઈ પ્રામ પોતાના પિતાઈ ના અવસાનથી કુકાને થલેા દુ:ખમાં જાળ કીધો છે તે સર્વે માલ મેતાને આ પટાલ આપાર માને છે.

—કરીબન પંધુના તેઓએ કીંદની સરકારને અપાવ્યું છે કે કીંદની કોસના દરાપ મોળની સખ રક કરવાને વલેસમાં વલેધી નકે અમલમાં મુકી કીંદની વડી મારાસખા પોતાને વધારે સરકારી સામીન કરશે.

—અમલ આરોગ મેરકા જે મુકાઈમાં મુરેપમાં અરાર કલો તેમા કીંદન પ્રતીનિધ તરીકે થી. રાવકુમારી અમલ ક્રિપ-આરોગ પાતાના પ્રધાન-માલે કલો. ને સંધ્યાના દરાપ મુવળ અનની એકીવાની વડી કલેડી મેસોરમાં રામવા તકકી થકા છે.

—મરક પ્રાને પોતાની કુકાના વિલારમાં સંપ્રથ કાર પંધી કરી છે.

મહાત્મા ગાંધી

રમારક અંક

મહાત્મા ગાંધી રમારક અંક આ કોડીસે લખવાઈ મળા તેમજ નીજે અપાવેા સખાએવા મળી કલો.

રવળમાં

વળક રાટરસં એક્ષાનીસખમાં

મી. એસ. બી. મેલ

કેપાલિન

મી. બી. ડી. ચાવડા, ૧૦૪ મેન રપોટ મેમ.

કીચલ કી. ર. પોટોજી પેની ઉછુદી. રી. પી. કે ક્રિપર મોડરોતે ખાન જેવામાં નહિ આવે.

સુનિયન પાકારના આમલો કુપા કરી તેધે છે કે આપ પુનીપન, અમલો રવર્ગરવામાં આવશે.

આ ઓફીસથી મળતાં પુસ્તકોનું સુચિપત્ર

વી. પી. ના મોરારજીને બીજાકુલ ખાતે દેવામાં નહિ આવે. આર.સ. મોકલનારાઓએ આર.સ. સાથે ચેક અથવા પોસ્ટલ ઓર્ડર મોકલવા મહેરવાની કરવી.

મેનેજર, પ્રિન્ટિંગ અને પબ્લિશિંગ

પુસ્તકો મળવાનું કેટાણું:— INDIAN OPINION, PHOENIX, NADAL.

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ધાય છે અને તે સાથે ને બોધ-
દાયક છે.

આ બેઠીસેથી મળાય.

ટપાલ મર્ચ સાથે કૌમિત ર-૩.

નોંધ: વી. પી. કે ઉધાર
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નહિ આવે.

INDIAN OPINION,
PHOENIX
NATAL.

પાટીદાર જનતાનું કોલકોલ
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પાટીદાર સમાજ

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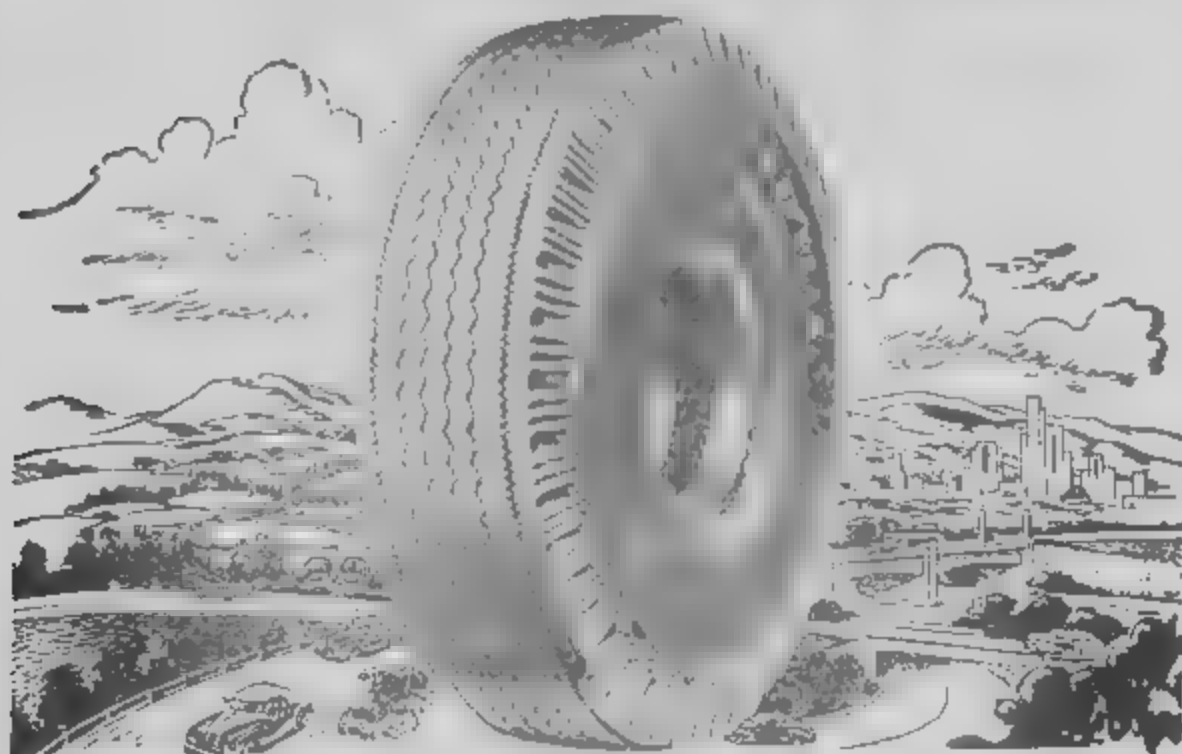
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૮ કુદ ૧૦ ની ડી. ૧૧. ૭ કુદ ૮ ની ડી. ૧૦.

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ડી. ૧૦-૩. ૧૮૩/૬ અને ૭ ની ડી. ૧૦

ફ્રેમિંગ, ખારીઓની ૧૧ મીટર બનાવવાના તારા, વરસાદના પાણીને લઇતો માલ,
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|----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------|------------|
| મનથી જીવ | ૪ | ૧-૧-૧-૧. | શ્રીમદ | ૪ | ૫-૧-૧ |
| કાનન | ૪ | ૧-૧-૧-૧ | શ્રીમદ | ૪ | ૧-૧-૧-૧ |
| શ્રીમદ | ૪ | ૧-૧-૧-૧ | શ્રીમદ | ૪ | ૧-૧-૧-૧ |
| સાકારી | ૪ | ૧-૧-૧-૧ | શ્રીમદ શ્રીમદ | ૪ | ૧-૧-૧-૧ |

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 રંગીન જોરજો બારી માલ, સાડી પનો
 કાપેલ જોરજો, મુદર ડીઝાઇન, સાડી પનો

પા.શી. ર.
 ૫ ૧૦ ૦
 ૫ ૫ ૦
 ૧૨ ૧૦ ૦
 ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦
 ૮ ૧૦ ૦
 ૫૨ ૦ ૬ ૧૧
 ૧૧ ૦ ૮ ૧૧
 ૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧
 ૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧
 ૧૧ ૦ ૬ ૧૧

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 માલ સોપારી અગ્રણી સામના માટે જ ખાના માલ રૂ-સીમલ રી. ૩-૦
 રેસા કાપની રંગમલેની બંગલી રાતરો મુઠી-સાડી. ર. ૨ ૬ ૮, ૧, ૨ ૭ ૮
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 " " રંગમલે-રી. ૧ ૧ ૧ ૧ ૧
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 રંગમલે અગ્રણીના રંગમલે તથા હીલી રંગમલે (માલ માલ માટે) રી. ૨-૧
 રંગમલે પુલ્કી ૦ રી. ૧ રી. ૩-૦
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 ખાતરીની પુલ્કી ૧ ૮ ૧ ૧ ૧-૧ ૧ ૧ ૧ ૧.
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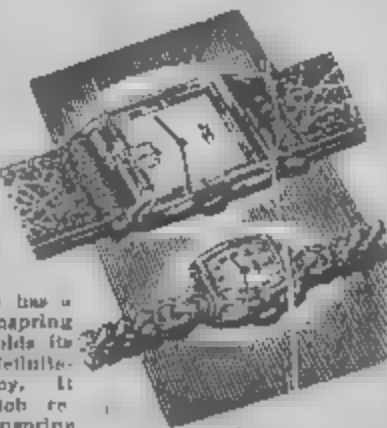
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FRIDAY, 19TH NOVEMBER, 1948

South-West Africa

THE spirit behind South Africa's determination to incorporate South-West Africa in the Union at any cost, is the spirit of war and not the spirit of peace. South Africa's representative at the United Nations, Mr. Eric Louw, completely lost himself in putting his case for want of sane argument. India's delegate, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit stated in clear terms why South-West Africa should not be incorporated in the Union and why that territory should be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations. Her arguments were sound and irrefutable. The conditions of the Natives in the Union are by no means satisfactory and they are growing worse under the present Government. No further proof is needed when the policy is condemned by no less a person than General Smuts. He has done so not for personal gain but because he is far-sighted enough to discern between right and wrong and to know what is in the best interests of his country.

We will not say that the hands of any of the United Nations are clean. But a wrong done by one does not justify another doing likewise. If all were to follow on those lines there would be no United Nations left and the result would be chaos. The stand taken by South

Africa may be legally right but to say that she has no moral obligation to respect the recommendations of the United Nations is entirely wrong. The decision of the majority must be respected by the minority unless a vital question of principle is involved and there is absolutely no violation of any principle in South-West Africa not being incorporated in the Union. If it is the unanimous desire or a vast majority of the inhabitants of that territory, as is claimed to be by the Union Government that it should be incorporated, it should certainly be incorporated. But that is just what has not been proved and proofs to the contrary are not wanting. In the circumstances, the only course to take is for the United Nations to send a Commission to ascertain the true desire of the people concerned. If the Union Government are sure of their case they should not object to that. The Union Government, we hear, have lost their own case by their thoughtless acts which are more convincing to the outside world than all the words wasted by the Union representatives abroad. It is not Dr. Dadoo, Michael Scott or General Smuts who is sabotaging their work. It is their own actions that are doing so. It is a pity that they do not see it. It will

be a thousand pity if they see it after the damage has been done.

Vanquished War Leaders To Die

THE sentences passed on General Tojo, the wartime Prime Minister of Japan and other Japanese political leaders, by the International Military Tribunal will not be taken light-heartedly by one who has a conscience and who believes in God. It is questionable as to who is guilty and who is not in war. The victors assume unto themselves the power to judge, but what if they had been the vanquished? Did they ever pause to think that in that case they would be

judged? So in fact both are equally guilty and justice can and shall be dispensed only by the Supreme Power that rules the universe.

Both the Nuremberg trial and this are unsatisfying. Far from tending to establish the much needed and much desired peace in the world they are bound to lead to repugnant sins which might quite possibly destroy all prospects of peace. These trials are the outcome of the spirit of revenge and hate and hatred can only breed hatred. To place such things before the public when they are only just beginning to forget the horrors of war is, therefore, to mar the light of thoughtlessness.

NATAL U.P. DECISIONS ON INDIAN PROBLEM

FUTURE franchise rights which should be granted to Indians, steps to achieve their repatriation, and the pegging of the position in controlled areas are covered by resolutions adopted by the United Party Provincial Congress last week.

The resolutions, which were proposed from the chair to replace six resolutions on the order paper, were accepted virtually unanimously. Leading members of the party are convinced that the resolutions will be accepted by General Smuts.

They were:—

1. That all possible steps should be taken by the Union Government for a conference with the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to achieving the repatriation of Indians.

2. That, in the interim and pending a repatriation scheme, (a) the principles of Chapter 1 of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 be retained, with necessary amend-

ments, and that the position in controlled areas be pegged at the earliest opportunity pending the introduction of amendments to the whole of Chapter 1.

(b) That any future rights of Union franchise to Indians should be on the basis of the Native Representation Act of 1936 as introduced by General Hertzog.

The new attitude on the franchise rights means that the United Party is in favour of Indians being represented in Parliament only by Europeans, as Natives are represented. It eliminates one of the main points of contention—that provision in Part 2 of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Asiatic Representation Act—which made it possible for Indians to be represented in the Natal Provincial Council.

Mr. L. R. Caney, K.C., was re-elected chairman of the party in Natal.

GEN. SMUTS'S WARNING TO S.A.

WARNING South Africa of the dangers from a resurgent Arab in the light of the Nationalist Party's attitude to the Indians, General Smuts told a United Party meeting in Maritzburg last week. "The people of the world are looking to in era of peace, but I see just the opposite. I have seen the League of Nations fail and I do not see the United Nations succeeding. I see storms blowing up which may test the human race as it has never been tested before."

General Smuts strongly criticised the agreement made by Dr Malan with South-West Africa, and attacked the Government on the character of recent discussions with Zulu leaders.

The real significance of the United Party's defeat had yet to be revealed. The Nationalists were using soft words but nothing would stop them from carrying out their intentions, which would show that the change in Government was not merely a setback for the United Party, but a disaster for South Africa.

The Government knew that in time might be short and was making a desperate attempt to right its position. It was a shameful thing that, after all these efforts to eliminate the non-Europeans from public life they should now hold out visions before the Zulus to secure their support.

"We have never heard before of a statesman in South Africa wooing the Natives as the Nationalists have done in a way which was hurtful to European pride."

Of South-West Africa, General Smuts said that it seemed that the Territory was almost annexing the Union. It would have a more than generous representation in Parliament and would remain in control of its own economic system. Was that in keeping with the formula of South Africa first?

The price that was being paid showed that the Government would stop at nothing to keep in power.

In 1946 he dealt with Indian penetration. He gave parliamentary representation in compensation for the rights taken away but much of the evil that had come to the Indians since then was due to their stupid refusal of the rights offered them.

The Indians adopted an impossible attitude and had to take their share of the blame.

To-day India was going its own way. Next door to South Africa the whole of Asia was resurgent as never before.

"Let us prepare for the future on human, Christian lines, and not on lines dictated by fear or panic."

The Nationalist Government is touching on things which are vital to the future of South Africa in a way which may cause untold suffering in the future.

To-day I stand at the bar of history: just as we are disallowing to-day the awful mistake that was made by our forebears in bringing the Indians to South Africa, so, perhaps, 50 years hence the people of South Africa will discuss what we are doing to-day. We have passed judgment on our forebears, and I do not want that judgment passed on me.

"All our experience has taught me that we are moving into a very dangerous period in world history. The people of the world are looking forward to an era of peace, but I see just the opposite. I have seen the League of Nations fail and I do not see the United Nations succeeding. I see a storm blowing up which may test the human race as it has never been tested before. I do not want that storm to blow in necessarily on us. Let us be fair and just and live and let live."

Opening the annual Congress of the United Party in Natal, General Smuts said that he had been shocked in the Nationalist Press for the harm he was said to be doing South Africa by his speeches.

"Must I remain quiet when I see the dangerous policies which are being embarked upon by the Nationalist Party? I am warning the people of South Africa of the grave harm that is being done, and I shall continue to warn them."

The world had lost confidence in South Africa. People abroad could not understand the sudden change to another Government, containing largely of those who were bitterly opposed to the Union's war effort.

Referring to immigration, General Smuts said that it was essential that South Africa's manpower should be reinforced. The Nationalist Government, however, had turned off the tap on immigration. It was following the line of a small South Africa, the consequences of which would be that development would be thwarted and expansion halted.

"I want South Africa to reverse the Nationalist policy as soon as possible."

General Smuts said the support given to the Nationalist Party by the Zulu Chief, Cyprian

was due to the fact that the Zulus had been given the impression that Zululand would be restored to them.

"That is just damned nonsense. They are being spoonfed."

The Constitution of the Union was being violated by the Government for the sake of the apartheid policy.

Concluding his speech, General Smuts said: "South Africa must

remember it is not independent of world opinion which affects us vitally."

"I have no personal ambition. My future is behind me. I have fought for this country and helped to establish it on a sound basis. It has earned the respect of the world."

"We do not want an Uitlander policy in South Africa. We had it before, and we suffered for it."

COUNCIL REFUSES INDIAN WOMAN'S LICENCE

SUPREME COURT GRANTS APPEAL

MR. JUSTICE BLACKWELL ordered the Edenvale Town Council on November 9 to grant a certificate of a general dealer's licence to Mrs. Fatima Mahomed Jassar, an Asiatic woman who said that she was born in Edenvale and had lived there all her life.

In 1944 Mrs. Jassar applied to the Council for a certificate for a general dealer's licence in respect of premises to be erected on a piece of ground within the municipal area. The certificate was granted subject to this necessary permission being obtained from the authorities, but as this was refused by the Minister of the Interior on September 21, 1944, the certificate lapsed.

In June, 1947, Mr. A. L. Luke, a European, obtained a certificate in respect of premises on the same piece of land, and commenced to trade there on August 22, 1947. Four days later, Mrs. Jassar, having agreed apparently to buy out Mr. Luke, applied for a certificate in her own name for a business to be conducted on these premises. She lodged certificates from the Health Inspector, the Senior Officer of Police, and the licensing officer, from which it appeared that there was no objection to her personally, or to the premises; there was also a supporting petition from a number of Europeans living in the area.

The Council refused her application and Mrs. Jassar applied to the Witwatersrand Division of the Supreme Court for an order compelling the Council to grant the certificate or, alternatively, to re-hear the matter.

After setting out these facts, Mr. Justice Blackwell said that on the merits the application would appear to have had a strong case.

There was nothing against her personally; there was apparently a need for a business at that spot to serve the European population, as witness the grant of a certificate to Mr. Luke; there was nothing in the Gold Law or any other law or the title deeds militating against her occupation of the site in

question for the purpose of trading; the premises were suitable; and she had actually been given a certificate by the same Council three years earlier.

She now said that the Council's reason for the refusal of her application was that she was an Asiatic.

"In making this allegation she has received strong support from Mr. J. J. Wagenaar, a councillor of long service, and a former Mayor of Edenvale."

Mr. Wagenaar said that at a council meeting on September 29 he and Mr. D. J. De Villiers spoke strongly in favour of Mrs. Jassar, but the other six councillors present expressed themselves as definitely opposed to the granting of a trading licence to an Indian, the judge went on.

Because of the attitude of his fellow councillors, Mr. Wagenaar said he and Mr. De Villiers walked out of the council meeting just before a vote was taken.

In an affidavit the Mayor, Mr. Gerizen, denied that the Council's decision was based on the fact that the applicant was an Asiatic, and mentioned two points which he said influenced (the decision): (1) That the Council was considering a town-planning scheme under which a portion of the municipal area would be set aside for Asiatic trade and that the site in question did not fall within the proposed area, and (2) That the Council was entitled to the circumstances to look upon Mr. Luke as a mere dummy for the applicant, and that it was therefore entitled to view with disfavour her tactics in endeavouring to get her licence through indirect means.

A careful reading of the papers convinced the judge that the substantial reason for the Council's refusal was that the applicant was an Asiatic.

He quoted authorities for saying that if one of the councillors, or more, had in conversation or declaration prior to the meeting prejudged or appeared to prejudge the issue, he had there

by become incapacitated from sitting. On these authorities, if the sole or even substantial reason which actuated the Council in refusing the application was that she was an Asiatic, as he had found in the case, this constituted a wrongful exercise of the powers entrusted to them.

Adopting the practice usually followed, he would not, he said, send the matter back for re-

hearing, but would make an order in terms of the petition that the Council issue the desired certificate and pay the costs.

Mr. B. A. Eitlinger K.C., with him Mr. W. W. Kantor (instructed by Mr. W. Hufsch), appeared for the applicant; and Mr. S. M. Kuper K.C., with him Mr. J. P. Lofori (instructed by Messrs. H. Davison and Herman) for the respondent.

COMMONWEALTH AN ASSOCIATION OF FREE NATIONS

MR. ATTLEE'S SPEECH

Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, said last week that the British Commonwealth was "no group of satellite powers bound together by common fear, by subjugation to a tyrant's yoke." It was, he said, an association of free and independent nations.

Speaking at the Guildhall, he said: "Here is no system of police states joined in a lip-service to an ideology which none may question. The Commonwealth embraces peoples of many creeds and many races. Yet there is a unity of sympathy—a unity founded on a common belief in democratic principles."

"Differences there will always be, for each country has its own special problems—its own difficulties—to meet. Yet, as the last few weeks have shown, their representatives are ready to travel many thousands of miles so that they may meet together to confer with their colleagues on many matters of common concern."

He said Britain had to look to her defences because there were those people in the world who seemed to have no interest in creating trouble. Also, the United Nations had not yet got authority or power to ensure peace throughout the world.

Saying that Britain and other Brussels Pact nations and Canada had approved the principle of the North Atlantic Pact, Mr. Attlee went on: "But great as is our interest in the affairs of Europe, we have, of course, far closer ties with the people of the British Commonwealth and Empire."

The London Commonwealth conference, he said, disclosed clearly the strength of purpose with which the Commonwealth was inspired. "It was our common desire, to adjust national policy to serve the needs of all, to direct each country's efforts into channels which would most help the others."

"We do not, at these meetings pass, formal and nicely worded

resolutions. Our object is to exchange views and opinions, frankly and freely, as is fitting among members of a family."

"So is true co-operation achieved. Would that there were more co-operation in the world today."

If we could but widen the understanding, which exists between the people of the Commonwealth to embrace the whole world, we should be laying the finest foundation for lasting peace."

Speaking of the development of the British Commonwealth of nations in his lifetime, Mr. Attlee said: "I recall the time when we used to talk of colonies, and dependencies. We spoke then of Empire. The word was, in truth, then applicable not only to India, but to the rest of the British Empire, for the United Kingdom was then the dominant unit."

Since then, we have had a steady development of the Dominions until, by the Statute of Westminster, formal expression was given to that complete equality which had, in practice, already been recognised.

"At the meeting of the Commonwealth conference in London, there were present the Prime Ministers of three Asian countries, meeting their colleagues the old dominions and the United Kingdom on perfect equality."

Constitutional progress was going on all the time in various countries of the British Commonwealth and Empire. "As these constitutional advances are made, so there come about adaptations of relationship between the various units. Innovations of procedure, new methods of co-operation, are explored. This continual growth takes, it is true, at times, difficult questions of adjustment, but the point is that this growth is the growth of a living organism."

GOVERNMENT'S APARTHEID POLICY

NATIONALIST M.P.s. APPLAUDED IN DURBAN

RACE relations in South Africa—between Afrikaans and English-speaking people and between white and black—were the main theme of speeches by two Transvaal Nationalist Party M.P.s at a public meeting in the Durban City Hall last Friday.

Nearly 1,000 people attended the meeting and enthusiastically applauded the speakers—Mr. W. C. du Plessis, M.P. for Standerton, and Dr. N. Diedericks, M.P. for Randfontein.

Outlining the Nationalist Party policy of apartheid, Dr. Diedericks said the white and coloured races in South Africa each had the right to develop on its own lines—culturally, economically and politically. It was not possible for those races to achieve their ambitions when integrated. The only way was to separate them.

The Natives must be given territories of their own in which they could develop their own national consciousness and learn to govern themselves. That did not mean the Natives must be forcibly removed from factories, shops, homes and farms. As long as they were wanted they would be allowed to come to the Euro-

pean areas—but as visitors and without political rights.

The Nationalists, said Dr. Diedericks, intended applying apartheid to the Indians, but in a different way. "We believe the Indians are foreigners in this country. The only solution is to repatriate them as soon as is practically possible."

By appealing to India, the Indians in this country had shown they regarded India as their fatherland—not South Africa. They had submitted themselves to Communist leaders and were now offering themselves as leaders of the non-Europeans.

Mr. du Plessis said the Nationalist Party and the Afrikaner Party would stand together for their object of a pure white race in South Africa. Apartheid was not a slogan but a policy which would be carried out, he declared.

Mr. du Plessis accused South African correspondents of press newspapers of blackening South Africa's name. He appealed to the Press to work for the object of white unity. The Press would have to broaden its outlook and not disturb the relations between white and white.

'MANCHESTER GUARDIAN' ON S.-W. AFRICA AND THE UNION

In a long leading article based on the text of Mr. Eric Louw's speech before the U. N. Trusteeship Committee last week the 'Manchester Guardian' says that the Union Government intends to annex South West Africa, whether the United Nations agree or not.

It says that as South-West Africa cannot stand alone, and can only be administered by South Africa, Mr. Louw stood on firm ground from which it was practically impossible to dislodge him.

"The Manchester Guardian" adds: Mr. Louw has none of Smuts's saving diplomatic graces. He presents the Trusteeship Committee with an almost accomplished fact, and pleads as its defence the two least defensible things about it—the political term for the "integration" and the pretence that the Natives of the territory have had freedom to express their wishes and have supported the new order of things.

Under the Union Government's new plans, says the newspaper, South-West Africa will have "gross over-representation" in the House of Assembly, the reason being that members elected from the territory would be a welcome representa-

ment to Dr. Malan's slender majority.

To claim this plan as a point in favour of "the deal" is "sheer impudence," it adds.

The testing of the non-European people's wishes, says 'The Manchester Guardian,' was carried out in the crudest form, with little opportunity for discussion and reflection and after an explanation of the problem which would not have gone very far to enlighten a European elector let alone Africans, most of whom had never heard of the United Nations before and whose inability to form a considered judgment at the stage of their development was the main reason for putting the country under trusteeship.

"Whatever pretext South Africans may derive from this procedure," the paper adds, "no one else is likely to regard it as a reliable expression of non-European opinion, and the more the Trusteeship Council learns about the 'consultation' the less ready will it be to accept Mr. Louw's assurances about the scheme for making the territory an integral part of the South African Union."

FULL TEXT OF DEBATE OF ASIATIC BILL

(Continued From Last Week)

Field-Marshal Smuts: Mr. Speaker, I have asked myself the question why is there this undue haste in dealing with this Bill that has come before the House. Why this undue haste? I have listened carefully to the long speech which the Prime Minister has made but I have seen no reason whatever adduced by him why there should be this hurry, this urgency, why this Bill should be pressed forward in this special Session when we are dealing with finance and a number of other urgent measures. Why should the Bill be dealt with now?

Ans. Hon. Member: Part of the apartheid policy.

Field-Marshal Smuts: What is the urgency? Mr. Speaker, the chapter which is here in question and which is to be repealed is not in force; it is not likely to come into force soon. The Government now in power is not likely to put it in force. The only reason that the Prime Minister gave for proceeding now was that it is open to any Government to do so; it was open to the former Government, and it is open to any succeeding Government in the future at any time to put Chapter 2 into force. That does not mean there is any need whatsoever for this haste. Chapter 2 is not in operation and not likely to be. The Prime Minister knows this well. He has mentioned that the Indians resist and object to Chapter 2 being put into force. There is no urgency at all for this haste, this unreasonably undue haste.

Speaker, this Act with which we are dealing, was passed after very long consideration in the House. I need not go into the whole story which has been reported by the Prime Minister today. We know the story. We know of the penetration that was going on in Natal. We know there had been the "Pegging" Act which was in the form of expelling and something had to be done. That was a matter of urgency. The reason for that urgency was that the previous Act was expiring. That was the urgency. But there is no such urgency today. We had to deal with that question of penetration and we did so and we passed in Chapter 1 a very far-reaching measure. We passed a provision which made a very serious wrong on the Indian rights as existing at that time. They could buy freely in Natal. There was no bar against their purchasing land anywhere, either in cities, towns, or rural areas. That was the urgency with which we had to deal and we dealt with it. We passed an Act which was very far-reaching and we considered at that time and rightly, that there should be some consideration given to these people, some *quid*

pro quo for the injustice imposed on their existing rights. Something had to be done for them and a sort of compensation, a *quid pro quo* for the rights taken away from them, we introduced Chapter 2 which gave them a certain measure of indirect representation in the two Houses of Parliament. Well, Sir, it was done deliberately; it was not done on the invitation of any hon. friend behind me; it was done deliberately without consulting him, because I know that at that time I would be said—what has been said today—"this is another Hofmeyr". I kept him out. I never spoke a word to him about it. I had this fear of this representation. The malignancy which has been spread by hon. members on the other side against the hon. member for Johannesburg (North) is one of the disgraces of Parliament. This persecution, Sir, this attributing to him everything of which they do not approve, of holding him up as the bogey-man in South Africa is a disgrace to public life in South Africa. Hon. members know that they are wrong. They know that they are exaggerating beyond measure. My hon. friend had nothing to do with it. I consulted those concerned in Natal, the members from Natal in both House of Parliament at the time, the Municipal Association which represents all municipalities in Natal, and they all agreed. I consulted those concerned, and there was, I may say as far as I remember, unanimous agreement that Chapter 2 was justified in view of the large measure of rights which we proposed to take away from the Indians. Instead, by Chapter 2, they would be given indirect representation. We did so, and in doing so, we followed the model of the 1936 legislation which we passed in respect of the Natives. The hon. Prime Minister says that it was too large a representation for them in respect of their limited numbers. It is a question that can be argued whether it should be two or three—but that does not affect the issue. We followed the same principle as was followed by the two Houses sitting as a joint House in regard to the Native legislation. Sir, we felt we had to do something and that is why Chapter 1 is there. Chapter 2 is a sort of *quid pro quo* for Chapter 1.

Ans. Hon. Member: Was it a failure?

Field-Marshal Smuts: Well, Sir, now we are asked to repeal Chapter 2. But the Prime Minister, and the people in general,

will realise that if Chapter 2 is to be repealed you do strike very severely at Chapter 1. If you simply take away rights—that seems to be the policy of hon. members opposite; they are only too ready to take away existing rights from every branch of the community, from all those that they do not like—if we are to take away rights as we had to do, then we must give something. We give it. Now, to take away Chapter 2, I think, leaves Chapter 1 on a very dangerous footing and it must be generally recognised that if that is the position it becomes a one-sided affair. If we simply take away rights, then we expose ourselves in this country to very severe criticism throughout the world. I see no reason for the urgency, for the haste, the undue haste, with which we are dealing with this measure.

What has been the Nationalist solution of this question? We have dealt with it before. The Nationalist Government has been in power before in this country and they have tried to find a solution, and this has been repatriation. It is their solution still, as far as I can follow their policy. They find that the only way out is repatriation. Well, Sir, repatriation does not quite fill the Bill, though it may go some distance. It has been tried twice before, but it does not completely meet the case. You have here in the Indian population, a separate population, a permanent part of our population. Many will not agree to be repatriated. You cannot send all of them out of the country by force. It is a matter requiring very careful consideration. We have tried it twice and it has succeeded to some extent, but not very fully. However, it remains the only solution which hon. members opposite provide for this question. I think we have to recognise it as a fact that whatever happens in regard to repatriation you will always have in this country a fairly large Indian population remaining here as part of our permanent population. What are you going to do with them? It is not for the Prime Minister to argue here that they are interlopers, that they were brought here for a special purpose. They were brought here by the European population, and they have lived here. Generations have grown up here. They do not know India or any other country; they are South Africans, South African-born; they do not even know their own language; they have only the

South African outlook; they have been subjected to all the influences which transform a human being into a citizen of another country. Can we simply take away rights from them and give nothing in return? Can we look upon them as temporary sojourners in this country for whom repatriation is the only prospect, and that an impossible one? Something will have to be done, and we did it in Chapter 2. We said: "We shall treat you as regards political rights in this country exactly as we have treated our Native population in this country." If we do not do that but just take away rights, I wonder how we are going to face public opinion in this country and in the world. Surely we have to bear in mind these various aspects and we cannot simply treat these questions as something just to step over and not to explore further. My point is this: that repatriation has been the policy of the National Party, but you cannot have a repatriation policy simply as a one-sided, unilateral policy. Repatriation means negotiation with others; repatriation means that you must talk to India who is deeply concerned in this matter. It means that you have to talk to other countries too. It is a question which must be internationally explored. You cannot settle it unilaterally here in South Africa. To my mind, if the Government wants to carry out this policy of repatriation—that is evidently their own solution—it calls for further exploration and consideration; it calls for consultation with India, consultation with other people who may have to accept these expatriates from this country. You have to explore this question much further and not deal with it merely on a unilateral basis. Now I think that is necessary. I think, before we take the step which the hon. Prime Minister proposes here to-day, we ought first to explore this question carefully and see whether repatriation can help us out of the difficulty in which we are to-day.

We shall be left with a certain modicum, a large remnant of the Indian population, but many of them can be sent away if repatriation is the solution; and if it is a success, but it can only be ascertained by negotiations, by further conferences both with India and Pakistan. That is the obvious course to follow instead of hurrying on with this unilateral solution instead of repealing the small modicum of rights given these people. The proper course is first to explore the matter further and see how far we can come to some agreement about the question of repatriation. I think the proper course in dealing with

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

ON October 4 Mr S. J. Mandlik, Inspector of Police (C. I. D.) Gwalior was cross-examined in the Special Court trying Nathuram Godse and seven others in the Gandhi Murder case at Red Fort.

Mr Mandlik said that he had made enquiries about the birthplace of Dr. Parchure. He had not made enquiries if Dr. Parchure was a state scholar of Gwalior State. Witness had been seeing Dr. Parchure working as a private medical practitioner at Lashkar, Gwalior, since 1939. Dr. Parchure was a member of the Congress Party in Gwalior, three or four years ago. This Board, witness said, had been constituted for sponsoring the Hindu-Muslim unity move in the State.

Mr. Mandlik had recorded the statements of Gariba and Jinnas. Gwalior tonga drivers, after obtaining the permission of his superior officers as he thought it necessary in connection with the investigation of Mahatma Gandhi murder case.

Dr. Parchure, Gariba and Jinnas lived in Lashkar. Witness had some work at the Gird Police Station and, therefore, he had called Gariba and Jinnas there.

Milantsi Parchure, he added, had been arrested on February 16. He did not see Madhubhai Kale at the Gird Police Station on February 16, nor did he make any enquiries about him. He first saw Madhubhai Kale under arrest on February 15. He had been asked to assist in the investigation of this case on February 11. He was present at Dr. Parchure's house during the search on February 13. Witness was present in Red Fort when Madhubhai Kale, Ramdayal Singh, Madhubhai Khire and Jagannath Singh were examined in this court.

Mr. Mandlik said that he did not remember if Dr. Parchure or any member of his family had asked for assistance of a lawyer while Dr. Parchure was in custody.

Q: Were you present at the demonstration staged by the Hindu Sabha, Gwalior, there. V: Dr. Parchure present at this demonstration?—Yes. He was present at the demonstration.

Q: Can you tell the court why this demonstration was held?—It was staged by the Hindu Sabha, Gwalior, against the formation of the Congress Ministry.

Mr. Bhaynagar, Inspector of Explosives, West Circle, Bombay, in his evidence said that his department examined among other things explosive substances sent by the police.

On October 5, Mr. J. D. Nagar, Deputy Commissioner, Special Branch, C.I.D., Bombay and the chief investigating officer in the murder case gave evidence

He said: "On January 31, 1948, I was posted as Superintendent of Police, Special Duty in Delhi, in addition to my own duties by the Secretary, Home Department, Bombay Government. I was entrusted with the investigation of two cases of the Tughlak Road Police Station, New Delhi. On January 21, 1948 I remember having read in 'The Times of India' about the bomb explosion incident at the prayer meeting of Mahatma Gandhi. The same day at 5 or 5.10 p.m. I received a telephone call from the Home Minister, Bombay Government, asking me to go and see him immediately at the Secretariat. I was very busy at the time. I asked the Home Minister whether I could come later. Thereafter, he asked me to see him at the Bombay Central Railway Station the same evening before the departure of the Gujarat Mail. I saw him, accordingly, at the railway station. I had a conversation with him. He gave me certain instructions. I complied with his instructions forthwith by organising an unobstructive watch on Savarkar.

Search For Karkare

I immediately arranged to locate and arrest Karkare. I made enquiries from the Nagar police to find out whether Karkare, whose detention had been ordered about ten or twelve days previously under the Bombay Public Safety Measures Act, had been detained or not. I also contacted various informants in mine and asked them to locate and apprehend Karkare and his associates. I also issued similar instructions to various officers under me. I was giving topmost priority to this work.

Mr. Nagarvala further deposed: "Two police officers from Delhi, Sardar Jaswant Singh, Deputy Superintendent of Police, and one Inspector came to see me at Bombay on January 22. They desired the arrest of Karkare and his fellow-conspirators, if any. They came in connection with the investigation of the bomb explosion incident at Gandhi's prayer meeting at Delhi. The two police officers stayed in Bombay till the afternoon of January 23.

After that I continued to search for Karkare and his fellow-conspirators. Karkare was not known to the Bombay City Police before. On certain information received by me, I issued instructions on January 24 for the arrest of Digambar Badge.

I came to know the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on March 31 about 5.30 p.m. This

information was given by the Home Minister, Bombay. He asked me to take any further necessary action in the matter. A number of arrests were made on that day.

I personally came to know of the name of the assassin at about 11.30 p.m. on January 30 from an A.P.I. Reporter when I was out quelling disturbances and affecting arrests. I was given the name of the assassin as Narharan. I knew his full name the next morning.

On the morning of January 31 I received orders from the Commissioner of Police to proceed to V. D. Savarkar's house in response to a call for protection from Savarkar. I myself did not go. I know that assistance was sent because when I had occasion to go there the same day I saw an officer and four constables posted on protection duty.

Savarkar's House Searched

I interrogated various persons before January 30, 1948 and on the morning of January 31. I conducted a search of Savarkar's house at the afternoon of January 31.

I had sent other police officers with me. Mr. C. R. Pradhan was among them. Brickbats, stones and broken glass were lying about in Savarkar's house when we went there. The doors and windows of the house had been also damaged and articles inside the house were lying in disorder. The house appeared to have been attacked by a mob. I saw Savarkar there and told him that I had come to search his house. After further conversation with him I sent for two panchar.

I myself went all over the house. The rooms on first floor were searched for about an hour and a half. While I was conducting the search, a sentry came and told me that a mob had collected behind Savarkar's house. I, thereupon sent a wireless message to the control room for police help. Savarkar seemed to be frightened and full of anxieties but I did not find him ill. Savarkar himself sent for a medical practitioner.

After the search was over, the protective guard was continued at Savarkar's house as Savarkar had requested me not to remove it. A number of files and papers were removed from there and a panchnama was prepared.

Inquiries At Poona

I phoned in Poona police immediately on January 31 to look for Badge and Apte. On February 2, I learnt that Badge was

arrested by the Poona police. I asked the Poona police to send Badge to Bombay and he was sent on February 4. Madanlal who was still in Delhi was also sent to Bombay on February 4 on my instructions. I interrogated both Madanlal and Badge.

"Confronting them with each other I interrogated them to find out about the conspiracy and the whereabouts of the conspirators. I had understood from the Home Minister of Bombay that there was a conspiracy to murder Mahatma Gandhi. I, however, at that time did not know who the conspirators were except Madanlal and Karkare.

"Digambar Badge," Mr. Nagarvala went on to say, "was sent with my officer by car to Poona on the night of February 4 or 5. I left by car the next morning for Poona and looked for Gopal Godse and Shankar Kistayya. Gopal Godse was found and arrested. Digambar Badge and Gopal Godse were taken to Bombay on the night of February 5 or 6. Shankar was arrested on February 6 near Blindshaw in Bombay. I left Bombay for Delhi on February 10.

Searches In Delhi

I brought Shankar with me to Delhi in an aeroplane and kept him in the Tughlak Road Police Station. Next morning I sent for two Panchar at Tughlak Road Police Station. In their presence Shankar made a statement and, then he took us to a place near the Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan. Shankar who was wearing a burka at that time pointed out a place and took out certain articles from the ground behind the Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan. Those articles had been buried underground. Thereafter Shankar took us to another place at a distance of about 145 paces from the first place and took out certain articles which were lying under a stone. A panchnama was prepared with regard to the articles recovered there.

"The Hon. Minister of Bombay," continued Mr. Nagarvala, "did not disclose the source of his information on January 21 when I met him at Bombay Central Railway Station. Subsequently I came to know about the source of information and I then recorded the statement of Dr. C. Jain. I recorded the statement of Mr. Mohan Doss, Home Minister. I also recorded the statement of Mrs. Shantamma Modak.

"All the accused except Savarkar and Dr. Parchure were kept on the first floor of the new C.I.D. building in Bombay. The sketch plan (on exhibit) of the first floor of the C.I.D. building was prepared under my directions by Sub-Inspector Haldipur. The

plan shows correctly where the accused were on the first floor

Articles Recovered

"Two panths were brought to Tughlak Road police station where Apte made a statement. Apte thereafter, took the panths, the police officers including myself along with Karkare to the jungle behind the Hindu Maha-

tabha Bhavati. Certain articles were recovered from there on being pointed out by Apte. A panchanama (on exhibit) in regard to the recovery of the articles was prepared.

The examination of Mr. Nagarvalu had not concluded when the court rose for the day.

(To be continued)

Things in General

Prayer For The Prince

The Indian community of the Union heartily joins the country in expressing its joy at the birth of a son to Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh. May he be blessed with health and long life to be able to fulfil the noble task of serving humanity.

Addition To B.I. Fleet

The *Karsnaji*, a 10,000 ton liner has recently completed her trials and is to sail Eastward to join her sister "*Kampala*" on the B. L. service between India, Palestine and East and South Africa. These ships are more than five hundred feet in length with a beam of sixty-six feet, making them the largest vessels in that trade. The "*Karanga*" accommodates sixty First Saloon passengers in single and two berth cabins and, with public rooms comprising a lounge and music room, a smoking room and a dining room, also a separate card room and library.

The second saloon has accommodation for 190 passengers berthed in cabins for two, three and four persons; public rooms for them consist of a lounge, a smoke room and a dining room. There is ample deck space in each saloon as well as an enclosed dance floor convertible when required for film shows.

There is also provision for 75 intermediate class passengers who will have a separate dining room and public room; the accommodation is at the after end of the vessel on the main and lower decks.

In addition to saloon and intermediate class passengers, up to twelve hundred can be carried overnight. For them modern cooking and ventilating amenities have been installed with adequate deck space for all.

The "Karanga" has turbines driving twin-screws which will give a service speed of sixteen knots. The cargo-handling equipment is designed to take care of all needs and there is space for 475,000 cubic feet of cargo with 45,000 cubic feet for refrigerated stores. The completion of this

ship marks the 40th built or purchased during and since the war by the B.L. Company. 18 are still on the stocks or projected. The a.s. Karanja is due at Dushan for the first time about the 29th December 1948, and is expected to sail about the 3rd January 1949.

Anglican Church On Native Rights

The Johannesburg Diocesan synod of the Anglican Church last week adopted, with one dissentient, a resolution expressing its deep concern at the decision of the Government to deprive the Native people of their existing political rights. It was decided not to ask the Government to consult the electorate before acting in this matter. A Native layman said it was felt that this should not be done because the electorate did not include the bulk of the population. The resolution, however, appeals to the European people of the Union to make it clear to the Government that they do not agree with its decision. It points out that three members of the House of Assembly, four Senators and the Native Representative Council, were granted to the Natives in exchange for the rights they previously held in the Cape Province. "To take away these rights we regard as an act of bad faith and by Christian principles, as morally unjustifiable," the resolution states.

University Indian Students
Bursary Committee

Applications are invited from Indian and Malay students for a bursary in two of the following families:—

Social Science, Bachelor of Commerce, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Arts, tenable at the University of the Witwatersrand. The value of each bursary is one hundred and fifty pounds per annum (£150) and is sufficient to cover cost of fees and boarding expenses for the academic year. Preference will be given to students applying in the faculties of Social Science and Commerce. Further information will

be applied on application. All applications must be forwarded not later than the 30th November, 1948, to the Hon. Secretary, 540 Union Avenue, Newcastle, New South Wales. Late applications will not be considered.

Sardar Patel Congratulated

At a three-day celebration meeting held under the auspices of the "Rangaswami" temple near Samaj, at Ganith Hill, A. J. K. S. S., a resolution congratulating Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, on his 75th birthday, was adopted.

The resolution referred to the services and achievements of Sardar Patel whose monumental work was the unification, by a bloodless revolution of 565 Indian States to the Indian Union, an event unique in the history of India.

Deepavali Celebrations

The Pongavall festival was celebrated under the auspices of the following institutions: Vemuri Temple Progressive Club, Shree Gopulal Temple Trust, Veralam Ramesan Sabha. Havan ceremony was performed by Parth S. M. Mahapatra. The pupils of Vemuri Temple Progressive Club Patabala, under the direction of Mr. S. R. Lathibari, entertained the audience with variety shows and modern songs. Speeches were made by Balasubrahmanya, G. Ramnath, G. Moonohar, I. Ramakrishna and S. R. Lathibari.

Port Shearstone

Under the auspices, the Port Shopstone Hindu Dharma Sabha, the Deepavali Festival was celebrated in the open grounds opposite Messrs Andan Bros Store at Naburage, Port Shop-Shopstone. Pandit P. Parbhoo, Pandit Jawar Singh, K. Sowbram, K. Dalay, N. Madhwar, K. Andan and others were among the speakers. Prizes and sweetmeats were distributed after the termination of the function.

Ladyamith

Under the auspices of the Deepavali celebration Committee, Deepavali was celebrated with great joy at the Sastan Dharma Sabha. Mr. G. G. Chetty chairman of the Committee presided. Mr. Vilhal Lalk spoke on the significance of Deepavali, and outlined the history of Sri Lanka. Other speakers were, Messrs. H. Narindas, J. R. Singh, T. Sengodan, K. H. Singhan and Mrs. Panchan Mahesw. Musical entertainment was provided by the members of the Young Men's Musical Society, and pupils of the orphanage school rendered songs suitable to the occasion.

CITY OF JOHANNESBURG
NON-EUROPEAN STAFF VACANCY

Applications are invited from Non-Europeans for the following vacant position in the Non-European Affairs Department:—

¹ Indian Welfare Assistant:
Gopin "A", 2266/12/2344

In addition to the basic salary, a variable cost of living allowance is paid.

Applicants should have a university degree in Social Science or other allied subjects and should have linguistic qualifications to enable them to work satisfactorily with all sections of the Indian community. The Stellen include a social survey of the requirements of the Indian community in Johannesburg with particular reference to various social problems.

Concerning for appointment in the gift of the Council is strictly prohibited. Proof thereof will disqualify a candidate for appointment.

Applications in the candidate's handwriting, on special forms obtainable from the Central Staff Office, Room 38, Municipal Office, endorsed "Application for position of Indian Welfare Assistant," must reach room 38, Municipal Office, not later than 4 p.m. on the 21st November, 1918.

H. T. TISHALE,
Acting Town Clerk.

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ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન

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“ઈન્ડિઅન ઓપિનિઅન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૧૯ નવેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકા

સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકાને જમિ તે જોએ યુનીયન સાથે જોડી દેવાના સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના ૬૭ નિઃશ્વયની પાછળ શાંતીની ખાતના નથી રહી પરંતુ યુદ્ધની ખાતના રહી છે. યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ ખાતે પ્રવેશ સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના પ્રતિનિધી મી. જોરીક લેાડકાપણ ભરેલી ફ્લીકના અખાલે ખાતજ યુગાપી બેઠા. હાલના પ્રતિનિધી શ્રીમતી વિઠ્ઠાલકિમી પંડીતે સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકાને યુનીયનની સાથે કેમ જોડી દેવું નહિ જોઈએ અને એ દેશને કેમ યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સના વાલી પક્ષનીયે મુકવેા જોઈએ તેની મુદ્દાસર ની ફ્લીકો રજૂ કરી હતી. તેમની ફ્લીકોનું ખંડન થઈ શકે તેમ નહોતું. નેટીવોની સ્થિતિ યુનીયનમાંજ સતોપકારક નહોતી જ અને ફાલગ્ની સરકાર હિંસા ચલાવે બગડતી ચાલી છે. જનરલ રમલસ જેવી જગમશિદ્ધ અધિકૃતજેજ આ સરકારની નીતીને ચમોડી કાઢવા પાટી વધુ મુશ્કાલી જરૂર રહેતી જ નથી તેમજે કર્ણ અંગત ક્ષાબના કારણે નેમ નથી કહ્યું પરંતુ ખડ ખોડ નિઃશ્વયના પુરતી અને પોતાના દેશનું કિત શામા સમાયેલું છે એ સમજવા પુરતી તેઓ દીધે દ્રષ્ટિ વાપરી શકે જોઈ તેમજે નેમ કહ્યું છે.

યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સમાંના કોઈના પક્ષ કાય ચોખખા છે એમ કહેવા અમે તઈયાર નથી પરંતુ એકે ખુલ્લ કહેલી કોાય નેથી પીજાને તે કરવાનો અધિકાર છે એવું ઉત્તરું નથી. એ અધ્યાજ એ નીચમે ચાહે તો યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ જેવી વસ્તુ રહેશે જ નહિ, અને અરિજામ અધ્યાપીમાં આજેક

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાએ પ્રવળ કરેલી સ્થિતિ કાયદેસર કદાચ ખરી પક્ષ કોાય પરંતુ યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સની બલામણેને માન આપવાની તેના પર નૈતિક જવાબદારી નથી રહી એમ જો તે માનતું હોય તો એ સર્વથા ખુલ્લરેલું છે. બાહુમતી ના નિર્ણયને લઘુમતીએ સિપકાર વોજ જોઈએ સીવાય કે, ૪૪ પક્ષ મહત્વના સિદ્ધાંતનો વાધો કોાય. સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકાને યુનીયન સાથે નહિ જોડવામા કંઈ સિદ્ધાંતનો બંગ થતો કોાય એવું અમે જોઈ શકતા નથી. એ દેશ ના અધ્યા અથવા તો મોટા ભાગના વાનીઓની ક્ષેત્રી મુક્કા કોાય, અને યુનીયન સરકાર નાવો કરે છે કે છે, કે એ દેશ યુનીયનની સાથે જોડાવો જોઈએ તો જરૂર તેને જોડી દેવો જોઈએ.

પરંતુ એજ વસ્તુ પુરવાર થઈ નથી અને તેની વીરુદ્ધતા મુશ્કા મુશ્કાવા જવા પડે તેમ નથી. આ સંલેગેમાં યુનાઇટેડ નેશન્સ એકજ વસ્તુ કરવાની છે અને તે એ કે હાગતા વાગતા લોકોની ખરી ક્ષિકાથી ચાકેક થવા એક ક્રમીઅન મોકલવું. યુનીયન સરકારને પોતાના કેસની ખાટી જ કોાય તો એ પગલાંનો તેમજે વિરોધ કરવો નહિ જોઈએ અમને અવ છે કે યુનીયન સરકારે પોતાનો કેમ પોતાનાં કુત્તેો વડેજ શુમા વેલો છે. પરદેશમાં તેના પ્રતિ નીધીઓ જે કંઈ પક્ષ ફલે તેના કરનાં તેના કુત્તેોજ વધારે કહી આપનારાં છે. તેનું કાય ને હાક, માઈકલ સ્કોટ કે જનરલ કાટલના કાયે બગડી નથી રહ્યું. તેના પોતાનાજ કુત્તેોથી બગડી રહ્યું છે. આ વસ્તુ તે વેઈ નથી શકતી એ રોચનીય છે. બાહુ

બગડી ગયા બધી રીતે તો વધારે રોચનીય થાશે.

હારેલા યુદ્ધ નેનાઓને મોતની સજા

બખાતના યુદ્ધ વખતના પડા પ્રધાન અને પીલ્લ વખતના રાજકીય નેતાઓને આજર રાષ્ટ્રીય સરકારી અદાલતે કહેલી અવતઓને નેજાને અવાદવાનું છે અને ઈશ્વરમાં નામે છે. તેઓ ઉવાસીનતાથી જોઈ મેટી નહિ રહે. યુદ્ધમા કોણ યુનેશાર ગાખાય અને કોણ નહીં એ અવ પ્રશ્ન છે. વીજ્જિતાઓ ન્યાય કરવાની સત્તા પોતાના હાથમાં સર્થ છે છે પરંતુ ધારો કે તેઓજ પરા જય પામ્યા હેલ તો તેઓને એ વીચાર આવેત કે ખરો કે તેમ વધુ હાલ ને તેઓ જે સજા આ કરી રહ્યા છે તે નેઓપર બલાવાનું દોનાં એવડે સ્વીકલ

મા મને એક સરખા પુનાવાર મળ્યાય અને ન્યાય મળવા કેમ તે કુપ માત્રપર અના પદ અના મુશ્કરજ પરી શકે, એમા વખત પર નુકરેઅવગંમા ચાલેલો. એ દેશો તેમજ આ મને વાત મળેલ દેશોમા છે. કુનીયાને આજે જેની જરૂર છે-જેને માન ને ખાખી રહી છે તે શાંતી સ્થાપવાને બદલે આ અવતઓથી અવધા પરિણામો નીપજશે કે જે કદાચ શાંતી સ્થાપવાની અવળી આશા એ નપટ કરી નાખનારી થઈ પડે, આ મુકદ્દમાની પાછળ ચેર અને નેની વાંચના રહેલી છે અને વેરમાંજ વેરજ પેતા સાથ જે વખતે કોટો યુદ્ધ ના વાયવસે પરિણામે ને માડ ખુલવા કાચ્યા છે તેવે વખત આવી વસ્તુઓ નેઓની સમક્ષ મુકાય એ અમારી દ્રષ્ટિએ અવીવારીપણાની પરિચિત છે.

રાષ્ટ્રગીત

અમારા તા. ૧ અક્ટોબરના અંકમાં “એમ કોઈ” ૧૨૪મા રાષ્ટ્રગીત મિમે અચોપજ ઉપાંગો દતો ને હાજવા આપતી વખત અમારા ન્યાસ બહાર કુટ કે એ અચોપજ “એટમ બોમ” ની મરજ સારસી. એમ મેને ખલુ અપારે આ મીન મેળાવકાઓમાં મમાપુ હતું તા. ૧૧૦૦ હતો અમારે કમ્પુલ રેરુ રાજા કે એ ગીત અમે ભાવજર પહેલી તાર સામજિક અને અમને એ આભાર મધુ, અમારા માંત્રા નામ તે વીશે માંત્રીક નેવો. કવી લાગી આને કેટલાક માંત્રા જાન એ પાળવ અમને કમ્પુલ હતું આ માંત્રા ફરકારે કેમ? આ અવો પાલી રહો ને એ નેજાનત અમને “એમ કોઈ” તો એ માંત્રા અવો પાળ અમે ને નેજા સમક્ષ મુકયા આના નેજાનતમા કમ્પામવર તાર અમાર ના પુણાવાનીક ન્યાસ સમાપ્ત હતી પરંતુ આ માંત્રીકી નામ કહેવું પડે કે કે હાલ ખાખા અને અવધ

આમે ૧૧ પહેલાં સમાપ્તના રીવળીઅન વાદેર મેળાવકામાં વીતય રીવેકની મર્મોલા કોટી લમ અચોપજપર, નેજાપર અને ફાલીકસ લેવો પડે પ્રકાર કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા. આ પક્ષ અને નામ મેને અચી વળા કમ્પોતો હતા કારણ આકેશતરી રીતે પક્ષ અને સમાવતમા કુલેપ કવાવમાર ને બનીએ એવી અમારી કમ્પો હતા અને પુનકારેવના પુકો રીકીકા નેને તરીએ નામો તો હોવા ને નેજા મીન સેવુ દવ. પરંતુ નેમે તેમા રવા કીએ કે કેટલાક લાગુ મુર લેવર મોરશો કામ કરી રવા ને અને કે ના દાખાને ૧૪૪મા કા ને અને અમારી કિપર અવધ પવાવપા અને મુશ્કાન્યાયી રવા ને અવધ આ મુક મા “નવાન” ના સકેટરેકા વમાવજ અપીએ રીએ પરકાશના અમારી કિપર અવેષ એ કે અવે નવાવનીને મળતા હતા. અમે મળતા વરને નવા પક્ષ કોટવા ને પુરતો ૧ નવા પક્ષ મનજુલા નેજુક હતા કે. કીટ મીન

હરીજનોના ઉદ્ધારક

ગાંધીજીએ હરિજનોને માટે શું કરી નાખ્યું એવા સવાલ કેટલીય વારે કરવામાં આવે છે. એવા દીકાકરો પશુ કતા જે આમકુવડે કહેવા કે હરિજનના રૂપાળા નામનું એકા નીચે એવો અરેખર હરિજનોને તામે રાખવા માન્યતા કરવા અને હરિજન સેવક સંઘ હરિજનોને એમના આધિવા જનાવાને માટે ઉભી કરેલી એક નરજીવ હતી. આવા દીકાકરોના અસલ આરામોમાં કૃતરવાને માટે આને જરૂરમે ઉશરો નથી. હું એટલું જ કહીશ કે ગાંધીજી ની તેમ જ તેમના કાપની આ જગતની દીકા સત્યના કેવળ રૂપરૂપ છે. આ મુશ્કેલીમાં હરિજનોની વસ્તી ૭ કરોડથી વધારે છે. વળી, એ સૌકો આખા દેશમાં છુટા છુટા પેરામેશ પડ્યા છે. અરુણવાળા અસલ ભેજન નીચે કચડાંસા એ સૌકો પોતાનું નામ લખત મરીવીયા, ગંડવામાં ને અમાનસ અંધકારમાં વિતાવે છે. હજારો કરોડોની એ સૌકો આવી મુશ્કેલીની અપહસમાં સામળના આખા છે અને આ તદ્દન કચડાંસાની કોમને સદાપ કરવાને પાણી લાખ કંપાઓ. એમ મને મુશ્કેલીમાં આવે તો હું માટે અંતર પડે કાપ રાખીને એકદક કહું કે આ કામ ગાંધીજીએ કહ્યું. બીજા કોઈથી શકુ નથી. અરુણવાળાની રદિયા આ આગાધિક અન્યાયની સામે મનેશર અને તુકારામ જવા નંનાએ પોકાર કીડ્યો હતો પણ તેમની વાત કોઈ ન કાતે પ્રરી નહોતી. તેજરવી ગહિ-વાળા કે કીમરાશ આંખેકર જેવા મુશ્કેલીમાં પોતાની અસાધારણ જીવિ તેમ જ કાકિતને ક્ષેત્રે આ અકપટા સવાલની મુમ બેલવાના પ્રવાસ ક્યો ગયું તેમના પ્રમસેમિ અધુરા પડ્ય. પરંતુ ગાંધીજીએ પોતાની સમજવતની નાકી પાણી, પોતાનાં સમય કપાણી અને અવિરલ અથા કૌશિશો નેરે આ જમાનાજુવા સવાલના સંજગાથી કૌલ કાલે.

હિંદુ ધર્મનું કલંક અરુણવાળા હિંદુ ધર્મ પર મારેકું કાણું કમંક છે અને તેને જુરેરી નાખ્યા વિના છુટકો નથી. જે હિંદુઓ અરુણ સ્વાલની રૂઠિને વળગી રહ્યા છે તે પોતાના ખતને આગળ નથી વધારતા, તેના અમુક નાથ વહેરે છે. હરિજનોને ગીચ ધર્મોને વિરે આરથા થક આવી તેથી તેમણે હિંદુ ધર્મને ત્યાગ નથી કર્યો. પરંતુ હિંદુ ધર્મવ્યવસ્થામાં તેમના પર ન પીતકો વિનાશવામાં આવતાં દતા તેમાંથી ઉગરવાને તેમણે ધર્મ ગાળ્યો દંતા હિંદુ ધર્મને ઉમારેશો કૈવ અને તેમાં પકેશ આ માણુ પુરવુ કૈવ તેા મમારે હરિજનો સાથે સમાનવાને. સહિષ્ણુવાને અથવા સમ માવને અને સંકેશવાને ધોરણે વર્તન રાખવુ નામો એ વિના હિંદુ ધર્મને મુશ્કેલી નથી આપી આપણે એ

કૌતારનાર ગાંધીજી કના. સૌકાઓ દરમિયાન પોતે આરેશા મકધારા પાપના પ્રાચલિતરૂપે સવધું હિંદુઓએ હરિજનોનાં સેવા કરવી જોઈએ ની તેમને સલાહ આપી ગાંધીજીએ સમાનતા વિચારરૂપીને મોટો આધાર આપી દસાવી કારી આ આધારથી વિચાર વાત મોહો પોતાની સાંપી મે. કનિઠાગાંથી અગમા. સર્વે માણસો સરખા છે અને હંજરની નજરમાં તેનાં સવે પાળકો સરખા મોહ તેમના કોઈ કંઠો નથી ને કોઈ નીચો નથી એવા કિપરેશ કારો તેમણે વિચારના કૈવમાં ચાલસ. કાનિ કરી એટલે કે અરેખર ઉપમાપાથક કરી મુકી જ-મથી માખસ કંઠો નથી ક્ષેત્રે નીચો નથી પડેલો. અથવા તેને ને કામ કરવાનું આવે છે તેને કારણે ને કંઠો નથી ક્ષેત્રે કે કલકો નથી પડેલો, તેવા પોતાનાં કોઈથી કંઠો નાકે છે કે નીચે પડે છે એ તેમના કિપરેશો. સાર છે અને એ ઉપરેશો પ્રપક્ષ પાડ આપવાને તેઓ પશુ વાર વાતે જાંનીનું કામ કરતા અને જાંનીવારમાં મુકામ કરતા. એમના કિપરેશ તેમ જ પ્રવારને પરિણામે ન આજે હિંદુસ્તાનજરમાં હરિજનો આ જગતની સાથે સરખાપણને નામે મુશ્કેલી રાજાકીવરની ન્યાયવારી કૌલ છે.

હરિજનોમાં કેવળપણીના દંધાવો કરે તાને પાનાર અનેક સ્વજીએ મકધારા કુલંકે બાવાસો. માલમાં, આશરો આપ્યા, અને હરિજન સેવક સંધની રમતા કરી. સૌકાઓથી હરિજનો અમાનતા એ અંધારામાંથી રસેતો સૌધવાને કાકિ સામે છેને અંધારું ફર થાત તેા પોતાના આસપાસના વાતાવરણને તેઓ જાંનરનું પ્રમાણ જાળવીને પરા અર જોઈ રહશે. પછી માનવો નરજી-ના પોતાના અધિકારનું ખાન થવાથી તેઓ તેની સમાપનાને માટે પડી લેશે. હિંદુ રદિની પરંપરાના તદ્દ અધને

તોટી તેમાંથી છુટી તે સૌકો અજગના મુક્ત નામરિશો અવવાને પોતાની ધર્મ જોળખતા થશે. આ વાત ખ્યાનમાં રાખી ગાંધીજીએ હરિજનોના રિશમાં વાનની જ્યોત કાપક જગતની રાખી હતી. હરિજનો હિંદુ સમાજનું કદી અંગરૂ ન પાડી રાકાય એવું એક અંમ છે. સામાજિક, આર્થિક કે રાજકીય એમ કોઈ પણ રીતે તેમને બાકીના હિંદુઓ થી આગળ પાડી કલપ એવું નથી. આ વિચાર પ્રચલિત થાય તેટલા આ તર પોતે રજરવી સામમાં પરકડા નેજમાં દતા ને વખતે નેજમાં રદીનિંચે ગાંધીજીએ બિટિરા સરકારના કોમા મુકાકા સામે પોતાનું જીવન કૌડમાં મુક્યું અને ન આકરી કસોટીમાંથી તેઓ સજાવાનેર પાર જીત્યો. પરંતુ રાજકીય રજિથા છત મળવી તેઓ જાંનીને ન લેશ. ધ્યાનના માનસમાં મકધો આવવાને ખાતર તેમણે હિંદુરતા નના એકએક મામલો પ્રવાસ મોડ્યો, કમરે પ્રવર્તી આખા અને અનેક સખાણો કર્યો. હરિજનોને પોતાનાં રવજનો મણવાને તેમણે સવધું હિંદુ-ઓને સમજવળા. અરુણ અથવા અણુત લાનની સાથે રિશને કરે અવી રુનિઓ જામતી કૌવાથી એમણે તેની અવેશમાં હરિજન જેવું પીકું નામ ચાણુ કર્યું. ખુદ પોતાનું અરવાકિક જણું તેમણે હરિજન નામથી ચલાવવા માંડ્યું. હરિજનોની સેવાના કામમાં પુષ્કળ નાણાની જરૂર કૌવાથી તેમણે તે માટે મોટો બિઝા સાંઘવાનું કા કર્યું અને એ રીતે હરિજન રાજો શરૂ થયો. હિંદુ સમાજ પરનું આ કમંક જુરેરી કાવવામાં અદ્દ થતી કૈવ ના કાવલાનો આધાર લેવામાંને તેમને વાંધા નહોતો. અરુણવાળાના આ મુકા રાજસની સામે તેમનું રોશિશ વિરોધ પેકારવું.

મુખલ રંધિયાપરથી તા. ૨-૧૦-૪૮ ને દિવસે મુજબ સરકારના પકાત વગેરના ખાતાના પ્રધાન શી છ. ડી. તપાસેએ આપેલા આજ્ઞામંત્રી.

ભાઈનાં સંભારણાં

ગોડાગલેન ગાંધીજીના મોટાં ભેતે પુ. માંથી જ્યાંની પ્રસંગે સોરાર રદીયો મચકેથી ગળગળે અવાલે બેસતાં જમાણ્યુ હતું કે. “ભાઈના કૈવની વાત કહેતા હું પાકતો નથી. બાલ મેવો” એ જગાં અત્યારે મને રું ને શું શકુ જાય છે.” આ રાખે બોલાઈ તેા કહેવાનું કંપ કારાઈ આવ્યું. તેમણે જુની વાત પાદ કરતાં જમાણ્યુ હતું કે “રંધિયાપર અને ખરો મરિરે જતાં, બાઈ ને વખતે પરમાં બેસતા કુલા પડી અને પાળતા ને

તું બોલ્યો છે એટલે તું જમી લે નો” કહેતાં માટે જમાણ્યુ નથી.” નિશાળ માં તેા મારો બાઈના પહેલો નંબર જ હતો, દહીને વેરલેશ દટા અટક બાઈ આજ નિશાળ મળ્ય એક દિવસ પકારમાં બે સોના નાં કડાં કતા ને બાઈએ તેના હોરનારની રિખવણીથી કહ ગીધાં. ગાર પછી એ સોનાનાં કડાં પાળા બાણુને-વિલાશીને ખાતર પડી એટલે પૂરણે “પકારમાંથી બે કડાં કાલે મામાં છા” તરે બાઈએ કહ્યું

“જે તમે મને મારો નહોં તેા કહું.” તારે બાણુએ કહ્યું કે “નહોં મારો” બાઈ કોણે ગીધાં છા” બાઈએ જવાબ આપ્યો “મેં ગીધાં છે.” બાણુએ પુછ્યું : “મોકનીયા સાણુ મોલી જા, કે કોવી રિખામણથી તે આ કડાં ગીધાં કતાં” બાઈને તરત જ જવાબ આપી રીધા કે “બાણુ, મેં મારા હોરનારની રિખવણીથી ગીધાં કતાં. આ કાંચે એક આણુ” પું બીજું, અને તેને વેચીને નારતા કરી મધા કીધી.” આમ બાઈ સાણુ મોલી જતા બાણુએ તેને માર્યો નહિ.

આજ બાણુવા જતા તરે પોતાગાદી મા નહિ પણ પડે ચાલતા જ જતા. બાણુનું કૈવ પણ અપાર—એને નેજુંદે અંગળા પુષ્ક જેવથી વર્તતા કતા, બાઈ વાડા બોલામાં રમતા પારજા પારજા કરતા.

એક દિવસ દેવરાસને વખતે તેની કમર ૧૫-૮ વાની રસી-તેણે આ પાગી અને મેં આ તેને આપી. તારે બાઈ તુરત જ જાતામના આવીને કૈવા અને મને કહ્યું. “ગોડાગલેન રું કરો છો.” તેમણે રજાળ આપ્યો કે મારે આ પીડી હતી એટલે કપાળએ મને આ આપી છે બાઈએ એ વખતે કહેલું, જેન છોકરાઓને યાની રેવ પાડી ન જોઈએ, તમે દેવરાસને આ એટલો પાલો આપ્યો છે, તમારે છોકરાઓ ને આટલા લાડ ન કરવા જોઈએ.” એક દિવસની વાત છે. કાથીબાઈ ને ત્યાં થમ કતા. મોટા બાબાએ સાંપેલા કર્યો એ વખતે પહેરવાના જર્દીનાં કપડા કાપ્યા. આ બાળતની બાઈને બપર પડી. તુરત જ બાબાને કહ્યું “બાબા, આ જર્દીનાં કપડાં કોનાં આપ્યા જર્દીનાં કપડાં ન કૈવ, કાદમાં માલ કપડા કૈવ.” તુરત જ કપડા કીત્યાં અને બાબા “મધા કપડા મા કાતર મુકી. અને કાતરે એક પશુ કટકો કામ ન આવે એવી રીતે કામ કરી દીધું.

એ વખતે બાબાના વિચરપક્ષના ખાખસોએ કહ્યું કે “માંથી તમે આ શું કરો” તારે જવાબ આપેલો કે “મારો પરમાં જર્દીનાં કપડાં મને ન જોઈને, નહન સાદા કપડાં જોઈએ.” એક વખતે મામાનો દીકરો મુઠરી અરો. અને સૌકિક કરવાનું હતું. રસોઈનું કામ જડી. રાધા જે મોટી છોટીયું હતી તે રસોઈ કરશે તેમ કહે વાણુ. તુરત જ બાઈએ કહેલું કે “છોટીયું રસોઈ નહિ કરે, જેન તમ જ રસોઈ કરે.”

“પણ આપણને સુતક પડ્યું છે” મેં કહ્યું. એટલે એમણે જવાબ આપેલો કે “સુતક નાનું નથી, મારી મોટ રસોઈ કરમે તેા જ હું જમાણ્યુ.” એમ રંત ગીધીયું એટલે રંધિ જેન

આપને જુઓ રાષ્ટ્રે! મેં રસોઈ કરી અને ખાઈ જમ્યા, ખાઈ જરૂરિયાત આપે આપે. આપ અંગરેજો, દાંતીયા પહેરના હતા એની સાથેદાંતી મો નાન કરી એવો ખાઈ મળે,

અહીં એવો ખાઈખાઈ આપ આપી મળ્યા, પણ એ રહે તેઓ કાચલામાં આવી મેલ્યા, અને ખાઈએ કહેલું "નમો સેવામાં આવે, રાજકોટમાં નમણું કોઈ નથી." પરંતુ મેં રાજકોટ રહેવાનું નકર્યા કહ્યું એટલે ખાઈ એ તરખૂણાઓ પત લખ્યા કે એવો સારા મહાનમાં રાખવો. એવો ને વસ્તુ તેમજ તે સર્વ આપવો. એવો ને અવશ્ય છે."

મરિા ખાઈ મળે. મારા જીવનમાં મુળધારી મળે. અને મન-વસ્તુ ખાઈ પહેલીની જેવી સુધી,

મારા ખાઈ આપમળા જમવામાં કમિ સ્વર રાખતા નહિ. માન સુધી રહેલી ખાતા. મારે હૃદય બરાબ આપુ. મેં નમ્રને માટે ખાઈ સ્વાસ્થ્યના જોડાતર રસોઈને આપવું કહ્યું. તેમજ સમિતિ આપી પછી મેં તે તેમ, વીઠું-મરચું, વધારીને અને મહાસેદાર નમનમાંની ગાળી જેવું જમણ વધાર કહ્યું. જોજન હતું તે સાફ, પણ રોઈ સસક્ષતું. હું તે જમવામાં

આવેદ લેવા મેડી. પણ ખાઈ કહે કે "આવેદ ત્વાદ મારથી લેવાય કેમ? એવો, ને તે ગોરખાઈની જમણવાર કયો આપમળાં આપ કોઈ ન દોમ.

હું પછી મળ હતી અને મન મારે એવું વાગ્યું હતું ત્યારે ખાપુજ મને લેવા કે સાપરમલી આપમળાં આપી આપવા હતા. આ વાતને તે ખાપુજ વહેસો વહી મળા છે. ખાપુજ આપ અવશ્યક ઉપર જીવરના ત્યારે ત્યારે કહ્યા પણ અમુક અવશ્યક કરવાનું, નિવર પૂનાતા આપાખાન મહેલમાં ખાપુજને અપવાસ રહી હતા ત્યારે કહ્યા પણ ત્યાં પહેલીમાં મળી હતી અને ખાપુજને કહ્યાને આપ પછીકુટિમાં ન્યાન આપુ હતું. આ પ્રસંગને વાદ કરતાં કહ્યા એ અવરગળા સાદે કહ્યું કે મારે ખાઈ એવડ સુધી મારે જીવન કરેલો રહ્યો હતો અને પુનામાં આપાખાન મહેલમાં અને ખાઈ પછીકુટિ અપાવી હતી.

આ છે ખાપુજના મોટાં એવ રહ્યા રાજિવાતએ જોજાએ ને જેમજો ખાઈ ના હોરેલા સપ્તચિત્ર અનેકને આંકુ પડાવ્યાં હતાં આપે પ્રસંગ આદિ થી અંત સુધી કરવાનું કરેલો. કાળર રહેલો પુ. અજાણા તે મોખાર આંકુસ રહી પહેલાં.

વિવિધ સમાચાર

જનરલ રાષ્ટ્રે અને બીજા કને જીવનની મળ

હું જમવાના વધવાના પડા પ્રમાણ જનરલ રાષ્ટ્રે અને બીજા ને રાજકોટ મેલા અને સરકરી સેનાપતીઓને મળા સુધવારે ૧૧ રાજકોટની અંતરરાષ્ટ્રિય ખાદ્યસત નરજીયાં ખાતની સળ હર-કાવવામાં આવી. બધા મળા રપ જાપાનીઝ નેતાઓની મે વરસ ઉપર તપાસ માલી હતી જેમાંના ૧૫ને જનરલ રાષ્ટ્રે અને ખાતના એવે ૨૦ વરજીની હતી સળમાં મળ છે. જોરજોશીના સર વીસીમ વેળ ને અદાસના પ્રમુખ હતા તેમજે કહ્યું કે ૧૧ ન્યાયાધીશ માર્કી મળે વિજ્ઞ સુકારો આપેલો હતો. કોઈના મા. જરૂરીસ પાલ ખાપુજની સાથે મળતા નહોતા મળા અને કો-સિ-અના ડો. બી. પી. રોસીમ અને કોસના મા. જરૂરીસ ખરનાડે અમુક જરજરે વીરુક મળ દસાંબા હતો. મા. જરૂરીસ પાલ જીરાધી સુકારો આપતા અધ્યાપ્ય હતું કે કાવતરની આરોપ જોડેએ તેલેલા સામીન થયા નહોતો. અદાસને એવાજ યુનાઓની તપાસ કરવી અવશ્ય છે ને હું જરૂરીમાન અથવા સુધને અમે થવા કોમ, મંચુ રીયા અને બીજા સળય ધરાવતા ખના મે અદાસની સત્તાની ખકાર હતા. રાષ્ટ્રે અને બીજા આરોપીઓને એવે કેલેસા અને મોતાની પ્રવળા વજાઈએ

જરૂરી રજામાં કોમ તે નેઓની સળ નિષા વિપ શંકા મારેવાનું હું કહ્યું કારણ એવો નથી. જે જાપાનીઝ નેતાઓએ મેલાના પ્રવેશમાં મેલાની જાતીની જીવજાના ખાલોનું મોમન કરી મેલાની પ્રમુખ રજા કરવાના પ્રવળ કરેલો કોમ તેઓને હું કોમ એવો નથી. મુદ્દતો જમણાદારી પરા કમ પામેલા નેતાઓની ઉપરજા કદાચ રહેલી નહિ દોમ એ સકમતાની આપણે અવમળના નથી કરી સળતા. જીવજાના મા અમેલી નિષા અને સુલીની સળ અને ન્યાયની રિષ્ટિમાં કદાચ અદાસ ખરજી કરવાની પણ મરેર પડે એ અસંભવી નથી.

ખાદ્યસ પાપાનું ગુન કરવાને પ્રવળ

જીવજાના વર (રાષ્ટ્રીય) પસના મેલા અને ખાપુજ વડા પ્રમાણ સુલેશ નકાસ પાપાનું નેતા. હાંના રાતે કેરોમાં તેમના નિવાસસ્થાનની ખકાર ખુન કરવાનો પ્રમાણ નિષ્ફળ નીવડ્યા હતા. મેલા ની મોટર કારમાંથી નીચે જીવરતા હતા ત્યારે કુમકાપોરોએ એક રોસ મન ને જોજાખાર કરેલો મનાય છે. અને કામ ખનાવડેનો મોજા હેડેલો મનાય છે નકાસ પાપાને તે નહિ લલયા પરજ મારે માણસોને મળ થમ હતી. નકાસ પાપાને જન મેવડો આ ખંડ પ્રમાણ

રહ્યો હતો. ઉલ્લા પ્રમાણ મળા મેકોસ મા થયા હતા અપરે કુટનારા પદાર્થો થી બરેલા એક કાર તેમના ધરની ખકાર મુરદ મળ આ હતી અને મોટું વકસાન પણ હતું.

પુછડીયો તારો

નવે પુછડીયો તારો કુલીન ના મળા મરે બાગમાં નવામાં આવી રહ્યો ૧ ૧૬૧૦૦૦ રખાયવા તારો પછી આપ મોહાના મોહો તારો દેખામેલા મળ્યા છે તેને વિરે કરવાય છે કે પુછડીયો ને તેના દરમ પપાસ નામ મારેલુ હતું છે. અને કમાઓ ૧૦૦૦ ૦૦૦ની મળાએ તે મારો રહ્યા છે. આજે માસની આખરી સુધી ને રાષ્ટ્રિય પુર્વમાં સવારના સાપામળ વાવવાના સુમારે નરજે પડે છે. વિવરજન નથી થી ને જેમ કુર જીતો જરૂરી તેમ ને હાંના દેખાશે. તેને ધરાવે ધરથી ધરી સુધાને ૧૦,૦૦૦ મામળો છે. અને પુછડી મે કરાડ મામળ સાંચી છે. સુધની નરજ કોપાર્યા તેના તેજને લીધે ખજોજીવનાઓથી ને સહેલાઈથી જોમ સકાતો નથી જેમ જેમ તેના તેજથી કુર જરૂરી તેમ તેમ વધારે સહેલાઈથી જોમ સકાતો.

કોંગ્રેસનું આગામી અધિવેશન

આખીસ કોટ રાષ્ટ્રીય મહાસભાનું આગામી અધિવેશન કોંગ્રેસ મારમા જમણર ખાતે બરવાનું નકરો મજીલુ કોટ આ અધિવેશન અંગે જમ પુરમાં તપાસીએ આવી રહી છે. અધિવેશન મારે ૧૦ સામ માણસો સમાલ રા રાષ્ટ્રે મોટા મંડપ ખંખાર રહ્યો છે. આ મારે ખાસ નમર જેમ કરવામાં આવ્યું છે અને કોંગ્રેસ નમર નામ આપવામાં આવ્યું છે. કોંગ્રેસ અંતરેશન મે થવા પાદ કોંગ્રેસ નમર ને નીરાસીતો મારેના સંસ્થાનમાં ફેરવી નાંખવામાં આવશે એવ કહેવાય છે

રાજકુવરને મારે માર્ચના

મોન્સેસ મોળાનમેમ અને કપુર આદ્રે મોરીનમમને મળેલી પુર્વપ્રતિની આ દેશ તરથી જીવજાપલી જુસાલીમાં આ દેશના નીડેલો અંગકરમુથી સમલ થાય છે. માનવ મેવાનું મુરદ કામ કરવાને લાવક ખના સરે તેને મારે જરૂર રાજકુવરને તંદુરસ્તી બધે અને રીપોય કરે.

કુમાવત પર અંકુશ

ઉલ્લા મોહાસ માસચી કિંદમાં રોજના વધરાતની જીવનની બરેલી વસ્તુઓના બાવો પાછુ ને જમણી પળતા વળતા હતા. આ પરિસ્થિતિથી કિંદા સરકાર ચિંતાગુર ખના હતી કેમ કે એ રીતે વસ્તુઓના બાવો નિરંકુશ પણ વધવાનું જમ તે બેડેલો, મજુરો અને મધ્યમ વર્ગના સામાન્ય રિયતિના લોકોને મારે જીવવું મુરજેલ થઇ પડે. આ બાવડો વધારો મોટે ભાગે મન-ખના કુમાવને કારણે લોપાનું અવર-

મા આવે છે. અને તેથી સરકાર એને અંકુશમાં લાવવાને પગલાં વિચારી રહી હતી. આ બાવનમાં તેજે ખાતો તેમ ને રિપસલી સંધોના મધાનો, મળીન અંધ સંધાએ તેમ ને ઉલોગપ નિયમે અને મજુરોના પ્રતિનિધિઓના મમાલ પણ લીધી હતી. એ પછી મળે દેથી તારીએ એક મારો ખકાર પાડીને કુમાવને અંકુશમાં લાવવા મારે સરકારે લેવા પારેલા મમાલો તેજે જાહેરાત કરી છે સરકારે માર રીતે અવજના કુમાવને અંકુશમાં લાવવા લવાયું છે.

૧ જીવનની અધિવેશનની વસ્તુઓની કિંમત ઉતારવાને પડાશે.

૨. જીવોશના કે પાદના વધારો કરશે

૩. રાષ્ટ્રીયનાં પાલ ન આવે એ રીતે મળેલ નમ ને પ્રાનિત કરકારો ના મરેમમાં કાપકપ કરીને તમા તેમનાં પ્રવેશમાં પધારો કરશે.

૪. નાની રકમોની નમળને લેતેવળ આપી પાડાને ને તેમજા મેવિંગ્સ સારિફોર નમ સેવિંગ્સ એક લેવામાં રોકવાને મેરી એમ રીતે વધારાની ખરીદ રાષ્ટ્રિય વેચાક વળી અરકારીને.

તારેતરમાં મુકવામાં આવેલ અંકુ નારે લાંબે કાપડ તેમ ને અનાજની કિંમતમાં કીડીકે વધારો થવાનું સરકારે મારે છે. આ ઉપરાંત ખાંડના ખતમાં પડાકો કરવાનું પણ ને વિચારી રહી છે. વળી જોરની. પ્રોખંડ, પોષાદ અને સિંગેટ જેવી અનિ મહત્વની વસ્તુઓની વેચામળીની રજુ સારી જોજના પણ સરકારે તરજીથી કુંકે સમમમાં જોડે કરવામાં આવશે

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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

No. 45—VOL.—XLVI

FRIDAY 30TH NOVEMBER 1951

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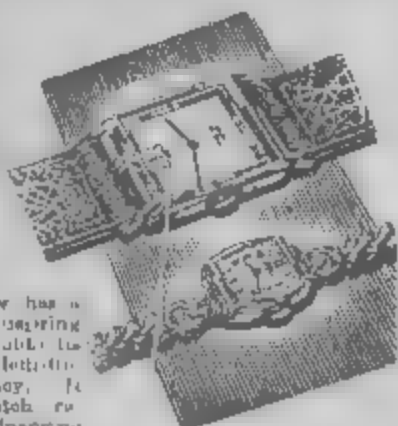
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INDIAN OPINION

FOUNDED BY
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NO. 45.-XLVI. FRIDAY, 26TH NOVEMBER, 1948.

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER
PRICE: FOUR PENCE

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 26TH NOVEMBER 1948

Gangsterism

"I take the opportunity to warn the young Indians in Durban who are members of these gangs that the strong arm of the law is long enough and powerful enough to break up these gangs."

"If they pursue the sensible course, they will break up the gangs themselves. If they do not, it is inevitable that some of them will find themselves in the dock in this court. They will be shown no mercy. The seven years in this case will be extended to 10 and 15 years, and even beyond. The country will not tolerate American gangsterism, and the sooner other young Indians realise this the better for them. I do not exclude the young Coloured people also from what I am saying."

THESE words were addressed by Mr. Justice Hathorn in the Supreme Court at Durban on Tuesday when he sentenced two Indians, who had been found guilty by a jury of assault with intent to commit murder, to seven years hard labour and six strokes of a cane. Of course this gangsterism, which seems to be spreading in this country, is not restricted to Indians and Coloureds alone. Members of all sections of the population are involved in it. But that does not render the Indians immune in the least degree. Mr. Justice Hathorn's rebuke is a serious reflection on the Indian community who has earned a good mark for being peaceful and law-

abiding. It is a matter of deep shame for the whole community if it is responsible for producing even a single gangster. Once a person becomes a gangster nothing but a iron hand can suppress him and we must therefore welcome the punishment inflicted in this instance by the Supreme Court and we hope that it will act as a deterrent to persons inclined that way.

But the matter does not end there. Mr. Justice Hathorn's words should be taken to heart by all parents and teachers on whom rests the great responsibility of moulding the future generation. But that in itself is not enough. There is much for the State to reflect on in this matter. It is the duty of the State to probe into the causes that lead to such crimes and to take steps to remove those causes. Segregation, we think, has a great deal to do with such crimes. Segregation as we see it working in South Africa is every thing for the white man and the black must stew in his own juice. Immigrants from Europe are provided with all facilities to live decently in South Africa. But the sons of the soil, if they happen to be non-White, for no fault of theirs, have to languish in respect of all the necessities of a decent life while attractions that lead them to evil are wide

open to them. Over thirty thousand Indians are without school facilities, thousands of Indians have no decent housing facilities. An Indian cannot enter the precincts of places where a white man's dog can freely enter. He may not freely enter any decent entertainment place. In short he is denied all the decencies of life. The places where he is warmly welcomed but only at the back door are the races, where he can gamble, the bars where he could get drunk and make a beast of himself, picture houses where decent educative pictures are seldom shown but which appeal to sex and crime are continually shown. Is there any wonder then that the result is gangsterism? We do not in

the least desire to draw an exaggerated picture. But these are irrefutable facts. There is not one segregated place in the Union which is not the breeding place of evil and crime and it is bound to be so. The Government under its present policy will not improve matters but will worsen them, and however much we may condemn a gangsterism will be more prevalent. No government will succeed in suppressing it. The whole Government system will have to change before we can expect to have a better order of things. This does not however mean that we as a community must be neglected in the performance of our duty to eradicate the evil.

NOTES

Apartheid Upheld By U.S. Court

Mr. G. W. McLaurin, the first Negro to attend the University of Oklahoma, was denied, in the Federal Court last Monday a plea to attend classes on a non-segregated basis. The court ruled that Mr. McLaurin was receiving equal educational opportunities with the White students, but added it was "within the power of the State to recognise racial distinction between its citizens and to classify them." In September, the court ordered the University to admit Mr. McLaurin, who is seeking a doctor's degree in education. Since then, he has been attending classes sitting in an adjoining room from which he can see and hear the professors.

We must say that we do not agree with the decision of the Federal Court. It has been recognised by all enlightened people even in South Africa that there cannot be segregation in education. It is in fact the last place where there should be any segregation. The Federal Court Judge, we fear, is half a century behind time.

Indians Are Integral Part Of S.A.

"The Indians are an integral part of our population and there will be no repatriation worth speaking of," said Senator E. H. Brookes in Maritzburg on Friday last. "We accept the fact that the Indians are a permanent part of our population. They must be treated as such, and provision must be made for them." Family allowances to Indians had been withdrawn solely because the recipients were Indians. Recently the old age pension had been raised for the Coloureds, but not for Indians. The biggest need for the poorer Indians was avenues of employment in the trades and Government services, both of which were practically closed to them.

The King

The news that His Majesty the King was indisposed came as a shock to all. We, in the name of the Indian community, join the people of South Africa in fervently praying that His Majesty may soon be restored to his normal health.

THE U.N. Trusteeship Committee on Friday, November 19 adopted by 36 votes to one the following resolution—

"The General Assembly takes note of the observations of the Trusteeship Council on South-West Africa as contained in the Council's report and requests the Secretary-General to transmit the observations to the Government of the Union of South Africa.

"Maintains its recommendations of December 14, 1946 and November 1, 1947, that South-West Africa be placed under the trusteeship system, and notes with regret that these recommendations have not been carried out.

"Takes note of the statement of the representatives of the Union of South Africa that it is the intention of the Union Government to continue to administer the territory in the spirit of the mandate; takes note of the assurance given by the representatives of the Union of South Africa that the proposed new arrangement for closer association does not mean incorporation and will not mean the absorption of the territory by the administering authority;

"Recommends without prejudice to its resolutions above mentioned, that the Union of South Africa, until agreement is reached with the United Nations regarding the future of South-West Africa, continue to supply annually information on its administration and request the Trusteeship Council to continue to examine such information and to submit its observations thereon to the General Assembly."

The Belgian amendment which read "The General Assembly maintains its views as to placing South-West Africa under the trusteeship system, but notes with regret that the Government of the Union has not submitted a trusteeship agreement, was rejected by 21 votes to 19.

By 22 votes to 21, with 11 abstentions, the committee rejected an Indian proposal requesting the Government of the Union (a) not to proceed with measures which, though described as closer political association, amount to integration of the territory into the Union of South Africa, and (b) to agree that a commission appointed by the Trusteeship Council should visit South-West Africa as early as possible to observe the political, economic, social and educational conditions in the territory, and to report on the results of its observations to the Trusteeship Council for submission, with the Council's comments, to the next session of the General Assembly."

The voting on the Indian resolution was—

Yes: Brazil, Burma, White Russia, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia,

U.N. TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Ecuador, Haiti, India, Iran, Siberia, Mexico, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

No: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Dominica, El Salvador, France, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Sweden, Turkey, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay.

Abstained: Afghanistan, Bolivia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Syria.

Senor Noriega (Mexico) said that none of the delegations ever believed that South Africa was there as accused. They were a family of nations in which differences could be reconciled. He hoped Mr. Louw would take back with him an exact impression of the opinion which existed in the committee about the problem of South-West Africa. He hoped the situation of the Natives would be improved.

Denial By Dr. Malan

Mr. Louw the previous day received a message from Dr. Malan, in which the Union's Prime Minister denied that he used the word "incorporate" in regard to South-West Africa, as claimed by the Indian delegate, Mr. Shiva Rao. Mr. Rao had announced that the Indian delegation had received information of very far-reaching importance, on the basis of which they would be justified in reviving the terms of the resolutions on South-West Africa which were before the committee.

Mr. Rao then proceeded to discuss the amendments put forward by Burma and the Philippines, but was interrupted by Mr. Louw.

"I thought Mr. Rao was going to speak about the information he had received, but he is now making the speech which he ought to have made yesterday," said Mr. Louw.

He asked the chairman to limit Mr. Rao to the information he had received.

The chairman told Mr. Louw he should be allowed to carry on his own rulings, and then asked Mr. Rao to make a statement on the information he had received.

Mr. Rao said: "I was going to give the information when I was interrupted for a second time. A little more patience on the part of the distinguished delegate of South Africa would be more in keeping with the dignity of this committee."

"In the light of information now received Mr. Louw's state-

ment on November 9 is already out of date.

"We have just received by cable from official sources information which says the Prime Minister of the Union said in a speech in Pretoria on November 16: 'We have decided that South-West Africa must be incorporated and we will never in any circumstances surrender it to international trusteeship. Before we do that we would rather walk out of the United Nations.'

"In view of this authoritative statement the Indian delegation will suggest two amendments."

When Mr. Rao was detailing what his delegation proposed to do the chairman interposed: "I would ask the delegation of India to stop here and we shall ask our colleague from South Africa if any information which has reached the Indian delegation is consistent with the truth or not."

"If it is confirmed I will call upon you (the Indian delegation) to propose your amendment."

Mr. Louw's Statement

Mr. Louw said: "I have not received any information that the statement quoted is true. On the contrary, all I have seen is a report in one of the Paris newspapers in which the Prime Minister of South Africa said, according to my recollection, that if South Africa were forced to place South-West Africa under the trusteeship system, then South Africa would rather leave the United Nations."

"I do not believe the information is correct. The Prime Minister issued a formal statement after the conclusion of the conference with the political parties in South-West Africa in which these words were used—that the intention of the Union Government to grant representation to South-West Africa in the Union Parliament does not mean incorporation."

"These are the only words which, I submit, can be used by this committee. I am not prepared to accept the reported statement as true because we have had experience of reported statements before, and of Indian pamphlets in which absolute untruths were published."

"I am not prepared to accept a purely ex parte statement. The only thing before the committee is the written statement of the Prime Minister—that the granting of parliamentary representation to South-West Africa does not mean incorporation."

"South-West Africa now receives local powers far in excess of the powers of other local legis-

latures in the Union, so how could it mean incorporation? It is nothing of the sort."

Chairman's Appeal

The chairman appealed to the Indian delegate not to insist on proposing an amendment at the present stage.

"If it is proved in the future that the information received by the delegation of India is correct, they will have a chance to propose an amendment in the General Assembly, which will be discussing this matter in about ten days' time."

Mr. Rao said he would submit to the chairman's ruling as view of the somewhat lengthy explanation by Mr. Louw.

"I think it is only fair to the committee and myself to say that our report is that this speech of Dr. Malan which I have quoted was made at a meeting of the Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress."

"I have a copy of the 'London Times' before me containing a despatch from their correspondent in Johannesburg, quoting Dr. Malan as saying that South Africa would rather leave the United Nations than submit to trusteeship."

Mr. Rao said the despatch further quoted Dr. Malan as saying: "For the people of South-West Africa the choice lies between rule by South Africa or by the United Nations with its Communist influence."

Mr. Louw sharply rapped his desk several times, at which the chairman said: "If the delegate of South Africa appeals too many times for a point of order it becomes a point of disorder."

Mr. Louw: I must appeal for your protection.

The chairman said he would be prepared to have circulated what Dr. Malan had actually said, and suggested that Mr. Louw might arrange the distribution among the delegates.

Mr. Louw: Do you realise that in the meantime the Indian delegation's statement may have influenced the committee. By the time I have circulated Dr. Malan's statement a vote will have been taken.

Mr. Louw wanted to read another version of what Dr. Malan had said, as it appeared in a Paris newspaper, but the chairman said: "I would ask you not to read it. If the effect on the committee is contrary to what you wish, I will not be responsible. It is in your own interest that I would ask you not to read it."

Mr. Louw proceeded to read the version in the newspaper. It was: "Dr. Malan declared that he intended to introduce legislation to give South-West Africa representation in Parliament. Dr.

Malan declared that rather than agree to United Nations interference in South-West Africa, South Africa shall leave the United Nations.

Mr. Louw said: "That is how it is reported. I do not say it is correct. It is a newspaper report. I stand by Dr. Malan's written declaration which I have already read."

In a letter to the chairman of the Trusteeship Committee Mr. Louw said:

"The Prime Minister informs

me that in the speech referred to he dealt with the arrangements recently made for granting representation to South-West Africa in the Union Parliament and that he said 'The South African Government is exercising a right which has never been disputed, to administer the territory as an integral part of the Union pursuant to the power granted in the original mandate.'

"The Prime Minister expressly denies that he used the word 'incorporate'." Sapa

TRANSVAAL NATIONALIST PARTY CONGRESS

THE Nationalist Party's Transvaal Congress was held in Pretoria on November 16.

The Prime Minister Dr. Malan, who spoke for an hour, said the United Party was relying on support from the outside world to defeat the Nationalists. Its actions were not only un-South African, but most certainly anti-South African.

Dealing with South-West Africa, Dr. Malan said: "Our task at UNO has been considerably eased because we are willing to give South-West Africa a higher status. We have gained more and greater friends than we have ever had before at UNO."

"We have to decide who the master should be in South-West Africa—South Africa or a combination of other countries. Must it become an integral part of the Union or must it be placed under UNO trusteeship?"

"We have decided that it must be incorporated. We will never, in any circumstances, surrender South-West Africa to an international trusteeship. Before we do that we would rather walk out of UNO."

Mr. Strydom On Colour Problem

M. J. G. Strydom, Leader of the Party in the Transvaal told the delegates that before the Nationalist Party could reach its ultimate goal—a republic—it would have to solve the colour problem.

The main principle of apartheid as he saw it was the con-

sideration of European domination (heerskap). The Nationalist Government was pledged to see to it that that policy was carried out.

Judging by his recent speeches, General Smuts had done everything in his power to undermine the work which Mr. Louw was doing.

General Smuts could no longer be described as a son of South Africa. It was time the people told him that they had had enough of him.

Cries of: "Hang him Intern him."

A reference to the Government's achievements in introducing apartheid in first-class compartments on Cape Town trains was cheered. That policy, said Mr. Strydom, would be extended to include second-class compartments.

The Minister of Native Affairs (Dr. Jansen) would see to it that the general policy of apartheid was extended to other parts of the country.

The Government's position in Parliament has become most difficult, and the Communist inspired Native representation would have to be abolished.

The rights and privileges of the Natives' representatives in the Senate would have to be restricted to prevent them from interfering with legislation passed by Europeans in the House of Assembly.

"The Natives' Representatives in the Senate will not be allowed to block legislation and upset the Government's plans."

SARDAR PATEL AT SEVAGRAM

THE Deputy Prime Minister of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel paid a special visit to Sevagram on November 3. He gave an inspiring speech to the workers of Wardha and Sevagram at Mahadev Bhawan. The following is the full text translated into English:

"I have come to this sacred place after a long time. My heart is full. What shall I say? This is the last time that I have

come to this place in Bapu's absence. On the last occasion, everybody came, but I was then ill—so ill that I thought that my promise to Bapu would be fulfilled. Bapu and I had settled that we would journey to the Unknown together. But I feel that Bapu stopped me from going. Subhila (Dr. Subhila Nair) was with me at the time. She exerted herself a lot and I am now alive. Doctors even now forbid me from

exerting much. But Mangaldas (Mangaldas Palkiwasa, Prime Minister of C.P.) insisted on my coming to Nagpur; coming to Nagpur meant a visit to Sevagram.

"Like Ashadevi (Principal of Wardha Talim Sangh) my mind is also full of many things, but we cannot do everything according to our own will. I have not seen your work but Ashadevi says you are carrying on your work with devotion, love and conviction. When Bapu came to India, work was being done in a different way. Bapu said that real India was in the villages. Crores live in villages and their interests must command our attention. As the freedom struggle gained tempo, we felt that if we did not manage the towns, the towns will destroy the villages."

The Four Walls—

(1) Untouchability

"Gandhiji built his struggle on four walls; the first was removal of untouchability. That sin had to be washed out. That sin is not part of the Hindu religion; it is a foreign matter. We have attained some success in its removal, but its poison had spread so much that when we were in Yeravla jail, Gandhiji had to wield his biggest weapon against the British Government. They had resorted to such manoeuvre in granting self-government that it would have disintegrated the Hindu community. In this world, the fighting is carried on with arms, but Bapu saved the Hindu community by his weapon of fasting. But we have not yet cast out untouchability from our hearts; that wall is therefore only half-built."

(2) Khadi

"The second wall was self-sufficiency in cloth. Whatever cloth we need, we should make ourselves. That used to be the case before the British came. There was a charkha in every home. Bapu piled his charkha daily and regularly up to his end. It is in the same manner that we should ply the charkha. You know that we used to sing that we would weave Swaraj out of cotton yarn. They remained, however, mere words; otherwise the country would not have been in the present sore straits. Thus the second wall also remained incomplete."

(3) Hindu-Muslim Unity

"The third wall was Hindu-Muslim unity. What shall I say about it? Bapu lost his life working for it. We are all responsible for his death."

(4) National Education

"The fourth wall was national education."

"We did not follow Gandhiji even there and did not help him

attain the Swaraj of his conception, which he called *Rama Rajya*. Bapu knew our weaknesses, but he had hopes that some day the seed would bear fruit. He knew that Swaraj could not be attained in his lifetime. In India two forces were at work. India was influenced by Western culture and civilization. In big cities and factories, the labourers were being ground down. That was poison to the system. By mills turning out big stocks of goods only few men get rich. In India some 60 to 70 lakh labourers work in the mills. But crores of workers are lying idle. The smaller crafts in villages have been swallowed by the bigger ones of the town. We copy the "big business" of the foreign countries. When Bapu came to India, he revived the ancient indigenous Indian system. The conflict between both the systems goes on."

"Whatever type of Swaraj we have got, we have secured through Bapu's assistance. He wanted *Rama Rajya*; that dream he has left with you. Crores of our men live in villages. How can they experience the benefit of Swaraj? Even in cities, none has tasted the fruit of Swaraj. They are still in a pitiable state. After we attained Swaraj, the condition in cities should have changed but they are actually worse."

The Present World

"Today the world has become smaller. One country threatens another by means of a scientific weapon. Big countries are involved in rivalry for scientific domination. Is the world going to be destroyed in this way? Many people feel that we should follow Gandhiji's way. It is only thus that the world can be saved. The world has become a big problem. But even then every one is absorbed in self-seeking. Each one wishes to enhance his own power. India is also involved in the same. Bapu disliked intensely the partitioning of India. But conditions assumed such a form that Bapu told us to do as we thought best. We did what we felt was right and proper but even after the partition of India, we have attained tremendous unification. But we have to consolidate that unity."

"I am delighted to know that you are working with breadfast devotion. It is a small plant today; I pray to God that, under His sheltering care, that plant may grow and we may attain the Swaraj of Bapu's dream. We have grown old and weak. We can ourselves make or mar our future. Bapu has given us sufficient equipment and it is only on his path that the world can travel in safety and peace. I also pray that God may give strength to us to follow his path."

DR. MALAN SOFT-SOAPS COLOURED

A DEPUTATION of the Coloured community, led by Mr. Albertus Pop, was granted an interview by the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, in Pretoria on Monday. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dönges, took part in the discussions. The deputation consisted of, besides the leader Messrs. G. Bowers, R. Van Nieuwe, A. G. Gordon, A. W. Fickens and E. F. MacKie.

They pleaded for more tolerance by the authorities towards the Coloured community.

Discussing the Government's apartheid policy, the deputation said they were aware that the historical and traditional policy of colonial Afrikanerdom was based on the principles of apartheid.

"We feel sure that the rational-minded Coloured people, who are in the majority, will offer no objection against 'apartheid,' the deputation said. "But we sincerely ask that racial apartheid should not, in practice, herald the curtailment of the economic privileges of the Coloured community."

They asked for a healthy, positive arrangement which would ensure improved economic and social conditions for the Coloured community.

The deputation said that their community had received step-motherly treatment as far as labour was concerned. The percentage of Coloured artisans to their total population had decreased from 93 to 17 in 20 years and was still decreasing. This would lead to their destruction.

Discussing their social conditions, the deputation said they suffered particularly in regards housing. They mentioned conditions at Coronationville and Noordvlei, outside Johannesburg, where they said their young girls were continually being assaulted by Natives.

Politically, the Coloured community did not want to be merely an appendage of the European community. They wished to develop in their own direction according to their own potentialities. They asked for uniformity of Coloured rights and said that they enjoyed no political status in the Northern Provinces.

The deputation advocated a specific system of Coloured government which would ensure that the interests of the Coloureds were promoted. They asked for independence so that they could be enabled to reach a higher level of development with the assistance of the Government.

"We wish to assure the Prime Minister on behalf of the national Coloured community that we regard the Government as our friend and that we will stand with

the Government as far as possible and contribute our share towards a lasting solution of the problems which affect our Coloured community," the deputation said.

Dr. Malan Replies

Replying to the delegation, the Prime Minister recalled that during the term of office of the previous Nationalist Government, two steps were made about the position of the Coloureds in the north. Firstly, they were exempted from pass laws so that they were distinguished from the Natives. Secondly, the colour bar was removed in certain industries previously reserved for Europeans, so that the Coloured people were placed in a different position from the Native as regards employment.

Dr. Malan expressed his pleasure at the good relationship which had characterised the representations, especially in view of the fact that the deputation had openly stated that they did not regard apartheid as meaning suppression, but, on the contrary, that it was a measure designed for the protection of both the Coloured and the European, which would afford the former the opportunity to retain his own national self-respect, to live his own life, and to raise himself with the aid of the European.

If this was understood many difficulties would be removed and a better spirit of co-operation between the different sections would be established.

The clear policy of the Nationalist Party was to provide good houses for Coloureds in their own residential areas, said Dr. Malan.

The Party went still further and envisaged the provision of residential areas for the Coloured which would properly take into account the fact that an important section among them had advanced further educationally and economically than other sections.

It was also intended to give the Coloured people an opportunity in commerce and the Government service—a field hitherto closed to him.

It meant that in the Coloured residential areas they would be served by Coloured people and would be given preference above Europeans in the issue of trade licences and posts in the Government service.

An example of this was the Schauderville Post Office in Port Elizabeth, which was recently opened by Dr. Dönges, the Minister of the Interior and Posts and Telegraphs. Another possibility was that ticket examiners could be employed when separate railway carriages for Coloureds only were introduced.

Discussing the distinction that was made between the Coloured and Native, the Prime Minister referred to the position which the Coloured found himself. On the one side, there was the European, who wanted to maintain himself, and on the other side, there was the pressure from the Natives, who were pouring in large numbers into the social and economic areas, which the Coloured man had regarded as his own.

Eleven Coloured Organisations Condemn Government's Policy

THIS conference fully favours the demilitarisation of non-European army services. It urges all non-Europeans not to join the services or allow themselves to be recruited in defence of South Africa unless the Government of the day gives us full political rights, civil and military, before enlistment.

This was among the resolutions adopted by the delegates of 11 Coloured organisations of the Northern Cape at a conference held in Kimberley during the last weekend.

Other resolutions adopted were: "This conference demands the restoration of full political rights for all non-Europeans and the end of all political tutelage and of all communal or indirect representation, and the granting to all non-Europeans of the same franchise as is enjoyed by all Europeans."

"This conference pledges its full support to the Cape Resistance Committee in its active struggle against apartheid and all other colour bars on the statute book. It also condemns the Government's action in barring the Coloured people in the land of their birth from that fundamental human right that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights," the resolution added.—Sapa.

The Government's policy was clear in the areas inhabited principally by Coloureds they, as a separate section of the community, would occupy a privileged position compared with the Native. The mixed living of Natives and Coloureds must be stopped. And as far as possible, residential areas for Natives and those for the Coloured people would be kept at a proper distance from one another.

As regards the Coloureds in the north the possibility could be investigated of appointing a body

to convey their requirements and desires to the Government.

Dr. Dönges said that the provision of facilities and better conditions of employment depended largely on conditions, such as separate residential quarters for the Coloured people. It was obvious that the Coloured people must do all in their power to get such residential areas established and expanded and so create more opportunities for employment. Until it was justified by the numbers it would of course not be practically possible to provide separate facilities, such as separate post offices with Coloured staff. The Schauderville Post Office was made possible only by the grace-worthy efforts of the Municipality of Port Elizabeth to establish a separate residential area.

Replying to a question whether higher educational facilities would be provided for Coloureds, the Prime Minister said that when he was Minister of Education in the previous Nationalist Government, he introduced the policy of apartheid at the Cape Province Technical College by establishing a separate division for Coloureds. The same staff held classes for both European and Coloured pupils, but they were divided. To begin with, these lines could probably be followed in higher education.

Thanking the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior, the leader of the deputation said just as non-European servants voluntarily trekked with the Voortrekkers, there were a large number of Coloureds in the Transvaal who supported the Government in its policy of apartheid.

MR. HOFMEYR'S EXPLANATION

■ A statement to SAPA last week, the United Party head office says that Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr has stated that he was incorrectly reported at Aliwal North as saying that if the United Party was returned to power it would restore the representation given to Indians under the former Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. "Mr. Hofmeyr said that it should be obvious that the report is incorrect because he would never abrogate to himself the right to say what the United Party would or would not do if it was restored to power," the statement says. "What happened was that Mr. Hofmeyr was asked what the United Party would do about Parliamentary representation of Indians, if it was restored to power. He replied that the United Party had declared its policy before the recent elections when it said that it stood by the Act of 1946. The further question was then asked whether the party would renege Chapter Two of that Act which was recently repealed. To this Mr. Hofmeyr replied that he could not answer a question like that but that his own opinion was that the party should act in terms of its statement of policy to which he had referred."

THE STORY OF KASHMIR

Up to September 1947, Kashmir was known to the outside world as a famous beauty spot to which people from all parts of the world came in search of pleasure and sport. To-day many parts of the State are the scene of conflict between the armed forces of the Dominion of India and of the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the one hand and certain insurgents, subjects of the Kashmir State, aided and abetted by raiders from the tribal area beyond Pakistan and the armed forces of the Dominion of Pakistan. Here an attempt is made to describe briefly the genesis of this conflict, and the steps so far taken to stop it.

Kashmir and Its People.

Kashmir is the largest of what used to be known as the Indian States with an area of 84,471 square miles, larger, in fact, than England, Scotland and Wales put together. On the north, the boundaries of the State march with those of Afghanistan, China and Russia; to the north-east lies Tibet; to the west and to the south, it is contiguous with Pakistan, and to the extreme south-east it borders on the Indian Dominion. According to the 1941 census, the State of Jammu and Kashmir had a population of 4,021,616, of whom 77.11 was Muslim, 20 Hindu, 1.6% Sikh, the rest comprising Buddhist and other denominations. The total revenue of the State was in the neighbourhood of Rs.50,000,000. The subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir are generally poor.

Political Movements.

The struggle for freedom that had been launched by Mahatma Gandhi and carried on in India with gathering force after the close of the first World War had

its repercussions in the State of Jammu and Kashmir also. In this State the movement for freedom coincided with the rise into prominence of Sheikh Abdullah, a Kashmiri by birth, who began life as a modest schoolmaster, and whose personality and self-sacrifice attracted a very large following.

Sheikh Abdullah's movement was in its initial stages directed towards the freedom of Kashmir and self-determination for the people of Kashmir. The organisation that was founded by Sheikh Abdullah was, in the first instance, called the Muslim Conference. In course of time he discovered that a movement for freedom, if it were to succeed had to be broad-based and that the organisation should, therefore, comprise not merely one section of the subjects of the State but all sections of those who believed in freedom for Kashmir and Jammu. In 1935, the Muslim Conference gave place to the National Conference, which to-day has the largest number of adherents among the political parties in the State.

The only other political party in existence is the communal organisation called the Muslim Conference which came into existence as a result of the efforts made by Mr. Jinnah and the Indian Muslim League to organise within the State a body that was faithful to the ideals of Pakistan.

In October, 1939, the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference held its first session at which, among other things, it adopted a resolution on what was described as the "national demand." This resolution advocated responsible government, joint electorates based on adult franchise with seats reserved for the minorities, and legislative control of expenditure in most



Pandit Nehru had lunch with H.H. the Maharaja of Kashmir during his recent visit to Srinagar. Here the Prime Minister is taking leave after the lunch.

of the important departments of the Government.

During the second World War, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir kept up unabated its efforts for the improvement of the conditions of the people of the State and for advancement in political responsibility. During these years, Sheikh Abdullah continued to be the undisputed leader of democratic public opinion in the State and engaged in important political activity, which resulted in his being imprisoned on more than one occasion by the Government of the State.

The progress of the Indian political movement which culminated in the demand of the Indian National Congress for the British to quit India had its counterpart in Kashmir when

Sheikh Abdullah started in "Quit India" movement in May, 1946. In the same month he was arrested by the Government of Kashmir. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru went to Kashmir in July, 1946, to defend Sheikh Abdullah during his trial. Pandit Nehru himself was arrested by the Government of Kashmir and interned from the State. Sheikh Abdullah was most convicted of high treason, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

After the Partition.

Wide political activity in Kashmir came to an end with the imprisonment of Sheikh Abdullah, events in India had been moving fast. On the 3rd Jan., 1947, the British Government announced their plan for the partition of India and the creation of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan. With the transfer of power from the Crown to the two Dominions, it was stated that the Paramountcy of the Crown would lapse. The position of the Indian States vis-à-vis the new Dominion of India, however, left undecided, but though in the Indian States had the right to elect either of the two Dominions or to remain under British rule. It was understood that Indian States would, consequently, with their geographical, political and cultural affiliations, accede to one or the other of the two Dominions.

In the light of later developments, it is interesting to note here that while the leaders of the Indian National Congress, which had always demanded the right of the subjects of the Indian States to self-determination, maintained that the question of the accession of a State was a matter to be decided by the people of the State, Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Indian Muslim League, and, subsequently, the Governor-General of Pakistan expressed the view that the Indian States were if they desired



Sheikh Abdullah with Pandit Nehru and Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

to be free to remain independent of either of the two dominions and that in any case, the right to decide or not was reserved to the Ruler of the State.

The transfer of power by the British Crown to the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan was effected on the 15th August 1947. Several of the old Indian States acceded to the new Dominion of India, a few acceded to Pakistan. The Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir was one of those who postponed taking a decision on the question of accession for a considerable time. He entered into a Standstill Agreement with the Government of Pakistan according to which certain services in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, such as Posts, Telegraphs and Railways, which had prior to 15th August, 1947 been administered by the Government of India (as it then was) were henceforth to be administered by the Government of Pakistan, as these services formed part of the administrative machinery of the Pakistan Government. On the question of accession however, the Ruler of Kashmir took no steps until a very late hour.

Between the 15th August, 1947 and the end of October, 1947, when the Ruler of the State appealed to the Government of India for military assistance, the Government of Pakistan acted on what amounted to an economic blockade of the State. Essential supplies, which had to reach Kashmir through Pakistan territory, were prevented from reaching the State and considerable pressure was brought to bear on the Government of the State to accede to Pakistan.

Invasion of Kashmir.

About the same time the Government of Pakistan had been confronted with the problem of keeping quiet the tribesmen across their frontier. During the British rule of India, these tribesmen had been kept at peace

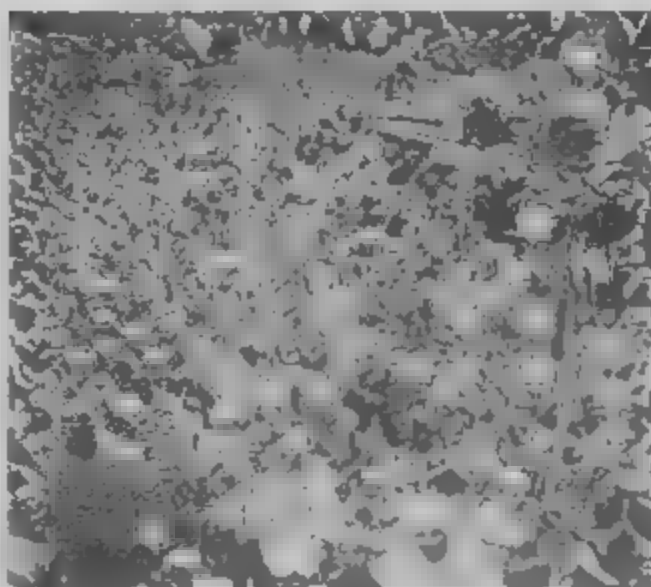
among themselves and with their neighbours partly by the use of force and partly by heavy subsidies. The new State of Pakistan had neither the force nor the money required to keep the tribesmen quiet while a movement for a separate State of Pathanistan gradually developed inside Pakistan. Those who governed the State of Pakistan decided that the easiest solution of the problem lay in creating a diversion for these tribesmen. They thus permitted the tribesmen to march through Pakistan in order to invade Kashmir and Jammu State. These tribesmen, who eventually entered Kashmir, received material support from Pakistan, and Pakistan nationals also joined this band of invaders.

The invasion of Kashmir began in October, 1947. The raiders, assisted by Pakistan nationals and some of the local population in Kashmir State, brought fire and sword into Kashmir and actually were within a few miles of Srinagar, the summer capital of the State. On their way they pillaged and burnt villages and towns, and perpetrated the most inhuman atrocities on the population, killing, abducting and raping women and killing even small children.

It is significant that at this critical hour the Maharaja of Kashmir telegraphed Sheikh Abdullah from imprisonment presumably to placate public opinion, and also because it hinted that Sheikh Abdullah was the one person round whom the people of the State could be expected to rally.

On the 26th October 1947, the Ruler of the State appealed urgently to the Government of India for military help. He also requested that the Jammu and Kashmir State should be allowed to accede to the Indian Dominion.

An appeal for help was simultaneously received by the Government of India from the National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah. The Confer-



Sheikh Abdullah addressing a huge gathering at Shoyyan Village on the "Grow More Food" Campaign.

ence also strongly supported the request for the State's accession to the Indian Dominion.

The Government of India were thus approached not only officially by the State authorities but also on behalf of the people of Kashmir, both for military aid and for the accession of the State to India. The Government of India accepted the request for accession and sent military aid to Kashmir. The first Indian troops having been sent there by air on the 26th October.

In order, however, to avoid any possible suggestion that India had utilized the State's immediate peril for her own political advantage, the Government of India made it clear that once the soil of the State had been cleared of the invaders and normal conditions restored, the people would be free to decide their future by the recognised democratic method of plebiscite or referendum, which, in order to ensure complete impartiality might be held under international auspices.

India's Appeal to Security Council.

It has already been stated that the Government of Pakistan had permitted the tribes through its territory of the raiders from the tribal areas and Pakistan nationals who were proceeding to invade Kashmir. Increasing evidence of Pakistan's complicity in this invasion began to be received by the Government of India and this was brought to the notice of the Government of Pakistan on several occasions.

Pakistan consistently avoided facing the same in a direct manner and contented itself with vague and meaningless reference to atrocities perpetrated against Muslims in Kashmir and in India, the suggestion being that the Muslims from the tribal areas and from Pakistan had gone to Kashmir to assist their fellow religionists against the atrocities

of the Maharajah of Kashmir. It was claimed by Pakistan that the disturbances in Kashmir were primarily a revolt against the

The Government of India insisted that the Maharaja pointed out that as Kashmir had acceded to India any assistance received in Pakistan territory by raiders and invaders of Kashmir must be regarded as constituting an act of aggression and hostility against India.

Having received no satisfactory reply from the Government of Pakistan in spite of repeated requests the Government of India decided to refer the question to the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation. On the 1st January, 1948, therefore, the Government of India through their representative at the headquarters of the United Nations at Lake Success addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council to direct the Government of Pakistan.

- (1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel from participating or assisting in the invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State;
- (2) to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in the Jammu and Kashmir State; and
- (3) to deny to the invaders access to and use of its territory for operation against Kashmir;
- (4) military and other supplies;
- (5) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the struggle.

This reference was considered by the Security Council at several meetings, commencing on the 15th January 1948 and ending on the 31st April 1948. The Council heard a statement on behalf of India and Pakistan and on the 20th January adopted a resolution constituting a committee consisting of three members, for the purpose of investigating



Major General Kalwani Singh, J.A.K. Force Commander, explains, before his recent transfer, the latest military situation in Kashmir to Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister.

and mediating in the Indo-Pakistan dispute relating to Kashmir. Of the three members one was to be chosen by India, one by Pakistan and the third by the two nominees of India and Pakistan.

India's representatives urged that in the interest of stopping the fighting in Kashmir which was proceeding unchecked, the Commission should go out immediately to India. At the request of Pakistan's representative, however, the Security Council proceeded to hear Pakistan's counter-charges against India and admitted the main issue, namely, the complaint of India against Pakistan in connection with Kashmir, to be retracked.

Eventually, after lengthy debates, meetings, both informal and formal, among the members of the Council themselves, and with representative of India and Pakistan, the Security Council adopted, on the 21st April 1948, a resolution, which was sponsored by the representatives of the Council—Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, U.K. and the U.S.A. The principal features of this resolution were the strength of the Commission was increased from 3 to 5, no reference was made to the part played by Pakistan in the invasion of Kashmir; the future of Kashmir was to be decided through a plebiscite to be conducted by an officer appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations; during the plebiscite the Government of Kashmir was to be reconstituted so as to include representatives of all political parties; and there should be a simultaneous withdrawal of the raiders and of the Indian armed forces from the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Before the resolution was adopted, the representatives of the Government of India had pointed out to the Council that India took strong exception to the fact that the Council had made no reference to the participation of Pakistan in the invasion of Kashmir, that the Indian

Government could not agree to the administration in Kashmir was to persuade Sheikh Abdullah to make suitable provision for the inclusion in his Government of representatives of other political parties, the initiative and the final decision in this matter being left to Sheikh Abdullah himself. The representative of India therefore, said that he could not recommend acceptance of the resolution to his Government.

Pakistan's representative pointed out certain difficulties in accepting the resolution, and stated that if these difficulties were removed his Government would be prepared to accept it.

India's formal rejection of the resolution was communicated to the Security Council on the 1st May. While communicating their inability to implement the various provisions of the resolution, the Government of India stated that if, in spite of their objection, the Commission were to visit India, the Government of India would be prepared to confer with the Commission.

On the same date the membership of the Commission was announced by the President of the Security Council. It was to consist of Czechoslovakia (India's nominee), Argentina (Pakistan's nominee), the U.S.A. (the nominee of Czechoslovakia and Argentina) and Belgium and Colombia nominated by the President of the Security Council.

The Visit of the U.S. Commission.

After certain preliminary meetings in New York and Geneva the Commission arrived in New Delhi on the 10th July and held consultations with the representatives of the Government of India. After a series of meetings and consultations with the Government of India and with the Government of Pakistan the Commission formulated, on the 10th August, 1948, certain concrete proposals with the object of stopping the fighting in Kashmir.



Women spinning at Vernag in Kashmir. Homespun cloth is the usual clothing of the people.

The essential points of the cease-fire proposals after the necessary clarification by the Commission were:

- (1) India and Pakistan should issue a simultaneous cease-fire order to all the forces under their control within 4 days of the acceptance of the proposals.
- (2) India and Pakistan should accept as a basis of the formulation of the true agreement the following principles:

- (a) Pakistan should withdraw her troops and her nationals from the State.
- (b) The area evacuated by Pakistan troops should be administered by local authorities under the supervision of the Commission, the sovereignty of the present State of Jammu and Kashmir over such territory would nevertheless remain unaffected.

- (c) When Kashmir was free from Indian and Pakistani troops, India would agree to withdraw part of her troops from Kashmir subject to the maintenance of law and order.

- (d) India and Pakistan should reaffirm their wish that the future status of the Jammu and Kashmir State would be decided by a plebiscite, and that they should also agree to confer with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions in which the plebiscite might be held. The Commission made it clear that this did not recognize the right of Pakistan to take part in the plebiscite.

The Government of India accepted these proposals. The Government of Pakistan, on the contrary, accepted the proposals subject to the clarification of certain points and subject to conditions which they put forward and which were communicated to a rejection by the proposals. The Commission left India for Geneva on Tuesday, 21st September, and it was understood that in due course the Commission would present its report to the Security Council.

The Abdullah Administration.

While the Kashmir question was being debated in the Security Council the Maharaja of Kashmir by a proclamation issued on the 3rd March 1948, appointed Sheikh Abdullah as Prime Minister of the Government. Sheikh Abdullah immediately proceeded to form a Ministry composed of responsible leaders of public opinion in Kashmir, including a member of the Muslim Conference. The communal element in such interference has already been made.

This act of the Maharaja was welcomed throughout the State and the Abdullah Ministry proceeded energetically to carry out various reforms in the administration and to take steps for the amelioration of the life of the people of the State.

In the fighting that has been going on ever since October, 1947, the Abdullah Administration has been of the greatest assistance. The formation of Civil Guards, the assistance rendered in the creation of a National Militia, and the supply of comforts to troops—these are only some of the varied activities of the Abdullah Administration. The Administration is democratic as it is possible to achieve in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and represents the majority of the people. The United



The boat carrying Pandit Nehru, Sheikh Abdullah and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in Srinagar.

Nations Commission, called Karam and had open-on-the-spot conversations with Sheikh Abdullah and his ministers. The popularity of the present administration in Kashmir is unquestioned.

The Fighting in Kurdistan

It was stated earlier that at the end of October, 1947, the raiders who invaded Kashmir were within sight of Srinagar. On the 24th October the Indian Army landed in Kashmir and proceeded to drive the raiders back. This was successfully accomplished and the raiders were thrown back to a considerable distance. In fact except for a narrow strip of territory to the west and north of the State, the entire State has been cleared of raiders.

The fighting that is going on today is between Indian armed forces and the forces of the Liberation Army on the one hand, and the army and the regular armed forces of the Indian on the other. The Government of India has been making the presence of Pakistan troops in Kashmir for some considerable time, but now we are seeing the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan in July that the Pakistan Government has sent their troops there, amounting to the first time that they had sent their troops to Kashmir. The explanation given by the spokesman of the Pakistan Government was that these troops were sent to Kashmir to prevent Indian troops from marching into Pakistan. On the whole, the results of the fighting have been favourable to the Indian and to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.



Mr Shaikh Abdullah with
Shri Rajagopalachari
Governor General of India

INDIA LETTER

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Vinoba Bhave On Education

SPEAKING at the Allahabad University Students' Union, She Vinoba Bhave said it always gave him great joy to be amidst students, because he felt as if he was in one's own community amongst them, being himself just a student like others. Every day he ascended from one step of knowledge to another.

Students hoped that by studying in a university they acquired some knowledge which would of great advantage to them in their later life. As a matter of



Madam Sheikh Abdullah

Id. 511111 400 :

- (a) before Kashmir acceded to India, Pakistan exerted considerable pressure on the State to bring about its accession to Pakistan;
- (b) the State of Jammu and Kashmir lawfully acceded to India;
- (c) the invasion of Kashmir was aided and abetted by Pakistan;
- (d) Pakistan troops have, on the admission of the Pakistan Government itself, been fighting in Kashmir since the middle of May, 1948;
- (e) this act of Pakistan constitutes an act of aggression against India;
- (f) Pakistan and the creators of that State, namely the Indian Muslim League, never recognised the right of the people of an Indian State to decide the question of the State's accession, but that, on the contrary: Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Indian Muslim League and the Governor-General of Pakistan, always maintained that this right was vested in the Ruler of the State;
- (g) Pakistan's plea before the Security Council that she was not involved in any manner in the fighting in Kashmir has been proved to be false, and
- (h) India's complaint against Pakistan has been indicated.

identical.

Shri Vinoba complained that students were not trained or allowed to do independent thinking. It had become the practice of every government to stuff the students with a particular brand of ready-made and fixed. According to the complexion of the government, they were moulded into capitalism, socialism, communism, communism, or any other goodism or evilism. There was a time when the great teachers of India taught their pupils to think for themselves. They frankly asked them to accept only what they considered to be good in the teachers, rejecting their defects. A teacher should feel proud of a student who after full deliberation declined to accept the opinion of the teacher. The modern tendency was that everyone wanted to impose his own ideas and his own way of thinking upon others. That was dangerous in the interests of students. It sought to reduce students to mere machines. Students must refuse to become mere cogs of a machine. They must aspire to follow *Sat* (Truth) and not *patha* (beaten track).

Profit Sharing

Writing in 'Harijan' dated November 7, Mr. J. C. Kumarappa states:—The Government of India had appointed a committee to draw up a scheme for sharing the profits of industries between the industrialists and labour. This committee has recommended certain forms of profit sharing to be tried in the first instance in six industries, viz., cotton textiles, jute, steel, cement, manufacture of tyres and cigarettes making. Our position is that there should be no profits at all in centralised industries. All industries that require centralised form of organisation should be worked on a service basis. They should be owned or controlled by the Government. Any excess over the cost should be ploughed back into the industry. The employees in such industries should receive adequate salaries and wages which would be on a par with remuneration obtainable for like work in cottage and village industries. Profit sharing schemes and many of the so-called welfare schemes of mills are so much dope to hold their workers in bondage and extract every ounce of energy out of them. Seemingly they benefit the worker momentarily but in the end they create better markets of the mill-products. These enslave the worker rather than liberate him. They are not calculated to develop his personality or individuality.

Presidential Election

Dr. Patilabi Sitaramayaya has been elected president of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress to be held in Jaipur in December.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Mr. S. Kahn has been elected as Native Representative in the Union House of Assembly for Cape Western Circle. Both Mr. D. M. Buchanan (Ind), who was Native Representative for the Transkei in the last Assembly, and Mr. van der Merwe, (Nationalist) were defeated. They had 744 and 194 votes respectively as against 3780 votes gained by Mr. S. Kahn. Mr. Kahn will be the first Communist to sit in the House of Assembly.

Mr. Wynand Louw, private secretary to the Administrator of South-West Africa, Colonel Hoogenhout, has been appointed private secretary to the Prime Minister. He will leave Cape-town on November 27 to assume duty on December 1.

The UN. General Assembly is officially scheduled to end on the night of December 11. Unfinished items will have to be taken up at a further session at Lake Success, probably in February.

Applications are invited for the Toni Saphra Bursary for advanced study, states the Secretary of the Union of Jewish women of South Africa. The bursary is open to any woman, irrespective of race, colour or creed, who holds a suitable degree of professional qualification. The closing date for applications is December 15. Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Union of Jewish Women of South Africa 901, Mainlin House, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.

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સને ૧૯-૧૨-૧૯૪૮.

પ્રકાશક ૨૬ મું—આંક ૬૫

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૬ નવેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮.

પ્રકાશક મહલ રેની. ૪

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૬ નવેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

મુંડાશાહી

કરવનના ક્ષોધા તપસુવાના સ્વસ્થી આ દેશના સમગ્ર જ તેઓને એક વર્ષથી અપવાદની રૂ આ તક તરફ પુરું કે કાપકાને મજબૂત હાથ આ દેશીઓને નાહી નાખવાને પુરવો સમર્થ છે. તો તેઓ આપણે અરેબી માર્ગ કેવા આગળ હોય તે એ દેશીઓને તેઓ જાનકર વીખરી નાખશે. તે તેમ નહિ કરે તે તેઓ માંગા ફેલાકાને આ કોટના પોંચતા માં ખડા થવું પડશે એ અનિવાર્ય છે. તેઓને જરાય દુખા પતાવવામાં નહિ આવે. આ દેશમાં જે સત્તા પાડેલી સત્તા થતે તેને ખડેલે રસ અને પાંચે રંગની અને કૌંચામ વધારે કરવામાં આવશે. અંગેરીકાની મુંડાશાહી આ દેશમાં સત્તા રવાના નહિ આવે. અને બીજા કોઈ કુવાનો આ વસ્તુ જેમ વહેવા સમજતા થાય તેમ તેઓને માટે વધારે સાફ છે. કુ જે કરી રહ્યો છે તે કરતાં કુવાનોને પણ સાચું પડે છે.

આ શબ્દો કરવનની સુપ્રીમ કોર્ટમાં ચુના એ મુનતા હેતુથી કરેલા કુમકા માટે શુનેગાર કરાવેલા એ હિંદીઓને સાત વર્ષની કેદની અને નેતરની સોદીથી છ ફેટકાની સજા કરવાવાળાં મી. જર્જીસ હેથરને ગયા મંગળવારે કદમ કાતા. એકે આ મુંડાશાહી જે આ દેશમાં ફેલાતી વ્યવ છે તે માત્ર હિંદીઓ અને કલકોનેજ મયોદીત નથી. વસતીના નાખજા વગેરેમાં તે પ્રચલીત છે. પરંતુ તેટલા કારણથી કંઈ હિંદીઓ તેમાંથી જરાય કુદી જઈ શકતા નથી. મી. જર્જીસ હેથરનેના હપકે હિંદી કોમ જેણે સાંતી અને કાયદાને વકાદા રહેનારી કોમ તરીકે પ્રસંસા મેળવી છે. તેને મંગીરે કાંઈન સમાધાન

છે. આપણી કોમમાંથી એક પણ શુદ્ધ પેદા થાય એ આખી કોમને માટે કંઈ શરમની વાત છે. એક માણસ શુદ્ધ બન્યો પછી કોખની કાય સિધાય તે દળાવી નહિ શકાય અને તેથી આ કાખમાં સુપ્રીમ કોર્ટે કરેલી સજાને આમારે વધાવી લેવીજ એમણે અને અમે ઉમેદ રાખીએ છીએ કે એ મારો જનારા અન્ય જનોને તેમ કરતાં તે વારનારી રહી પડશે.

પરંતુ એટલેથી એ બાબતને અંત આવતો નથી. મી. જર્જીસ હેથરનેના શબ્દો સઘળા માન્યાં છે અને શિક્ષકોએ કૌંચે લેવા થઈ છે. કે જેમના ઉપર બાવિ પ્રજાનું ધડતર કરવાની મોટી જવાબદારી રહેલી છે. પરંતુ એટલુંજ બસ નથી. આ બાબતમાં ખુદ રાજ્ય ને પણ કંઈક જિવાર કરવાના છે. આવા ચુનાઓ થવાના કારણની તેણે કંડાણથી તપાસ કરવી એમણે અને એ કારણો દુર-કરવાના પગલાં લેવાં એમણે. અમે માનીએ છીએ કે એમેરેશનને આ ચુનાઓ સાથે પછેા સંબંધ રહેલો છે. એમેરેશન આ દેશ માં જે રીતે કામ કરી રહેલું અમે એમણે છીએ તે પરથી એલાં નેના અર્થ એ થાય છે કે ગોરાને માટે સઘળી સગવડો અને કાળાએ પોતાનામાંજ સજા રહી. યુરોપથી આવતા વચાહલી બોને સાકિય આફ્રિકામાં સા. જીવન ગાળવાની સઘળી સગવડો પુરી પાડવામાં આવે છે પરંતુ આ દેશમાં જન્મેલા લોકો ને બીજા ગોરા થયા-પછી તેમાં તેઓને બેલે જરાય વાંક ન હોય એટલે સાફ જીવન ગાળવાને

સઘળી જરૂરીયાતો વિના તેઓને સખડું રહ્યું. અમારે બીજી તરફ થી પાપને મારો વસતી કંઈ જનારા મારો તેઓને માટે સાચુ બુદ્ધિ પડ્યાં હોય છે. ત્રીસ દહાર ઉપર હિંદીઓને માટે શિક્ષણની કોઈ પણ જાતની સગવડો નથી. દહારે હિંદીઓને રહેવાને સારા ઘરો નથી. ગોરા ને કુતરો ત્યાં કુદથી જઈ શકે તેને રજાને આંગણે હિંદીથી ચડી નહિ શકાય. કોઈ પણ સારા કોડમાંજમાં હિંદીથી પ્રેરેશ કરી નહિ શકાય. કુદમાં સા. જીવન ગાળવાને જરૂરી સઘળી સગવડો તેને માટે વજીત છે. અ્યાં તેને બુદ્ધિ દીતથી આવકાર મળે છે -પરંતુ તે પણ પાછલા કરવાળે થીજ-તે રેલીસ છે. અ્યાં તે જીવાર ખેલી શકે છે, કાદનાં પીકા છે, અ્યા તેં કાડીયો બની માણસ મરી પણ બની શકે છે. સીનેમાં ચકા છે અ્યાં શિક્ષણ આપનારાં સારાં જિજો એકાં બતાવાય છે, પરંતુ વિષય વાસના ઉત્પલ કરનારા અને શુતા કરનાં શીખવનારાં જિજો સામાન્યતઃ બતાવાય છે. તેમાંથી પછી મુંડાશાહી પરીજીમે તેમાં કરી નવાઈ જ અતીશ-યોક્તિભરેલું ચિત્ર દોરવાની અમારી જરાય ઈચ્છા નથી. પરંતુ આ અખંડનીય કહીકતા છે. ઇલાયદું પાડવામાં આવે હું સુનીયનમાં એલું એક પણ સ્થળ નથી કે જે પાપ અને ચુના પેદા કરનારી બુદ્ધી નથી. અને તેથી હોય તેમાં નવાઈ નથી અરકાર પોતાની કાલની નીતીથી સ્થીતી સુધારી નથી રહી પરંતુ બગાડી રહી છે અને મુંડાશાહી ને થમે તેટલી વગોડવામાં આવે છતાં તે વધારે ફેલાતી જશે. મી. નેટલું બાગ નેને કાખી શકશે નહિ. સરકારનાં તત્તસા પરીવ તત થવું એમણે. તેજ સ્થીતી સુધરી શકાય. પરંતુ તેનો અર્થ એવા નથી થતો કે એક

કોમ તરીકે એ બધી દુર કરવા માં આપણે આપણી કરજ બાજા વચામાં રીથીજ રહીએ.

નોંધ

મુનાઇટ સ્ટેશની કોર્ટ મંજુર કરેલું પ્રતાપકાપકું

તા. ૨૬ નવેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮ ના મુનાઇટ સ્ટેશની ઓકલાકોમાં મુનીપસીરી મા રાખત થનાર પઠેલા કાગળો છે. તમણે મુનાઇટ સ્ટેશનીમાં વળા બાજા બીરેખ કિલાનારી ફેરેલ શટ ને અરક કરી હતી તે મયા સોમવારે નામંજુર થઈ છે. કોર્ટ મંજુર કે મી. ગોરા મોરીનેતે મારા વિલસીઓ સાથે અખાસ કરવાની સમાન તકો મળી છે. પરંતુ પોતાના માગરીમાં સ્કે મતીમેંદ વિ. પારવાની બને તેઓના વગે પાડવાને રાખને સવા છે.

અ્યા સપ્ટેમ્બરમાં કોર્ટ મા માર હોરત, જ કાલની અખાસ કોર્ટ નેમને કાખમ કરવા મુનીપસીરીને ફેરેલ કોર્ટ હોત, ૧ કાખતથી ૧ અખાસ ખડા બેલીને વગેરે નાખતે આ છે. અપીલ ન આસામને તુ અને સંભળી શકે છે.

અમારે કહેવું એક કે કોમમાં કોર્ટ ના નિર્ણયને અને મળતા થતા નથી. ગાની મોટીએ સાકિય આકાકામાં પણ સિધારેલું છે કે ગાવજીમાં મુધાવના સ્થ કોપ નહિ એમણે કહીકતા એ સઘળાં તે મતપદામણ સંભવે નહિ. અગતે બાગ કે કે ફેરેલ ને ના રકાર સઘળી રમાતે વા પગલ છે.

હિંદીઓ સા. અ્યા. નો એક બાગ છે

સેનેટ કા. મુકમે મયા મુકવારે મોરીટાજામાં બાગ કરવા કહ્યું હતું કે હિંદીઓ સાકિય આકાકાની પસતી ના એક મતવમાં બાગ છે અને નામ મના હિંદીઓ રીનિટાઈટ વચા તરવાર થઈ. હિંદીઓ આપણી સ્થાપી વસતી એક નામ ન એ વસ્તુ બાગને ના કારણીજ પડશે. એવ મીનતા નેવાના તરક વાજા બાગરેા વિરોધ અને ન એને સમજા કરી આપણી એમણે, હિંદીઓને કાખી એલાવના અપણું

નવી રેકોર્ડોનું શીપમેન્ટ આવી ગયું છે

શીપમેન્ટ રેકોર્ડો: હેલ્થ ફામ શી. ૧-૬.

| સંગ્રહ | પત્રો સેટ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧. | ક્રમ | પત્રો સેટ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧. |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|
| વનસ્પતિ છાંય | ૪ " | " ૧-૧-૦. | સંગ્રહ | ૪ " | પા. ૨-૫-૧ |
| સંગ્રહ | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧-૦ | સંગ્રહ | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧ |
| વનસ્પતિ | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧૬-૦ | સંગ્રહ | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧-૦ |
| મીઠાઈ | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧-૦ | શીપમેન્ટ રેકોર્ડ | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧ |

આ સોવાય મરાઠી ભાષાના મુખતાલ અલી કવાલ-મરહુમ પીયાર કવાલની જગ્યા પર આવી ગયા છે તેની કવાલી રેકોર્ડો.



આસપાસ મુખતાલ

No

- 14635 અમર રંગર
- 14640 વનસ્પતિ સાથે સંગ્રહ
- 14679 કામરે કુસન
- 14722 વનસ્પતિ ૩ મોન્ટે
- 14733 વનસ્પતિ સંગ્રહ
- 14735 વનસ્પતિ ને કુસન પત્ર
- 14738 વનસ્પતિ આ સંગ્રહ
- 14758 વે આ સંગ્રહ મે કુસન
- 14761 વનસ્પતિ આસપાસ
- 14761 વનસ્પતિ આસપાસ
- 14780 મેરે વનસ્પતિ સંગ્રહ
- 14807 વનસ્પતિ ૩ મોન્ટે
- 14812 વનસ્પતિ ૩ મોન્ટે
- 14645 કામરે ને કુસન

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- 15700 વનસ્પતિ આસપાસ



- 15736 કામરે કુસન
- 15760 કુસન આસપાસ
- 15786 વનસ્પતિ આસપાસ

કામરે આસપાસ

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- 12917 વનસ્પતિ આસપાસ
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Fig. 2. ΔG_{cal} vs. $\Delta G_{\text{cal}}^{\text{cal}}$ for the reaction of 1,2-dichloroethane with $\text{C}_2\text{H}_5\text{MgBr}$ in THF at -78°C .

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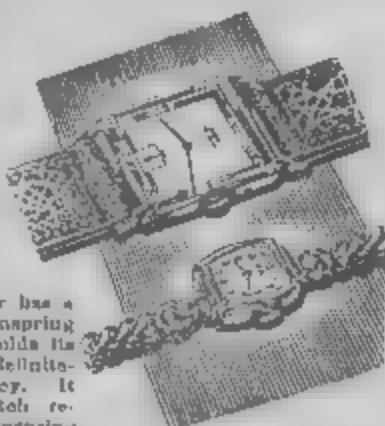
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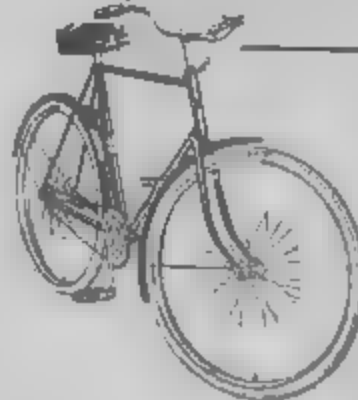
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INDIAN OPINION

Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

NO. 46.—XLVI.

FRIDAY, 3RD DECEMBER, 1948.

REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER
PRICE: FOUR PENCE

Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 3RD DECEMBER, 1948

South-West Africa

FOR the third time South Africa has been censured by the General Assembly of the United Nations and has been asked to place South-West Africa under Trusteeship. Mr. Eric Louw tried hard to surpass General Smuts in fighting the case of South Africa with a hundred per cent confidence of success but he has failed. Let us hope he will return a little more enlightened as to how essential it is for this country to keep in step with the other members of the Commonwealth. General Smuts has, of course, learnt that lesson after his first experience at U.N.O. Mr. Louw's over-enthusiasm was, therefore, somewhat understandable and even excusable. It was pleasant to see the remarkable change in the tone in Mr. Louw's speech in the General Assembly as compared with his first speech in the Trusteeship Committee. "We are anxious to co-operate and collaborate with the United Nations," Mr. Louw said and went on further to observe: "The delegate for India did not place much reliance upon our assurances. I can only regret that. We are prepared to go on administering the territory as we have always done, for the welfare of all sections of the population."

I hope delegates will be prepared to believe in our good faith. The honour of South Africa is at stake. We are not likely to do anything that may earn the ill-will of other nations."

To this we can only say, "well done Mr. Eric Louw. Let your words tally with your actions and all will automatically come right." The trouble with the present-day statesmen of South Africa is that not only do their actions betray their words but they are so careless in what they utter. For instance, if Dr. Malan did not say what he was reported throughout South Africa to have said, which impliedly at any rate meant that South Africa would insist on incorporating South-West Africa, in spite of what the world opinion may be, the easiest and most honourable thing for him to do was to use the same source which is claimed on his behalf to have done wrong to him, to right don wrong. Dr. Malan could have contradicted the Press report in the very Press that had misreported him even as Mr. Hofmeyr so promptly did in regard to something that he was reported to have said in Aliwal North. In the

absence of such a contradiction, how can people of South Africa or India or the Indian delegation at U.N.O. be blamed if they view the assurances given by the Union Government verbally or even in writing, with a little doubt? For, after all, it is the South African Government's prerogative to give whatever interpretation that suits it to what it has said or written.

Hitler never admitted having done a thing even after he had done it. So it is not what the present South African Government says that will count but what it actually does. Viewing in that light, we do not know what worth the U.N.O. resolution that has just been passed is going to be. Mr. Eric Louw says South Africa's honour is at stake, but what about the lives of thousands of dumb humanity that are at stake under South Africa's Hitlerite regime?

On A Short Trip To India

I AM going on a short trip to India by the a.s. Tarens. Since I was not destined for me to be by the side of my father at the time of his tragic though heroic death, there was an urge from within that is taking me where his first death anniversary will take place. At

the same time I shall avail myself of the opportunity to be present at the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress which takes place at Jaipur at the end of this month which will be a historic occasion, being the first session in Free India, and I had hoped also to be present at the World Peace Conference which was to take place in India but which, unfortunately for me, has been postponed for the time being. I would also take the opportunity, whilst in India, of seeing the Government Minister and leaders and discuss with them the political and the general situation of the Indian community in South Africa and to seek their advice and guidance.

While wishing *adieu* to all friends and well-wishers of Indian Opinion, I crave their blessings and trust that during my short absence they will continue to give their generous support to the paper and to the Phoenix Settlement as they have been doing. I don't deem it necessary to make it particular that, though I happen to be one of the vice-presidents of the Natal Indian Congress, I am going to India in my personal capacity and am carrying no mandate from the Congress to speak on its behalf.

MAHATMA GANDHI

UNION CENSURED ONCE AGAIN AT U.N.O.

ORDERED TO PLACE SOUTH-WEST AFRICA UNDER TRUSTEESHIP

THE following is the text of the resolution on South-West Africa adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on Friday, November 23, 1948, in two.

The General Assembly takes note of the observations of the Trusteeship Council on South-West Africa, as contained in the Council's report, and requests the Secretary-General to transmit those observations to the Government of South Africa.

Recommends its recommendations on December 11, 1946, and November 1, 1947, that South-West Africa be placed under the Trusteeship system, and notes with regret that those recommendations have not been carried

into effect. Takes note of the statement of the representative of South Africa that it is the intention of the Government to continue to administer South-West Africa in the name of a mandate.

Takes note of the assurance by the representative of South Africa that the proposed new arrangement for the closer association of South-West Africa with the Union does not mean incorporation, and will not mean absorption of the territory by the administering authority.

Recommends, without prejudice to its resolutions of December 14, 1946, and November 1, 1947, that South Africa, until agreement is reached with the United Nations regarding the future of South-West Africa, continue to supply annually information on its administration of the territory.

Requests the Trusteeship Council to continue to examine and submit its observations to the General Assembly.

Voting on the resolution was as follows:

Dr. Malan of Australia, the President of the Assembly, ordered that all on the operative paragraph. This showed: Afghanistan, The Argentine, Brazil, Burma, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Liberia, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, Russia, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia (32).

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, France, Greece, Iceland, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Peru, Turkey, South Africa and the United Kingdom (14).

Abstentions: Dominica, Ethiopia, Honduras, New Zealand and Panama.

Seven delegations did not attend—El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Iraq, Nicaragua, Paraguay and the Yemen.

Thus, by two votes only, South Africa failed to defeat the clause, for a two-thirds majority is necessary in the Assembly for a resolution to qualify.

The whole resolution was adopted by 44 votes to two. Belgium voted with South Africa against the resolution, and five abstainers were Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and the Netherlands.

Mr. Louw Gratified

Mr. Eric Louw, leader of the Union delegation to UN said that he was particularly gratified that the original Indian amendment was defeated in the Trusteeship Committee and that the Cuban amendment was withdrawn.

Cuba wanted the General Assembly to establish the right of petition from inhabitants to the United Nations. This proposal was withdrawn just before the vote was taken by the trusteeship committee.

Mr. Louw said his delegation confidently expected that the crucial clause would be rejected through its failure to secure a two-thirds majority. Delegates of three countries who had promised full support to South Africa had voted against the Union, and four others who had also promised support were absent.

In two other cases delegates were absent because they had to leave Paris one for Switzerland and the other for London.

Mrs. Pandit

Mrs. Vinayakdatta Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, said her delegation considered the resolution "quite unacceptable."

"We are dealing with one of the most important questions that has yet come before the United Nations," she said. "It cannot, therefore, be lightly brushed aside."

Mrs. Pandit then referred to statements alleged to have been made by Dr. Malan.

Dr. Malan, she added, was reported to have said "We have decided South-West Africa must be incorporated."

The truth of this statement was denied by Mr. Eric Louw.

"We have since received a copy of the 'Rand Daily Mail' of Johannesburg, of November 17, in which the following appears as part of a speech by Dr. Malan: 'We have decided that it must be incorporated. We will never in any circumstances surrender South-West Africa to international trusteeship. Before we do that we

would rather walk out of the United Nations.

"As far as we have been able to ascertain no official contradiction of this report has been made in South Africa."

"I am aware that newspaper reports cannot be relied upon for absolute accuracy. I have only made reference to this incident to justify statements by India's representative to the committee."

Mr. Louw Replies

Answering Mrs. Pandit, South Africa's chief delegate, Mr. Louw, denied that South Africa intended to annex South-West Africa.

Dealing with Mrs. Pandit's remarks about the 'Rand Daily Mail' report, Mr. Louw said: "I immediately cabled the Prime Minister. Dr. Malan denied categorically ever having used the word 'incorporation.'"

"If we were to be judged by what is said in newspapers then we would all be in serious trouble. The Prime Minister was speaking in Afrikaans, and he was probably misinterpreted by a reporter not fully acquainted with the language."

"Here you have a telegram from the South African Prime Minister—an honourable man. I ask you whether any delegates are prepared to take the word of a newspaper against the statement of the Prime Minister."

"We sincerely believe we have certain legal rights, are under no moral obligation, and that it is a matter of principle with certain practical considerations."

Mr. Louw then referred to the second paragraph of the resolution and commented: "This paragraph closes the door which we want to keep open."

He had represented South Africa and not the Nationalist Party at the United Nations General Assembly, said Mr. Louw, commenting on General Smuts's statement at the United Party Congress in Bloemfontein that the Nationalists had abandoned their old standpoint of incorporation of South-West Africa and adopted the United Party's.

"It was the accepted practice, he said, for a Government to honour a formal undertaking given by a previous Government."

Mr. Louw said that not only had General Smuts, as Prime Minister, given a personal undertaking that his Government would not proceed with its plan to incorporate South-West Africa, but that undertaking had been confirmed in a formal letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on July 23, 1947, by the Union Minister in Washington.

"The Union delegation thus had no option in the matter. We were

bound by its undertaking by which the previous Government had committed its successor."

"We have no choice of weapons. On the contrary, this undertaking was one of the main weapons used against us because it was repeatedly alleged that by its closer Union plan, the new Government had violated the undertaking given by the previous Government."

His fellow delegates had worked hard and much lobbying work to do and the results achieved had been very satisfactory.

"The defeat of the Cuban and Indian amendments means that the United Nations, by declining to condemn the closer Union plan, has virtually endorsed it."

Will S.A. Quit U.N.O.?

He was, at the time, a "witness" in an interview broadcast by U.N.O. Radio Division, and the question-masters were Mr. Michael Fry, Reuter's permanent representative with U.N.O., and Mr. Homer Metz, of the "Christian Science Monitor."

When asked in Paris during a Radio interview on November 26, if there was "any danger of South Africa walking out of the United Nations"—an idea caused by some things he had said, Mr. Louw replied that he could not be held responsible for all interpretations placed upon his statements.

"What I said was that there is a growing volume of opinion in South Africa which doubts whether continued membership of U.N.O. is in the interests of the Union, and I gave the reasons upon which that opinion is based," he replied. "Whether public opinion in South Africa will undergo a change will, of course, depend on the United Nations itself."

"There is the unfortunate fact that meetings of the Assembly and of its committees are increasingly being used as platforms for political and ideological propaganda, and as a base from which attacks upon member States are launched."

The next question was: Do you believe South Africa can afford to ignore the main trends of world thought on racial questions, and live outside the family of nations?

"South Africa," replied Mr. Louw, "does not seek an existence outside the family of nations."

"But surely priority should be given to achieving peace and harmony among the peoples inside our own country? That, more than world opinion, must determine our policy on racial issues."

"In trying to solve these multi-racial problems South Africa should reasonably expect deeper understanding from this family of nations to which you refer."

"One is entitled to understanding within a family circle. So far we have received more criticism than understanding."—S. A. P. A.

FULL TEXT OF DEBATE OF ASIATIC BILL

(Continued From Nov. 19)

Mr. CHRISTIE: Some few days ago the Labour Party published an amendment which we had proposed to move to this Bill. Listening to the amendment of the right hon. Leader of the Opposition I find that under Section (a) of that amendment our proposals can all be dealt with. I therefore do not propose to move our amendment so as to avoid complicating the discussion before the House.

HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. CHRISTIE: The position as I see it is that the hon. Prime Minister in his statement has put forward two points of view amongst others as to the reason why Chapter II of the Act must be repealed. Firstly, because he considers the possibility of those three European representatives of the Indian community being in a position to dominate any Government in this House. There, I think he is labouring under a sense of fear which cannot possibly be justified. If it was a question of the European standard being in jeopardy, if it was a question of securing the maintenance of Western democracy, it would be different; but I cannot imagine there is any matter affecting the Government or the European population as a whole which should give rise to any sense of nervousness on the part of the Prime Minister or his party.

The second excuse, or reason, that he advanced, was that Indians had not accepted this offer of parliamentary representation, that they did not want it and that they would have boycotted the election. There, one can see a certain amount of justification for that attitude. His argument is, they do not want it, why perpetuate it? The answer is that in due course by the exercise of a better judgment on the part of the Indian community they may come to a realisation that after all this is some solution and that they should not be prepared to let it go. Therefore no harm was done and there was every necessity for having this measure promulgated so that it could be put into effect when the Indians were prepared to accept it and to use that machinery. I believe personally that if the Indians had given this a trial it would have worked out quite well, with safety to all sections, and that it would have given them some voice to express the difficulties they are experiencing and which they may experience in the future, and it would have given them a voice in this House with regard to the working of Chapter I. After all that has been said it is not easy to divorce the one chapter from the other. On the one hand we have taken away certain rights of land tenure in Natal, and it was essential that the Indians should have a vote up

the actual working of that section. Although a commission was set up under Chapter I for the purpose of arranging the various allocations of land nevertheless it was essential that they should have this representation in this House to discuss that and other difficulties in the future.

The Prime Minister referred to the time when the Act, both Chapter I and Chapter II were before the House, and he mentioned that the then Leader of the Labour Party and the Labour Party members were in disagreement over Chapter II. That proves nothing, because if it has any significance it is this: it somehow gives an excuse to the deputy leader of the party to get away from his party at that time. It opened a way seemingly for him to become a member of the Nationalist Party. I can only read into it that he then found refuge in the Nationalist Party, and the hon. member for Krugersdorp (Mr. van den Berg) is now safely in the bosom of the Nationalist Party, where he should have been all the time.

Mr. MENTZ: What about Madeley?

Mr. CHRISTIE: When he spoke about the Leader of the Labour Party the only point there was that the then leader of the party only took with him the line he followed—three or four people. It is a fundamental principle in all Labour parties that the franchise should be there. In the case of this particular Bill we stated that our party policy was definitely laid down, that we accepted this method of franchise for non-Europeans and a communal roll with European representatives in this House and the Provincial Council for Indians. That we have said repeatedly and we say it again to-day. That is why we are opposed to this Bill and favour the amendment, so that while the discussions are taking place a way out may be found as far as the Nationalist Party is concerned and it may be found in the Select Committee. The question of repatriation is one important point, now dealt with in the amendment which the Prime Minister referred to in his speech. There we have again a recurrence of the position that prevailed in 1929 when for a time the proposal of repatriation was tried but it did not help to any appreciable extent in the direction we hoped it would work. In other words, the Indian population did not in fact decrease in numbers as a result of the repatriation scheme of that time. On the contrary, their number

showed an increase and it has increased by thousands. So we know from past experience that repatriation offers no solution of the Indian question in this country. I do not know the proportion of Indians born in South Africa, I should imagine it would probably be about 75 per cent., and it is not so easy to repatriate people born in one country to another country unless it is done by agreement with that country, or by force, as happened between the Greeks and the Turks when a million Greeks were repatriated by the Turkish Government to fall under the Greek Government. That was done by international agreement, but it was also forcibly done. Many people did not wish to be repatriated. It is not easy to convince people who know no other homeland than the homeland in which they were born that they will be happier in the country of their ancestors than in the country of their adoption. In other words, they may say: "Give me the troubles that I know of rather than the troubles that I know not"; and that is something that applies to most human beings. You prefer what you know rather than what you do not know. The Government in dealing with Chapter 2 are taking steps in the direction of something that is unknown to them. In other words, they do not know what repercussions and implications may eventuate from this legislation.

As I said, our policy is plain. A great deal has been said in the Prime Minister's speech, but much of it merely repetition of what has been said before. It conveys nothing in the way of logical argument. It represents one fixed outlook or one fixed objective based not on reason but on prejudice, and one finds it very difficult to avoid the conclusion in debating this matter, where the people come forward with just one preconceived idea, or one preconceived object, that they are trying to put the clock back even to the extent of the franchise in the form proposed in Chapter 2. We object strongly to the passing of the Bill because it is a retrogressive step because it is full of dangers, because it is something that we will never be able to justify before the people of the world.

Mr. S. E. WARREN: Justify it in your own people first.

Mr. CHRISTIE: We have to remember that there is no question today that any country can remain in a state of isolation. No country can adopt the attitude that they could adopt 25 or 30

years ago. The world is smaller. The people of the world have a much greater knowledge today with regard to other countries than they had 20 or 30 years ago. Things which in those days seemed to be purely domestic matters, are today international in a different light by the people in the world outside. Conditions have changed; we have experienced two world wars, and to put this legislation is almost like throwing petrol on a blazing fire.

Mr. S. E. WARREN: (Inaudible.)

Mr. CHRISTIE: I do not think that this is the occasion for the absurd interjections of the hon. member for Swellendam Mr. S. E. Warren. This is far too serious for such interjections.

Mr. S. E. WARREN: I know how serious it is, but I say that you are talking nonsense.

Mr. CHRISTIE: When one hears the drone of the hon. member's voice, one can hardly hear one's own voice heard.

Mr. S. E. WARREN: I am talking nonsense. Get on with your speech.

Mr. CHRISTIE: When the House adjourned just before lunch I was on the point of closing. I had stated that the case for the repeal of Chapter 2 is not based on reason or logic. We of the Labour Party consider that Chapter 2 should remain. It is an attempt to solve a difficult racial problem. My intention is to close my remarks in an appeal to the Prime Minister. South Africa has many friends in the world; do not let us embarrass them too much.

Mr. MENTZ: I do not want to say much about the hon. member for Johannesburg (Chairman Mr. Christie) who has just sat down. His whole argument was to try to create the impression that the collapse of his party and the return to the introduction of the Indian Act of 1946. We all know and the world knows that that was the reason why the hon. member for Krugersdorp (Mr. van den Berg) came over to the National Party. We all know that that was the reason why the hon. member's former leader, Mr. Madeley, was driven out of the party. That is also the reason why the party was torn from bottom. I want to put a question to the members of the Labour Party. Had it not been for the fact that the crumbling United Party could carry them on its back during the recent election, how many of them would have been in this House this afternoon? None.

I now come to the hon. member for the Re. Hon. Mr. Pretoria East (Mr. J. H. Smuts). He made an extraordinary attack on us this afternoon.

of what he had said about the right hon. member for Johannesburg North (Mr. Hofmeyr). He described it as a disgrace.

Mr. ROBINSON: Yes.

Mr. MENTZ: There the hon. member for Langlaagte (Mr. Robinson) says it again. I want to say that I am prepared this afternoon to say across the floor of this House what we said during the recess, but I go much further. I want to put this question to the right hon. member for Pretoria East. While he knows that the right hon. member for Johannesburg North caused a general commotion by his attitude in 1946 and subsequently with regard to this question, why has he been putting that member as cold storage lately? He remained in the background yesterday when important national questions were discussed in this House with regard to which the right hon. member has been the main cause of all the trouble. He sat there as silent as the grave. I do not want to express the hope, however, that the right hon. member will take the courage in both his hands and will get up this afternoon and say in this House what he has said outside. I want to propose that he will not have the courage to get up because the right hon. member for Pretoria East knows that if the member for Johannesburg North had to get up and speak, he will treat the party still further apart than it has already been torn. I am prepared almost immediately to lay that wager that he will not get up. He is being put in cold storage and I want to challenge him to repeat on the floor of this House the views expressed by him outside in connection with this Indian Act and particularly in connection with Chapter 2 of this Act. The hon. member for Johannesburg North always pretends deafness when it comes to these matters, but we will see how he reacts to this challenge. We will see whether he will get up and tell us here what his views are. The right hon. member for Pretoria East fenced with words in an effort to whitewash the sins of the member for Johannesburg North. Coming to the speech of the right hon. member for Pretoria East, I want to say that it was a speech full of glib talk as we know him throughout the course he has pursued in South Africa. I would like to come back to that later. In 1946 when this Bill was introduced, the right hon. member for Pretoria East got up here with tears in his eyes, and said, "For Heaven's sake, there is no time for a Select Committee. It is hoped that the matter is serious; we have to deal with it today; we dare not postpone it." That was in 1946. In

1948 he comes along and he says that there is lots of time for a Select Committee. He wants to know why this side comes along with so much haste.

Mr. BOWKER: What about the Pegging Act?

Mr. MENTZ: Is that not a nonsensical question? We are not dealing now with the Land Tenure Aspect of the Act. We are discussing the second chapter, the chapter with which the right hon. member split his whole party and violated the National Convention. The hon. member for Pretoria East said something in his speech this afternoon which reminded me particularly, and I think he had in mind, the Anglo-Boer War, when he said that we also at one time in our history, discriminated. He expressed it thus: We have brought a catastrophe upon ourselves. I want to ask the right hon. member to retrace his steps just a little way into the past. I have referred to his glib talk. Throughout the career of the right hon. member he always wanted to be on the winning side and to achieve world fame. That is what he strives after, not after the welfare of his fatherland.

An HON MEMBER: What check?

Mr. MENTZ: What was his attitude in the time of Cecil Rhodes? He was an out-and-out Rhodes supporter. He made certain accusations this afternoon. I want to ask the hon. member

whether he still remembers how, as a young advocate in Johannesburg, he succeeded with his glib talk in winning the favour of the late President Kruger. Then the Anglo-Boer War came. The right hon. member said the other day that we should call that war the South African War. What happened then? Then he became a fiery republican. What did he write in his book, "Die Een van Onse?"

Mr. WARING: You ought to be ashamed of yourself.

Mr. MENTZ: No, I did not write "Die Een van Onse." I need not be ashamed. It is the right hon. member. You are quite wrong. But does the right hon. member for Pretoria East know that he wrote a letter at the time to the late President Kruger in which he condemned the disgraceful action of the enemy, together with the non-European race in South Africa? Has he forgotten that he asked the permission of the late President Kruger to appeal for the assistance of Germany to defeat Great Britain? And here comes more evidence of his willingness: When that war was over he became an enthusiastic admirer of the same England which he wished to see crushed with the assistance of Germany, and he becomes the handyman of the British Empire.

Mr. ROBINSON: You ought to be ashamed of yourself.

Mr. SUTTER: What check?

(To be Continued)

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM NOV. 19)

MR. J. D. NAGARVALA, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, continued his evidence on October 6. Mr. Nagarvala said that Prof. J. C. Jain who had made a disclosure regarding the "plot" to murder Mahatma Gandhi to Mr. Morarji Desai, Home Minister of Bombay, was first introduced to him on February 4 or 5. Witness recorded Prof. Jain's statement on February 17 and that of Mr. Morarji Desai on February 18.

Replying to questions put by Mr. Dange, counsel for Karkare, Mr. Nagarvala said that he came to know about the detention orders against Karkare from Mr. Morarji Desai, Home Minister, Bombay, on January 11. Mr. Morarji Desai had asked witness to find out whether Karkare, as ordered, had already been detained or not.

In your investigation did you contact Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader? I did not contact him.

Did you contact Mr. Shaheed

Sahrawardhyt—No. I did not contact him.

Cross-examination of Mr. Nagarvala had not concluded when the court adjourned till the next day.

Mr. Nagarvala said that he had not reduced to writing what Mr. Morarji Desai had told him at the Bombay Central Railway Station on January 21, because he took it as instructions from the Home Minister. Mr. Nagarvala added that he also took it to be a report of an offence committed at Delhi. Every attempt to apprehend Barge had been made but he could not be arrested. He had, however, kept a watch at his house since January 24.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hansraj Mehta, counsel for Shankar Kizyaya, Mr. Nagarvala said that a search had been carried at Bombay since February 5. What had been stated by him before the panchas on February 14 was recorded in the panchnama.

Mr. Nagarvala said that he took no panchas from the Hindu

Mahasabhas held on the place round about it.

Cross-examined by Mr. Inamdar, counsel for Gopal Godse and Dr. Parelkar, Mr. Nagarvala said that he himself went to Poona to arrest Gopal Godse on February 4. From Poona witness sent a police party to the Uksan village to arrest Gopal Godse.

—Did you come to know that the Kirkee police had given protection to Gopal?

The Court disallowed the question.

Mr. Nagarvala met Gopal on the evening of February 5, when he was brought from Uksan. Witness did not produce Gopal before any Magistrate at Poona but produced him at Bombay within 24 hours of his arrest.

Mr. Nagarvala had always maintained a lock-up register for this case. Mr. Pinto, Deputy Inspector of Police, used to be at times present when witness interrogated Digambar Bidge. He recorded the statements of witnesses in ordinary sheets of paper.

With the conclusion of Mr. Nagarvala's evidence, it is understood that all the required evidences have been heard. The court will now hear the debate between the defence counsel and counsel for the Crown.

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THE NEW PRESIDENT OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

DR. PATTABHI SITA RAMAYYA, who has been elected President of the Jaipur session of the Indian National Congress, is one of the oldest and foremost Congressmen. After passing the B.A. examination, he qualified as a medical practitioner and set up private practice at Masulipatam in 1906. Soon after, he joined the Indian National Congress. While at Masulipatam, he interested himself in national education and was one of the founders of the Andhra Jatiya Kalasala, a national college unaffiliated to the University and unconnected with the Government.

Dr. Pattabhi has been a member of the A.I.C.C. since 1916. In 1919 he founded the 'Jama bhoomi', a nationalist English weekly, and published the paper uninterruptedly till April, 1939, when he joined the salt Satyagraha and was imprisoned for one year. He took an active part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He also served another sentence for six months in October, 1933.

Dr. Pattabhi was a member of the Congress Working Committee almost uninterruptedly from 1929. He contested for Congress Presidency with Sri Subhas Chandra Bose in 1939, and was defeated by 204 votes.

Dr. Pattabhi was the President of the All-India States People's Congress and presided over the Karachi and Gwalior sessions of



Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

the State People's Conference in 1936 and 1947 respectively. He is also interested in the progress of banking and insurance in the country and has founded several banking and insurance companies.

He is also a prolific writer. Besides many articles in various periodicals all over the country, he has many authoritative publications to his credit, of which the following are very well-known:

"National Education" (1912), "Indian Nationalism" (1913), "Redistribution of Indian Provinces on a Language Basis" (1916), "The History of the Indian National Congress" (published by the Working Committee of the Congress on the occasion of the 50th anniversary in 1931).

N.I.C. RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were unanimously passed at the Working Committee meeting of the Natal Indian Congress held at Durban on Sunday, November 28:—

"This Working Committee meeting of the Natal Indian Congress congratulates the successful candidates in the recently held elections of Native Representatives in the House of Assembly and the Senate. This meeting further notes with deep gratification the solid manner in which the African people have overwhelmingly rejected all the Nationalist Party candidates, thereby once again demonstrating the complete opposition of the non-European people against the Nationalist Government's policy of apartheid and Herrenvolkism, and their stand for full citizenship rights and democracy.

"This meeting therefore calls upon the Parliamentary representa-

tatives of the African people to put forward vigorously the demand of the non-European people for votes for all and to fight unceasingly against any attack of the Government on the meagre rights of our people."

"This meeting condemns the Minister of Interior's, Dr. Danges' appointment of a special Committee in Natal including the Chairman of the Land Tenure Advisory Board, for the purpose of receiving suggestions and representations to amend restrictively Chapter I of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, and calls upon the Natal European and Indian population not to assist this Committee, and consequently refuse to aid and abet directly the pro-fascist apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government, and halt the growth of the racialist Nationalist Party in Natal."

THE NEO-SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Jesus in his simplicity and ignorance of world affairs taught us in bygone days to love our enemies and to do good to them that hate us. Mr. J. C. Kumarappa writes in 'Harijan': "Whoever shall smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also," said the carpenter's son. But then he had not the advantage of studying modern diplomacy at the feet of His Grace Dr. Cyril Garbett, the Archbishop of York.

This second custodian of the soul of the Church of England, making his presidential address to the Convocation of York, devoted much time to define the duties of a Christian. He said:

"The Christian should support the United Nations as an attempt to limit national sovereignty. Unless the veto is restricted, the United Nations will fail, as the League of Nations has failed to preserve peace.

"The Christian must press strongly for the outlawry of the Atomic Bomb. Its use in war may result in the end of

civilisation and reversal of those who survive to primitive conditions of existence.

"In an armed world the democratic State must also be armed. Weakness and timidity encourage an aggressor, while protests and arguments excite his contempt unless behind them there stands the resolution of an armed people ready to fight, suffer and die, rather than passively submit to the murder of their nation and the enslavement of its citizens.

"In supporting the Government, in taking all necessary precautions against attack, we shall do so without hatred for any nation."

The last sentence is a master stroke to reconcile the "turning the left cheek" philosophy with the Atom Bomb diplomacy. The Hiroshima experience tells us what to expect from this doctrine. Let us pray in sackcloth and ashes: "Lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil." May God save us from such leadership.

OBITUARY

Death Of Mr. Shikhabhai Kassanjee Patel

the departed soul rest in eternal peace.

The death, after a long illness, of Mr. Shikhabhai Kassanjee Patel, took place at the age of 62, years on Monday night at his residence in Johannesburg. The late Mr. B. K. Patel was one of the founders of the Transvaal United Paridas Society. Indeed he was the soul of that Organisation. From 1933 he was the sub-Agent of the New India Assurance Co. The late Mr. Patel held an esteemed position in the Paridar community. He had played an important part in bringing about an awakening in his community to do national, social, educational and religious upliftment work in his community. In public work connected with the Indian community too, he had played a great part. His death is therefore a great loss not only to the Paridar community but to the Indian community. The cremation ceremony of the late Mr. Patel took place on Tuesday in the presence of a large crowd representing all sections of the community. He leaves behind his widow, three daughters, three sons and a large family to mourn their loss. Messages of sympathy had poured in from all over South Africa. We offer our deepest sympathy to the bereaved May

Death In Kimberley

A largely attended funeral was witnessed in Kimberley with the passing away of Mrs. N. K. Pillay, who died recently at her residence in George Street after a short illness. Mrs. Pillay lived here for the past twenty-eight years during which period she interested herself in the social and religious life of the Tamil community. She hailed from a family closely associated with the activities of Mahatma Gandhi during his sojourn in South Africa when her family was called upon to make great sacrifices. Her passing away will be a great loss to the Tamil religious and educational institutions to which she endeared herself. There was a large attendance of all sections of the community at the graveside, and a great many people travelled from all parts of the Union to pay their last tributes to the departed soul. Numerous messages of sympathy and floral tributes were received from all parts of the Union. She leaves her husband, four children and many relatives and friends to mourn her loss. Her remains were interred in the family grave in the West End cemetery.

Things In General

World Health Organisation

The following were some of the important decisions taken by the W.H.O. Regional Committee for South-East Asia, which concluded its two-day session in New Delhi recently. India's Health Minister, the Hon. Dr. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, was elected Chairman of the Regional Committee and the Hon. Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandopadhyay, Health Minister of Ceylon, was elected Vice-Chairman. Lt. Col. M. S. Datta, Director General of Health Services, Government of India, was nominated for the position of Regional Director. The other Agencies of the United Nations, which are already functioning in India, are the United Nations Information Centre, the International Labour Office, UNESCO and the F.A.O. The Committee considered the health schemes submitted by the Regional Countries, e.g. Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India and Siam, for W.H.O. Services during 1949. All these countries laid stress on measures for malaria, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, nutrition and maternity and child welfare. Services in these programmes will include teams of experts to give advice, demonstration and training in selected areas. There was also a demand for Health Units to be attached to the Regional Office in order that health propaganda films may be prepared under local conditions. A large number of fellowships have been requested in order that regional medical personnel may be placed in touch with the most modern advances in scientific knowledge, and thus be able to improve standards of teaching and of health services in the Regional countries. The cost of these fellowships from the W.H.O. will amount to approximately Rs. six lakhs. The cost of the entire recommended programme, inclusive of fellowships, amounts to approximately Rs. 20 lakhs. The Committee decided that a nucleus staff and equipment should be provided as early as possible in order that work may commence not later than January 1, 1949.

Indian Art And Culture

About 300 guests attended a reception at the Indian Embassy, Moscow recently to see the film "Kalpana," and to meet Uday Shankar and Amalanand. The guests included Mishailov, Head of the South East Asia Division of the Soviet Foreign Office and other Soviet Foreign Office officials, Gusev, Director of Cine-

matography, Gerasimov, a leading film producer, Makarova, a leading Cinema Actress, Shaporin, the famous composer, Emiliyev, editor of the "Literary Gazette" and Kuzminsky, of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Twenty seven heads of Diplomatic Missions attended the function including Ambassadors of the U.S.A., Roumania, Poland, Italy, Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Iran, Afghanistan, and Ministers of Syria, Finland, China, Korea and Egypt. The film, covered high prices, the audience being much impressed by the wealth and variety of Indian art and the grace and beauty of the dances. From all accounts the function was an outstanding success and a valuable contribution towards promoting better knowledge and understanding of Indian art and culture.

Medical Education Facilities Abroad

A general meeting of the Upgrading Committee of the All-India Medical Institute was held in New Delhi recently presided over by the Health Minister. A report of the work done so far by the Upgrading Committee was given by the Secretary of the Committee, Lt. Col. R. Vishwanathan. Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, President of the Committee, who had recently gone abroad on a deputation, addressed the meeting and spoke about his impressions regarding post-graduate education in the U.S.A. and the U.K. He said that facilities available in America for gaining practical experience, as far as medical science was concerned, were far superior to those available in the United Kingdom.

Production And Marketing Of Cardamom

The average annual production of cardamom (*choili dashi*), which is virtually a monopoly of the Indian Union, is estimated at 27,000 cwts, valued at Rs. 53.5 lakhs, according to the Report on the Production and Marketing of Cardamom issued recently by the Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India. Cardamom used mainly as a spice or in medicine is grown in certain regions of the Western Ghats, in large plantations on the hills and as a secondary crop in coffee and tea estates. Of the total cultivated area of 176,000 acres, 49 per cent is in the Travancore State. Nearly 10,000 cwts, of cardamom used to be exported to many countries of

the world. Sweden was the largest consumer, with an average offtake of 25.7 per cent of total exports followed by the U.S.A. and Germany with 12.0 and 9.7 per cent respectively. Arabia and the Middle East countries have increased their offtake in recent years. Cardamom is used for making beverages with coffee and tea in the Middle East countries and the North West Frontier Province.

Indo-Argentine Food Agreement

It is understood that an exchange for Indian jute, Argentina has agreed to supply 305,000 tons of wheat. The total quantity of Argentinian wheat is expected to reach India by the end of March 1949.

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જાને ૧૯૦૧માં સ્થાપાયું.

પુસ્તાક કલેક્ટર—અંક ૪૬

શાકવતી તા. ૩ ડિસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮.

પૃષ્ઠ ૧૨૫ પાની. ૪

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શાકવતી તા. ૩ ડિસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકા

યુનાઈટેડ નેશન્સની જનરલ એમ્બલી તરફથી સાઉથ આફ્રિકાને આ ત્રીજી વાર કપકો આપવામાં આવ્યો છે અને સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકાને દરેકી પછાત કોળા સુકવાનું સુચવવામાં આવ્યું છે. મી. એરીક લોઅે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાને કેસ લકવામાં જનરલ સમીક્ષાને આંતરી દેવાની સાથે સો દકા પાત્રીથી બીડું ઝડપ્યું હતું. પરંતુ તેઓ નિષ્ફળ ગયા છે. આપણે આશા રાખીએ કે કોમન વેલ્થના અન્ય દેશોની નાથે આ દેશે કારમાં ઉભા રહેલું કેટલું આશ્ચર્ય છે એ પાઠ તેઓ રીખી ને પાછા ફરશે. જનરલ સમીક્ષા પછી યુનેામાં પોતાના પ્રથમ બનુ બન ગાઢજ અ પાઠ રીખ્યા હતા. એટલે ની. લોઅે ઉગારાઢ જતો ઉત્સાહ નમણ શકાય છે અને તેને ક્રમેવ પછી ગણી શકાય. દરેકીશીપ કર્મીઓમાં તેમણે કહેલા પહેલા આપણની સરખામણીમાં મી. લોઅે જનરલ એલેમ્બલીનાં કહેલાં બીજા આપણના ધ્વનીમાં આશ્ચર્ય જનક ફેર પડી ગયો હતો અને એ પરીવાર એક આનંદની સાત ગણાય, “યુનાઈટેડ નેશન્સને સહકાર આપવા અને તેની નાથે રહી કામ કરવા અમે ધન્યવાદ છીએ,” મી. લોઅે કહ્યું અને વધુ માં કહેયું કે “હીંદના ડેલીગેટ અમારા પ્રાત્રીપર બહુ વિશ્વાસ સુકવા ના. અને તેને બહુ ખેદ થાય છે, અમે આ દેશ નો વહીવટ અલાવતા આવ્યા છીએ તેવી રીતે વસ્તીના સપાળા વગોના કિતાથે ચલાવવા માગીએ છીએ. હું આશા રાખું છું કે અમારી મુળ નિષ્ઠાપર ટેલીગેટો વિશ્વાસ રાખશે.

સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની આબરૂની કસોટી થઈ રહી છે. અન્ય દેશો ની બદલુવા વહોરવાં જેવું અમે કશું કરીએ એ અશ્વ નથી.”

આને માટે અમે એટલુંજ કહી શકે કે “આપાશ, મી. એરીક લો. તમારા શબ્દો જેવુંજ ને તમારે આશ્ચર્ય કરો નો સમણ આપે આપજ સાર થઈ રહેશે.” સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના તાજના સુત્રી ઓની બોડ એ છે કે તેઓનું આ અરણ તેઓના શબ્દોને કળો દેનાર હોય છે એટલુંજ નહિ પરંતુ શબ્દો ઉચ્ચારવામાં પણ તેઓ વળા બેધરવા રહે છે. કાખલા નવીકે ડા. મલોને જે વસ્તુ કહેલી હોવાનું આપા સાઉથ આફ્રિકા માં પ્રસિદ્ધ કયુ હતું તે ને તેમ બે કહેલી નહિ હોય, જેના કાંઈ નહિ તો પછી અર્થ તેા એવો અતોજ હતો કે, “હનીયાબલે ગમે તે કહેતી, સાઉથ આફ્રિકા સાઉથ-વેસ્ટ આફ્રિકાનું યુનીયન નાથે બેડાણ કરી દેવાનુંજ છે.” તો અહે કામાં સહેલો અને અગરૂ બેયો માર્ગ તેમને માટે એજ હતો કે જે સાધને તેમને અન્યાય કરેલો કોષોના નેમની વતી ઠાવો કરવા આ આપે છે તેજ સાધનનો તેને ફર ક દેવાને તેમણે ઉપયોગ કરવો જોઈતો હતો. જે અખબા રાએ તેમને વિષે બોટો હેવાલ પ્રસિદ્ધ થયો હતો એજ અખબારો માં તેમણે સુધારે પ્રસિદ્ધ કરાવેા હતો, જેમ એલીવલ નોથમાં ની, હોફમેયર કાંઈક બોલેલા તેના સંબંધમાં તેમણે ગેર અઅભુતી ફર કરવા તાખડોતોજ સુધારો કરી નાખ્યો હતો તેવા સુધારાના અખાથે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના અને હીંદના લોકો અને યુનેા માટેના હીંદના ડેલીગેટ યુનીયન સરકારે

આપણી રહેડાની કે કેપીસ પ્રાત્રીને કલકે રાકાની મજાદે અથ તો તેવા તેઓને શો હોય કેમકે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાને જે કાંઈ પણ કહેલું હોય આ કાંઈક હોય તેનો નેમ કેવે નેવો અર્થ કરવા નો આખરે અધિકાર તો તેનાજ રહ્યો. દીટલર જે કરેના કતો તે કરી નાખ્યા પછી પણ કહેલું હોવાનું કબુલ કરતો નહોતો. એટલે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની હાલની સરકાર શું કહે છે એ એટલું બધું જોવાનું નથી પરંતુ તે શું કરે છે એ જોવાનું છે. આ દ્રષ્ટિએ જોતાં યુનેાએ કાગાળજ પસાર કરેલા કરાવની કેટલી કોમલ કરી શકાય એ એક પ્રશ્ન છે. મી. એરીક લો. કહે છે કે સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની આબરૂની કસોટી થઈ રહી છે પરંતુ દીટલરશાહી સાઉથ આફ્રિકાની સુડમાં કસાયેલા વળારો મુગા માનવીઓના જાનોની કસોટી થઈ રહી છે તેનું.

માતૃભૂમીની કુંક વાતચે

હું સીમર દાવરીયામાં માતૃભૂમીની કુંક વાતચે કર્યું હતું. મુજબ બાપુની કલ્પ કરાં પ્રત્તાપી મુશ્કેલીયા પસે કોવાનું નાથે માટે નમોજુ થ તણી હોઈ અંતર પ્રસાદ અને નમની પ્રથમ વર્ષના પ્રસંગે આ બેચી રહી છે, અને સાથે સાથે ચાહુ માસની આખરીએ જયપુરમાં મળનારી કેશિસની બેઠક જે આઝાદ હિંદની પહેલી કેશિસ હોઈ એક અધિતિ-કાનિક પ્રસંગ થઈ પડશે તેમાં કાળજ રહેવાનો સાળ ઉઠાવવાનું અને ને સાથે જમતની શાંતી પરિપદ હિંદમ. નવાનાર હરી તેમાં પણ કાળજ રહેવાનો સાળ લેવાનું નકકી કયું. પરંતુ સાંતી પરિપદ તે માટે જનમસીએ વાડ

તુરનને માટે મુલતબી રહી છે. વળી નિવસો હોઈશ ન દરમીયાન સાઉથ આફ્રિકાના નો મળવાની રાજકીય નેમણ સામાન્ય પરિ સ્થિતિની પણ મળના સરકારી પ્રધાનો તેમજ નેતાઓની નાથે અચી કરવાનો અને તેઓની મા-સાલ અને હેલ્થપણનાં પણ સાળ કઈ રાકીશ. ‘ઈન્ડિયન ઓપીનિયન’ના સંકાયકો તેમજ મુલેયક કેને વદન કરતાં મારાં કાલ્-મા તેઓના આશિવાદની અભિ-લાપા એવું કુ. અને મારા રાખું છું કે આ મુરને નેમજ કીનીકસ સંસ્થાને જે ઉઠાવતાથી તેઓ સહાયતા આપતા આવેલા છે તે મારી કુંક સમયની ચેરદાવરી દરમીયાન આપતા રહેશે. એટલું રપમટ કરવાની કુંકરે જોયુ ન કે નાટાલે ઇન્ડિયન ઇન્ડિયનના એક કેપ-પ્રમુખનું નરીકે પદ ધરાવું છું મારો છતા આ પ્રસંગે મારા અંગત દરજ્જાએજ મજા રહ્યો છું અને કેશિસની વતી જોલ-વાની કરી અના કમ જતો નથી.

મર્જીલાલ ગાંધી

પ્રથમવતી સલાની અરણ મુજબાન પ્રાનિક પ્રભાવની સલાઅ મુળ સરકારને નિચલી અરણ કરી છે. ૧. ગાય નોકરીના નીવમતો કસમ ૧૩૫ તથા બોનાં મોજારો પારો તત્કાળ રદ કરો. ૨. બપુમતી કલ્પમતીતે બીડે નહો તેવા પારાઓ પડો. ૩ અમારી મારી કામની કયાને વિકસાવવા માટે જરૂરી મદદ કરો. મારી કામના ઉછોમો રક્ષાપી હીંદના ઉપયોગી મુલકોઓને વિકસાવવા કાપુને સહાય કરો. ૪. વસવામાં, વેડીયા, વસામ વાઓને રાજકોરણથી અલોખ રાખ કાના બહુમતી અને મુર્ખાવારીઓ નરે થી રચાતા ચેતરાઓ અટકાવો. ૫. તમામ પ્રજાવન પ્રજાકીય સર કારમાં સ્વમાન હકનો અધીકારી છે એ સિલોનની કમે અચેક જતી વા બપુની માત્રને સ્વમાનરીક પ્રજા વળ નરી જરવાના કમજ રક્ષા કરો.

એક રમુજ પ્રસંગ

પ્રત્યેક સાંતિનિકેતન વસતીની શરૂઆત તે આવી પાડે નથી. શિક્ષકોને વિદ્યાર્થીઓ, નરને વાદી, ગુરુ ગુરુ રવીન્દ્રનાથ ટાગોર સુદરે આગળ કેલ્સુદ જણાતા હતા. પશ્ચિમ ગંગાકર ત્યાં નેકર સાથે ગાંધીજી સાંતિનિકેતનની પાળ દિવસની યુદ્ધાકાંતે આગળ હતા.

અનિચિદ્દ ગુરુતરુ જ નવપાર પશુ હતું. સાંતિનિકેતન દર્શન કરતે આસપાસના મોટામાંથી લોકોનો એકોરોળો નાકરક ધ્રુવરાવાના ને સાંતિનિકેતન રથન-સાંતિનિકેતનની સાંતી ને રમીપ ને આગ ચલાવતે; એટલે અંદાજરત ને આવસ્યા કાંતે એક સ્વયંસેવકરણ પશુ ધ્રુવ કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું. ગુરુતરની મુદર નાની કુદીર આગળ મહામણે પા પશ્ચિમજી સ્વાગત થવાનું હતું. સ્વાગત પાદ દરબાના તાર રમુજનું પી મુકે એવા સાંતિનિકેતનનાં કપડાંપર નીતો આત્મ વિદ્યાર્થીઓને વિદ્યાર્થીનીઓ સાથે ગાંધીજીને મરપમ આકારે અનિચિદ્દ આવી સમ જવાના હતા.

અનિચિદ્દમાં એક અંદ ગાંધીજી માટે ખાસ ગવસાદો રાગવામાં આવ્યો હતો. નરદસાથે એમના કામ નીચે નાલીસ પામેસા તથા સાંતિનિકેતનના સુમસિ- 'હસાજવા'ના અર્થે કુશળ કાગકારે પ એ અંતે મરકાથો-સાગ વ્યો હતો. અને થી મોકર મુદરના એમણે ઉભા કરી હતી! ઉપયોગમાં કાંધીજી વરુઓ ને સાવ સારી હતી, નરપક્ષ, કુસ મીનરેથી કાવના કુસ-કાની, ને કાંધે છાપેથી ખાતી.

પશુ એટલાથી એ આ ખાંતી મુદર તાનુ પાળ કરવાર પ્રેક્ષક 'પાલ' પુકારી થી

પરેષા પ્રમાણે ગાંધીજી આગળ જતારકસાદ, મદારેવ દેસાઈ તથા આદીપ્રતિજ્ઞાના સતીયજીપશુ પશુ એમ ની સાથે હત

ગુરુતરની કુદીર આગળનાં આગળ સમારેવ બધા હતા. સાંતિનિકેતનના સિરસા પ્રગણે મોહિક મામાથી એ કાયામાં આવ્યો હતો. ગુરુ ગુરુતરે તરે ગાંધીજીના કપાળ ઉપર અંદ ને કુમકુમનાં અર્ચન કરી અને અનિચિદે બંદપા. આંખોએ 'હુ હુ હુ હુ'ના તપ મોર કરી આ મરુતની સમાપ્તિ પાદ ગુરુ ગુરુતર મંગલને અનિચિદ્દે દોરી ગયા. પ્રમેકને પોત પોતાના અલાપેદા નિવસમાં જતાવી દેવામાં આવ્યો.

પાપ મરિજ અકમ નજાર કરેલ અંદમા ગુરુતર એમને સમ ગર્ભ ઉમરામા રાખત થતાર અંદર અંદરુત મુનરવર અને ગાંધીજીએ રહી કરી ને ગુરુતર પાલનિચાદ કરી પડ્યા.

અંદે આ 'હુ' રા' એમણે કરું. 'આ રમુજેમાં હુ ક્યાંથી' ગુરુતર પશુ પીનારમાં સામેય થયા. મોખા:

પાપાપુ: આપ અંદે કવિતા નિવાસ

રથનમાં છે એ પીસરેથી નહિ. પશુ એમ કંઈ ગાંધીજી જોજાજ મુજર આપે! 'પશુ આ - રમુજેમાંની 'ક્યા' હયા છે?' મુજર આંદ સાથે એમણે પ્રમ કયો.

નારીસમાજ પાં કાજર હતો. એમ ના મુળ પર સત્તમ કરી વળી પરદા ગુરુતરને જાનર પશુ તપવાર જ હતો.

'સામાની નવપોવના-અમારો કમવા તો મહારાસી આ 'સાંતિનિકેતન' આ પનું સ્વાગત કરે છે.'

'પશુ અરેખર સાંતિવિદ્યા આ અનિચિત્ત સાથે પીજતાર જોવાની એ પોવના દરકાર સરખા એ લેશે ખરી કે?'

'કેમ નહિ જુએ!' ગુરુતરે પ્રસાર પાળ્યો. 'આને કેટલેય વોયો અમારી વાપુનિ સત્ત પર અપાર રોકે કે- સાંતા કાંધા આ વોયો ફરમિયાન મુકત મને એણે સત્તની પૂજા કરી છે.'

'અરેખર,' પાપુ મોખા: 'ત્યારે નો પડેસા રાંતવાળા આ જુદા માટે પે થોડી આસા જેવું પાં, નહિ?'

એને આવા જ સામસામા વિનોદ પાદ ગુરુતરે માનરના મહેમનોની વીદ્ય સાંધી. અનિચિત્તોએ પોત પોતાના મર સામાનની વપરવા કરવા માંડી.

ખીજે દિવસે વહેલે પરાંદિથે અનિચિત્તોનાં સુખ-સવલત પ્રવામાં છે કે તદિ તે લેવા માટે ચરમસલકર કાળજી સમ, ગુરુતર અનિચિત્ત તરક મયા. એમના મહેમનો નો કપારના એ ગતી મયા હતા. સવારના સાગ ચારે ગાંધીજી અને એમની મંદાએ સિરસા પ્રમાણેની પ્રમના પુરી કરી હતી. એટલે ગુરુતર પાં પહેંચ્યા ત્યારે દરેક નિવસનિગના કપમાં તપીત ખતી મણ હતું. કાથપોજીપશુ ક પીજવાની કળા સતીયજીપશુ વિદ્યાર્થી-વિદ્યાર્થીની-ઓને પ્રત્યક્ષ કરી ખતાવતા હતા. કાથ પીજણનો અવાજ ગુરુતરને સમપર વાથ સમેટ કથંમિય સામે.

એટલે જ સતીયજીપશુને એમણે પ્રમ કયો: 'આમમવાપાને ને સિતારને સરમાવવોતો એવ રમ્યો છે કે શું?'

પીજતુ એક ટાણું મહારેવ દેસાઈને વીટળાઈ વણુ હતું. આ કુશનેતે મહારેવજાજ સુતર કાંતવાનું મીંચવના હતા.

નિરીક્ષણ કરતા કરતા ગુરુતર મહા-માણના ખંદ આગળ આવી પહેંચ્યા. કે, કે, પશુ એમણે એ નેતુરું શ્રમ વરેતો સમજો સમમાર અતલવપરત વેરોમેયો પડેલો હતો. ગાંધીજી કમેસા પુજારમાં જ સુતા ડોપતી પકારે વગા રીમા પુજા આકારણને એમના પક્ષ ને સમ જવામાં આવ્યો હતો. માટી ની કુશદની ને પાથો અંદ કંઈ મુજા મં પડેથી દેવામાં આવ્યું હતું. એને

અરે તે રથને અરના ને શાંતીની કમલો પડ્યો હતો.

હવે મહારી કરવાની તક ગુરુતરને મળી.

રોમ કરતા મહારમેયા રવ એ મોખા:

'હવે રામ! હવે રામ! અહીંનો રંગ મહેલ ને હમે અમાં વરેવાત નો અણે અહીં દેખાવ છે પશુ વરુદાધી વિચારો કંઈ કાગી મવા કે શું?'

હરિજનોનો મંદિરપ્રવેશ

હરિજનો પાળ ગયા કિંદુઓની થી મંદિરમાં દર્શન કરવા અંદે હો છે, એવો કાપેદા થયો છે. તેમાં કરીક પારી થોધીને, અમદાવાદના પર અહીંના સ્થામીનારાવણ મંદિરે ઉપરના કાવકને કેટ દારા નકાગો કરી હતો. હવે એ પારી ધારાસભાઈ સોડી સીધી છે અને 'મંદિર' સમજની આવ્યા વધારે કોકસ કરી સીધી છે. કે નેવો બાટીખરી છટકપારી ન નીકળી રાં. મોકે નવસોનું અને સનાતનોઓનું નો અર્થ પુઠો!

આ કાપેદા ચવાની સાથે, જાપાના-થી તાણુપા મળે છે કે, સુવતસ કેટ-સાંકે મંદિરનાં બારણાં ખંધ થયાં. અને એમ 'રેવરસ'ની કુશનોમાં પાડો મોહાઉટ શ્રમ થયો છે. સ્થામીનારાવણ મંદિરવાળા હવે શું કરે છે તે નેવાનું છે, ગુરુતર સનાતની હોપને લે મંદિરે બંધ જ કરે ના કિંદુ મંદિરની ને અનિ વસતીના પ્રમ છે, ન કેટલોક કમ થવા જાશે. કિંદુએ દરેકોઓની જ નહિ, તેમને મંદિરનાં મંદોરમ પશુ સંખ્યાના બાળનમાં પશુ મેપરવા છે. એક મહારેવ જ એમ માનવા પડે, તાજે અનંકનોરે દેવો અને તેમનાં મંદિરે વધારે જ મનાનો અને એસનો પશુ એક મોટી સંસાર કમી તેમની વાતા રચીતે મનોરંજન કરવાના પરવાનો મળ્યા થોપ, એમ આપણે વતીએ છીએ, આ વરુ અખ્યાત દરિએ પશુ વિચારવા જેવી છે. સમાજકોરેમા આપણે નાત-તાનતો મોટીમેટીવધેવાર અને બુતાપ નની અકમ પાસાંપી રમી, અને એમ કદવરતા બેદવાદી બધા નેમ જ અપાતમક્રમમાં દેવદેવીએ જોઈ કયો અને નાતવગત-વાર કે કોમ આ ગોપ કે સંપ્રદાયવાર એમને વહેંચી થા લાંપ એમ મોટી વધેવાર જગમ્યા. કિંદુ થર્મ અને સમાજનું મરણ આ કુટરમાં સંનાયું છે પશુ રમુજા કે જેતેવ મંદિરો એ વધ્યા કરે, તેો તેમની અનિવસતી જ એક સામાજિક

ગુરુતરના આકારે કાંતે જોવા થતા ગાંધીજીએ અંદાજાદ કરતા મનાંકનો ઉપર પાળ

કે પહેલાં જ તમને મળવણી નહોતી આપી, કે આ કમ્ય મારા નેવર માંત વિદ્યોધા જુદા સામે નોવાની દરકર નહિ કરે!

આવા જ તુલ્ય વિનોદના નામસામ કોવર ને પાણુતર થતા રમ્યા. આપણ ને એમ સામે તાણુ રંગ-વત જ મેનાક ને સંભાળતા નહીં હોય!

છ. રામચંદ્રને

મવામ પેસ કરે. દરિજન દર્શનાર્થે-એને કારણે જો નામનાં પળાં મરી તાપ, તેો તેથી તેના પર કારી અસર થાય અને આપણા અપવાત નિકારમાં પશુ કીક હાલો થત હો.

પરદેખુ સાથે કથકેર

મુખ્યની ધારાસભામાં થા. કમસિદ્ધ ધારીએ પરદ-નિરેધનો કાવર કરવાનું કામ રજુ થયું. વરના (અને નકાકે નાનોમાં કન્યાને) વગાતા લેધે પડે એવી નવપયા કિંદુ સમાજમાં મારે છે. તેથી કોમ પશુ એક પગર ખતી તપ એ અને હવે કન્યાતા કાવે પડે છે ને વતઅત પ્રમાણે તે ઉપર વવામાં આવી છે. જિવરે પળાં જ પાનામ આમકતા જ જેનારા થોક-સવાદી સિકાને આથી માટે સમર્થન મળે આ; હરંગ આપણી માનવતાને આ વરુ પાદે જ જ. ખતી તે માં છે; બને ક સામે કાવનાથી કામ નેક પડે એવી નોગ મારે જ. પરંતુ ધારાસભામાં નેવસ આવ્યું એ ખાં છે કે, કેવળ કાવના કામ નહીં રહે; તેને મરે પુર્વે કોકમત મેલમે. એમ નથી કે કોકમત નથી. પરંતુ તે મેલમે તેને જીમ નથી એ સમજ છે. પરદેખના કોમ આગળ કોક રાક થદ તપ છે. નવાતની વાવ એ છે કે, નવજુવાનો પશુ એમ જ આકર્ષી છે, તદિ તેા તમા જો ધારે તા થોડા વખતમાં મરેખને તા નાણુ કરી રાં સમે કરતા કરાતવાને માટે કામ તેલમે યોજું ને દોણું વેખમે. તદિ તેા આ નાંર સવારને ને થોણું પડે છે, કેમ કે એ અજાતપ રીતસાંધી ગાંધી કે આકરતરી અનિ કોનાતઓ અને સારીકરે પડાવ પેસ થાય છે. અને તેના સામ જતિ અને સમાજને બનવું પડે છે.

સનાતનારે દેસાઈ
આક્રમ બજાવવડી
ગાંધીજીએ આક્રમવાર પાળ મુદર
સનાતનારે દેસાઈ રાં. કે. કે.

હિંદના નવા રાષ્ટ્રપતિ

ડા. પદ્માભિ સીનારાયેયા

જ્યેષ્ઠપુર આલે મળનારી હિંદી રાષ્ટ્રીય મહાસભાના પ્રમુખપદ માટેની નીચે રસાક્રાંતિથી સુદૃઢી પૂરી થઈ ગઈ છે અને પીટ કાપેલી નવા રાજવંશની સત્તાના અધારથી ડા. પદ્માભિ સીનારાયેયા હિંદના નવા રાષ્ટ્રપતિ બન્યા છે. ૧૯૪૧થી આજ સુધીમાં હિંદિસની માન એક ૧૦ પુણી એક બરાબર છે, એ દુષ્ટિએ ડા. પદ્માભિને પ્રમુખપદે મળનારી એક એક રાષ્ટ્રીય આત્મા હિંદની પહેલી ભેટ મળ્યો.

હિંદિસના સુદેર ઇતિહાસ સમનાર. ડા. પદ્માભિ સીનારાયેયાના ૧૮૮૦ ના નવેમ્બરની રજાની વારીએ જન્મ થયો હતો અને માત્ર ૧૮ વર્ષની ઉંમરથી તેમણે હિંદિસની સાથે સંપર્ક પામી દિધા હતા. ૧૮૯૮માં તેઓ જ્યારે બી. એ.ના રસાસમાં ગણ્યા હતા ત્યારે તેઓ, હિંદિસના રાજાસંપર્ક તરીકે જાણાતા હતા એમની વિદ્યાર્થી અવસ્થાના વર્ષો તેમણે ગદ્યાસની હિંદિસ ધનુ ડેસેલ અને નવાના ડેસેલમાં મળ્યાં હતાં. આ પદ્માભિ ૧૯૦૦માં ડા. પદ્માભિ બન્યા અને પાત્ર થયા પછી તરત જ તેમણે ખાનગી જાણનાં શરૂ કરી હીમુ કલામનું ગદ્યાવવાની પ્રવૃત્તિ તમણે દસ વર્ષ રડી ગઈ અને પછી તેમણે એ પ્રવૃત્તિને એકલો બંધા ચાક કાઢ્યો કે તેમણે ગદ્યેર છવનમાં અંપણવવાનો નિશ્ચય કર્યો અને ગદ્યેર છવનની પહેલા પદ્માભિ રામી મળાની નવરામના સુખપદ માટેની જોડવારી નોંધાવવાનો નિશ્ચય કર્યો ૧૯૧૨ થી ૧૯૨૧ સુધી તેઓ તેમના પત્નિ સહાયકમાં સુધરામના સભ્ય તરીકે માણ રહ્યા હતા. ૧૯૧૧ ના અક્ટોબરમાં તેઓ હિંદિસની મહા-સમિતિના સભ્ય તરીકે સુદૃઢા દાના અને તે હિંદિસથી આજ સુધી એકલો કે છેલ્લા ૩૩ વર્ષથી તેઓ ગદ્યાસમિતિ નિધા સભ્ય તરીકે દરેક સુદૃઢા જ જાણ છે.

૧૯૧૬માં હિંદમાં મોન્ટેગુ-ચેમ્સ-ફોર્ડ સુધારા અમલમાં મુકામાં આવ્યા તે પહેલાં એ સુધારાને અજાણી બનાવવા માટેની સુધારા કેવી જ વળી નવાસ કરતા હિંદિસ સરકારે ૧૯૧૮માં રાષ્ટ્રીયપરિષદ ઇન્કિલાબ નીચે દબા આ ઇન્કિલાબ સમય જુલાની આગલાનું નામ આપે પચિસે ડા. પદ્માભિને સીધું હતું.

૧૯૨૨માં ડા. પદ્માભિની સુધારા અંગેની પ્રવૃત્તિ પૂરી થઈ અને તેમણે સહકારી પ્રવૃત્તિમાં અંપણાયુ. ૧૯૨૧ માં તેઓ આજ પાત્રીય સહકારી નિધાના પ્રમુખ બન્યા હતા.

એ પછી આજ વર્ષે એકલો કે ૧૯૨૬માં હિંદિસ ગદ્યાસનીના સભ્ય બન્યા હતા અને ત્યારથી આજ સુધી (પ્રસંગોપાત પહેલા ગાળાઓ ન મળી એ તો) તેઓ હિંદિસ ગદ્યાસનીના પ્રમુખ રહ્યા છે.

૧૯૨૬માં કરાયા ખાતે મળેલી અખિલ હિંદ રાજવંશના પ્રમુખપદના તેમણે પહેલી વાર પ્રમુખ બન્યા હતા એ પહેલાં અને એ પછી તેઓ ૨૧૦૨ રવાની પ્રવૃત્તિ આગાડી માટેની કાન સાથે માત્ર સંપર્ક રાજના આવ્યા બ. એ વરસે પણ તેઓ રાજવંશની પ્રવૃત્તિ પરિપક્વતા પ્રમુખ હતા. હવે ૫૦૦ કરતાં વધુ વયુ રાજવંશીઓ મરાવાના હિંદના નકરો ગદ્યાસ સુકરો છે. રાજવંશી દેવપાદનો પ્રમુખ વયુ ડેસેલાર્થ થયો છે. એકલો રાજવંશી હોય માત્ર કરાણું રહ્યું નથી. આથી ડા. પદ્માભિ-એ હિંદિસના પ્રમુખપદ મારે હોવા રહેવાનો નિશ્ચય કર્યો હતો તેઓ પુરોષોત્તમસાહુ ટકા સાચીને એ પર માટેની હરિદાસનાં સવરના નીકળા બ.

ડા. પદ્માભિની પ્રવૃત્તિ માત્ર રાજ-કારણના સંપર્ક જ મળાથી કે એમ નથી. તેમણે રાજવી સિદ્ધિયુના સંપર્ક, મામ-સાહકના સેલ અને સહકારી એકા નવા વીમા અંપણીઓના પ્રેમ વયુ અંગીન કામ કયું છે. ૧૯૨૬માં તેમણે અખિલ ગદ્યાસરસાસનાં બની આજ રાખાનું સંચાલન કરવાનું માથે લીધું હતું. આ કારણે જ ૧૯૪૪ વર્ષી તેમણે કયું હતું.

ડા. પદ્માભિ ઇતિહાસના અન્ય અણકાર છે તેમણે રાષ્ટ્રપતિ ભાવણી. હિંદના રાષ્ટ્રવાદનો નિહાસ, પ્રવિત્તી બનપદના વગેરે અંગે પછી પુરુષો સખ્યા છે. તે કે મહાસભાના પાત્ર કારણના તેમના પુરુષો તેમને સૌથી વધુખ્યાલિ આપી બે ના પુરુષમાં હિંદના રજાન્ય સંચાલનો કરીયા બનિહાસ છે. કાકર સાદેખમાં વિગોદની દસ વયુ સવસ છે એ, કાકરના તેમણે અકમલનમરના કિલ્લાના વિપાસના કે સંચારવળી સખ્યા છે. ૧૯૧૮માં જ નાતે કારણના તેમણે પાત્ર રાતે વળી માપ બ.

આવણા હિંદિસ નેતાઓની માત્ર કાકર સાદેખ તેમની ૨૮ વર્ષની કામ રસા અણકાર વારી જણા. ૧૯૪૫ આવ્યા છે. આવા અણકાર અને હિંદ આગે વાળના કાથમાં આજ હિંદિસનું સુકાન સોંપાય છે.

મી. હેક્ટરમેપરના જુલાસો પ્રમુખ આગાડીએ જુલાસો પાટીની કેડ ઓરીસ તરફથી એક નિવેદન કર વામાં આવ્યું કે મી. ને. એમ. હેક્ટરમેપર જણાવે છે કે એકીવસ નોંધમાં તેમણે એક કહેલું હેલાનો ગોરો હેલાસ પ્રસિદ્ધ થયો છે કે જુલાસો પાટી સુકામાં આવે તો તે રાં કરે મા ન કરે એ કહેવાનો તેમને હોય છે નથી. જે બન્યું હતું તે એ કે, જુલાસો પાટી સુકામાં આવે તો હોડીઓને પાસોમેન્ટમાં પ્રવિત્તિ-ધીવ-આપવા વીરે તે રાં કરે એવો મી. હેક્ટરમેપરને સવાલ પુછવામાં આવ્યો હતો, તેનો જવાબ આપતાં તેમણે જણાવ્યું હતું કે જુલાસો પાટી એ સુદૃઢી પહેલાંયે રાતે ૧૯૪૨ ના કાપમાં જણાવી રહેલી એમ કહીને પોતાની નીતી દર્શાવી હતી. ગદ્યાસ તેમણે બીજો સવાલ પુછવામાં આવ્યો છે તે રાં તે હરી પાછો લાખા કરડી નવા જણામાં મી. હેક્ટરમેપરે કયું કે અજા સવાસનો જવાબ તેમણે આપી નથી કદાચ પરંતુ તેમના પોતાનો મત

એવો છે કે પાટીએ વાકેર કરેલા પોતા ની જિવંદગી નીતી મુજબ થવું જોઈએ.

પરે સુખ

પ્રમુખ મારે તેવી રીતનાં કાળાધાવ્યાં કરી પેલા મેળવી બનવાનું બનેલા હોયો તે સુધી હોવા ને બનવાનું રેખાવા વીરો આપને રાં કહેવાનું છે. હિંદને મદવાની આજે જગત પર અકર થઈ છે. એનાથી હિંદ પણ અકમ રહી શકતું નથી. બનને બર્મમાં હા જણત મહાવ એકાંત મળી રહ્યું છે. એકલોય પેલાકર માખસની સમાજમાં. અને પ્રમ સંસ્થામાં મદવા રમાગીત થાય છે. આજે પાલવેબો સુખ મનાય છે તેથી આમ રેખાય છે. પરંતુ વરગુન: જે બનીક પાસે નીતિ અને અંતર સુકાની મુદી નથી, તેનું અંતરનું છવન બારે કુલધીન રહે છે. આવી કુલધીનતા વધુ અને વધુ અધ:પતનને આજે રોડી બાપ છે.

જુનીથી સંત્યાસણ,

—હોડ સરકારે વયુ અખ્યાસ અજે દરિયાપરે ગોકરેલા ૧૨૦ જેટલા રાજવંશીઓ ૧૨૦ જેટલા અખ્યાસ સુધીમાં પાણ કર્યો છે. આ પેકીના ૮૫ જેટલાને અનુકુળ નોંડરીઓ આપ રાખા આવી છે.

S. A. Produce Of All Kinds Always In Stock.

TELEPHONE 26298.
P.O. BOX 2156.

TEL. ADD :
"BHABHANS."

K. HARIBHAI,
(ESTABLISHED 1905)

Grain And Produce Merchant.
Wholesale & Retail.
SPECIALIST IN DRIED BEANS, POTATOES, ONIONS, GINGER AND GARLIC.

81-81A VICTORIA STREET,
DURBAN.

પુરા ખખર

અમારે ના નીચે મુજબનો માપ પછોજ રાષ્ટ્રીય દીવા સહકર.

આ : મી.હિંદિસનાં પ્યાર કલેઈ પ્રેમ પીવામાં ખુશખોદાર

દીવા : આગાડીના ૧૯૪૨ના કાપક સુધીયથી જરૂર સહકારી વાપરે

સ્વાદીય, અને જાનને અમારી નાતે વાપરેલા નો નીચેની કાદે પાવક મેરી નાંક.

મમ, અડક, અણક, અણકાણ, સુધેવકાણ, પીસેલી કણકર, સુકે, વીગેરે અમારે સ્વાદી હેલામાં મણીયાર હાથેલા થયો.

હુક ખબરો

શ્રી. લીખાબાઈ સ્મનંદ પટેલનું અવસાન

નેહાનીસખના શ્રી. બાબાબાઈ સ્મનંદ પટેલ સાથે માંદગી બોલાવી બધા સોમવારની રાત્રિ ૧૨ વર્ષની વયે શરીરજખનાં પોતાના યુકમે સ્વચ્છવાસ પામ્યા છે. સ્વચ્છવાસ દ્રાસવાસ પુત્રાન ટે પાટીદાર સોસાયટીના સ્થાપકોમાંના એક હતા. બધાં તેના આત્મા હતા એમ કહેવું ખોટું નહિ ગણાય. ઉપરાંત ૧૯૪૭ની સાલની ન્યુ ઇન્ડિયા એક્સપ્રેસ કંપનીના નેહાનીસખનાં પોતાના સખએન્ટ હતા. દાસવાસની પાટીદાર કોમમાં તેઓ અગ્રમથ તથાન ધરાવતા હતા. પોતાની કોમમાં ગણતરી આજીવામાં, રાષ્ટ્રિય ભાવના કિજવમાં અને રંગપણી, સામાજિક અને ધાર્મિક ઉત્થાન કરવાના કાર્યમાં તેમણે મોટા ફાળો આપ્યો હતો. દોઢી કોમને યમના તલેર કાચીમાં પણ તેઓ આ ગળા પડેલા બાપ હોવા હતા. તેમના અવસાનથી માત્ર પાટીદાર કોમ નેજ નહિ પરંતુ દોઢી કોમને એક ઉત્થાન કાર્ય કાળીની ખેડ ચર્ચા છે. સ્વચ્છવાસની દહનકાંઠા મંજણવારે નેહાનીસખનાં રમણાનું જુમીમાં બધા હતા જે વખતે દોઢી કોમના સખળા વર્ષના મોહોની મોટી કાન્ટરી ચાલુ હતી. સ્વચ્છવાસ પાછળ વિધવા ચચુ પુત્રોએ પણ પુજા અને પહેલાં કુટુંબને શોક કરતાં મુશી મથા છે. મુનીયનના સખળા બાંધોમાંથી તેનાપર દિલસોટના સંદેશાઓ આવ્યા હતા. સ્વચ્છવાસના કુટુંબીજના પ્રત્યે તેમજ પાટીદાર સોસાયટી પ્રત્યે તેઓને ધ્યેસી મહાન ખાતરમાં અને જીંદી દાસસાજ ધવાનીએ છાએ. સ્વચ્છવાસના આત્માને ધધર ચિરસાંતી થશે.

સ્ટેશનો ઉપર ચિત્તાંતિ બહેન
દોઢીરહેવે મોડી રહેવે સ્ટેશનો પરથી મુશીયોજન હમે માસનાં વિશાંતિયકો કાલી નાખવાનું નકરી કહ્યું છે વળી હોકુ અને મુસખમાન ચિત્તાંતિઓ, ચાના થાઓ વિજેરના બેરબાવ વળત વીજાએ

કાલી નાખી, કલન મેલ વીજામ ચાખ વામાં આવશે. અને નેનું વરગીકરણ મસાદારી અને નિશાપીવાદારી એ પ્રમાણે કરવામાં આવશે

ધારાસભામાં ચુંદાચેલા પહેલા કામ્યુનીસ્ટ

મા. એસ. કાલન કે. મરકમ બારે ધારાસભામાં નેટીવોના પ્રતીનિધી તરીકે ચુંદાયા છે. શ્રી ડી. એસ. બુખાનન (સ્વતંત્ર) જે વામ ધારાસભામાં નેટીવોના પ્રતીનિધી હતા અને શ્રી. પાનડર મરકે (નેશનલિસ્ટ) એ ખનતેતી હાર થઇ હતી. મા. કલનને મળેલા ૧૭૮૦ મતની સામે તેઓને અનુક્રમે ૧૫૫ અને ૧૬૪ મત મળ્યા હતા. શ્રી. કલન ધારાસભામાં પહેલા કામ્યુનીસ્ટ ચુંદાયા છે

પરચુરક

—મુખ્ય અમદાવાદ અને રાજકોટમાં સંનિમાં મુકેલીમિટરે—માં મિગરેટ કે વીડી ન પીવાનો કાયદો થયો છે

—નુનામડા કહેરની પાસે બે માખ ૧૧ કલર વાર જમીન ઉપર માંધી માત્ર વસાવવા મોજબા પડાય છે.

—કસકતામાં ટેલીફોન એકસેશન વડા મધકમાં રાખેલી થીપણ આત્ર મોજબા મુવેક કાવલે કોવાને મોકીસને વધેમ છે. રોડ બે કડેક કાંપીપાનું વૃક્ષાન થવાનું મનાય છે.

—હોદ જે માખ ને પુજનારો દેશ છે તેમાં "વજ જનઆ વાકરડાની વાલ" નો કિચાગ ખમ ધાકાર વાલે છે. ગાળણી માખને મારી તેના પેટમાંના વાકરડાની કાલ અને કમળું માસ મોકુ રેચા છે.

—હોદ સરકાર મેધો લોકોને પાલુ વસાવવા નિર્ણય કર્યો છે. આ મોહો નેધાન દરમ્યાન દિગરન કરી રહ્યા હતા.

—દોઢીની યધારણુ સભાએ અરકુચ નાને ગેર કાવલે કરાવી છે

હુકાન વેચવાની છે

૩૮ અંગિસ્ટ રોડ. નાવરેલ રોડસ વામાં નાવેલ કોલીપુક કાલિસ, જનરેલ મરચન્ટસ અને રાજકોટ ખંચ પોરટસ પોતાની દુકાન વેચવા માંગે છે. કબા પા મળે. પ્રાસરણરે શ્રી. વડી. પી. એલ. બોહરા ખદ. નામજક, દ્રાસવાસ.

આપુના બાને પત્રો

મહાત્મા માંધીજીએ કસ્ટર બાને લખેલા કેલાક પત્રોને આ પુસ્તકમાં સંગ્રહ છે. માંધીજી સંસારથી વિરક્ત હતાં કેલાક સંસારી હતા અને તેઓને પ્રમ કેલાક નિર્મળ હતો તેની આ પત્રોપરથી ઝાંખી થાય છે અને તે સાથે તે બોધદાયક છે.

આ ઓફીસેથી મળશે.
રૂપાક ખર્ચ સાથે કંમિત રૂ-૩.

નોંધ વી. પી. કે ઉધાર
એકરેને આન હેવામાં નહિ આવે.

INDIAN OPINION.
PHOENIX
NATAL

મહાત્મા માંધી

સ્મારક અંક

મહાત્મા માંધી સ્મારક અંક આ જોડીસે લખવાથી મળશે તેમજ નાંચે લખાવેલાં સ્વચ્છવાસની મળા કહરી :

સ્વચ્છવાસમાં
ખનંદ ૧૩૮૨૨

નેહાનીસખમાં
મા. એસ. બી. મેલ.

કેપાકાઉન
મા. બી. ડી. માખડા.

૧૦૪ મેલ રહોટ મોલે.

કંમિત રૂ. ૬. પોરેરડાની પેની ૩૫૫૫.

વી. પી. કે ઉધાર એકરેને આન હેવામાં નહિ આવે.

મુનીયન પદારના બાલકો રૂપા કરી મોંધ છે કે માત્ર મુનીયનનું ગણચુલ નવકારવામાં આવશે.

આ-આપી ૪૪૨ વાચે

બાળકોને કસ્ટર કેમ કરના ને

અમળું હોય નો નાંચે

અમારી ઇન્ડુજી શીક્ષણ ૭ ૧

કન્યાને પત્રો આ નાંચે અને

રંગાને ૪૪૨ વાંચવા નાંચે ૬ ૬

નવાં વર્ષનાં પંચાંગ

કમિત રૂ. ૫

મંજણનાગરવામાં નાવારે મોહક સાથે એક અધારા પોરટલ મોહક મોહકી આપવા રૂપા ૬૨ની. મુનીયન સિવાયના નાંચા સિવાયનામાં આવશે મોહ. મોહાર કે ૧ ૧ ૧ ૧ કોમને મોહવામાં આવશે નાંચ.

નંદાની સમજના પંચામની ૩/

મિનજર મિનિયન આપિનિયન, ફીનીકસ. નાંચાલ

માંધી પુસ્તક મળ્યા

માંધીજી અહીં હતા ત્યારે તેમણે લખેલા અને બીજા કેલાક પુસ્તકો જે ફીનીકસ સંસ્થા તરફથી પ્રગટ થયેલા છે તેવાર પુસ્તકોના સેટની પોરટલ સાથે કંમિત રૂકત રૂ. ૪-૬.

કાંચેર અને રાસો

મંજોરી કેલાક ૨૨ લખીના કાંચેર ૫ ૧
કુહી બા. ૧-૨. જન પ્રશંન
અવલો ખીતોનો સંગ્રહ પ્રત્યક્ષ ૬ ૦
પાકકુલ ૫ ૦
ગીત માધુરી રાસોના કાંચેર ૪ ૦
આશીના ૧ ૦

આ ઓફીસે મળશે.

અમારાં નવાં પુસ્તકો

સંસાર પર્ષ. એ. કીરોરલાલ મલક વાસા. ફી. ૬ ૦
સમુધી કાંતી. કીરોરલાલ. ૫
મલકવાસા ફી. ૫ ૦
સ્વચ્છવાસ આશ્રમનો પત્રીકાસ માંધીજી. ફી. ૩ ૦
લીક્ષી કાયરી માંધીજી. ફી. ૧૦ ૦

આ ઓફીસેથી મળશે.

કીતાબે

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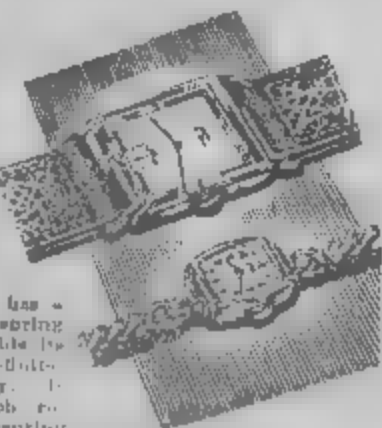
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IN 1948

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 10TH DECEMBER, 1948

Dr. Donges And The Organisation

THE Minister of the Interior, Dr. L. L. Donges had refused to recognise the Congress as the mouth piece of the Indian community and had refused to see its deputation. His reasons were that it was communisticly led and was carrying on anti-South African activities. He has however recognised the South African Indian Organisation and has granted its deputation on interview. The reply the Organisation has received from the Minister of the Interior to its representations is now of common knowledge. It leaves no room for the community to make any further representations at least to the present Government whose policy has been enunciated in the clearest possible terms. It is a challenge which should bring our people to their senses to think what their future and that of their future generations, is going to be in this country. It wants a strong hand to meet that challenge. If we have not that strength and rely on India and U.N.O. to do so, we are living in a fool's paradise. God helps those who help themselves. The struggle is ours and unless we are prepared to help ourselves no power on earth will be able to help us. We know it is easier said than done. But the time is fast drawing nearer when we shall have

to be prepared to do or die. However much the present Government may deny it, it has left no room for any doubt that it is going the way Hitler went. There is nothing reasonable just or practical in what Dr. Donges says. The repatriation of Indians and the reduction of their population to its pre-1945 level is the only solution to the Indian problem and that is to be carried out. Dr. Donges tells us in a friendly spirit. You can talk of beheading a person and at the same time claim to do so in a friendly spirit. If you talk of repatriation the question arises as to who should be repatriated and who should remain in this country. The Africans who are the real sons of the soil and therefore the rightful owners—it anybody but God can claim ownership of another earth—is this land then Europeans who have usurped this land from them—are as much liable to be repatriated. And when the question of repatriation with full compensation is raised, what is to be the judge of what is fair compensation? The party receiving the compensation should decide that and the country would be bankrupt before it has ever compensated all who are to be repatriated.

What the Government requires is only which it seems to be woefully lacking. The way it is going about it will assuredly bring no peace but misery not only to this country, but to all mankind.

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr

THE world's greatest soul known to the world as J. H. Hofmeyr has gone to his spiritual home leaving South Africa considerably the poorer for his departure. The sub-continent is not so rich, either qualitatively or quantitatively in characters that stand out as did his against an otherwise general level of drab mediocrity that we can afford to lose even one such as he. He dared to be a Daniel, and watching his strenuous strivings to obtain

at least some measure of justice and fair play for the despised non-whites, one felt that Mr. Hofmeyr like Daniel, would never much shone. He experienced the same difficulty others have encountered who have tried to fit lofty principles into the framework of political expediency but succeeded as perhaps few others have done, in reconciling his duty as a citizen with Caesar with his duty to God.

The Indian community has never failed to recognise truly great souls and to honour and reverence them for all of greatness. Among these, J. H. Hofmeyr will occupy a high place. May the Great Father be his and the All Merciful and Compassionate console and comfort his aged mother and sorrowing relatives.

NOTES

Mr. Eric Louw Waits In Vain At U.N.O.

MR. ERIC LOUW and the principal members of his delegation waited in vain for more than one and a half hours in the crowded General Committee on December 3 to hear whether South Africa's request that India's complaints should be disposed of at the Paris session, would be considered.

For an hour and 20 minutes the members of the Steering Committee exchanged ideas on whether the General Assembly should complete its work on December 11 with out coming to any decision.

Nor were they able to decide what items, including India's complaints, would still be dealt with in Paris or left over.

Mrs. Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation to the U.N.O., sent

a letter to Dr. Ewart, President of the Assembly, asking that the question of India's complaints against South Africa be taken up in Paris before the session ends.

A memorandum by the Secretary-General showed that "Treatment of Indians in South Africa" had been moved up the list of unfinished items of the Political Committee from the last position to the third, following Palestine and Korean Independence.

The following alternatives were considered. To continue the meetings in Paris beyond December 11 until the agenda is exhausted; to re-convene the General Assembly in Lake Success in a second part of the third session at a date to be agreed upon; or to postpone certain agreed items to the next session of the Assembly, and consider

some from through other procedures.

Dr. Naicker Not Going To Paris

The following statement has been issued by the Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress:

The Joint Passive Resistance Council of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress has announced that Dr. G. M. Naicker, who was elected with Dr. Y. M. Dadoo to proceed as the United Nations session in Paris, will not be leaving for Paris. The Joint Council's decision has been made because the apert task Dr. Naicker has had to undertake since his election as President of the South African Indian Congress, especially in view of the numerous threats the Indian community has been faced with recently, such as the withdrawal of family allowance the Government's intention to amend the Bantu Act of 1945, the proposed in Durban, and other measures aimed at further limiting the rights of the Indian community in South Africa. The Joint Council is satisfied that its work overseas as the United Nations being satisfactorily attended to by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and Mr. Chandra Jodwa who are in constant contact with the India and Pakistan representatives and the various delegations at the United Nations.

T.I.C. On Withdrawal Of Liquor Privileges

"The statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. M. Swart, on the withdrawal of liquor privileges from the Indian community cannot go unchallenged," says the Transvaal Indian Congress in a statement. "Liquor privileges are abused by all sections of the community and the law has machinery to deal with such violations. It is unjust that an insulting exception should be made in the case of a community which on the whole enjoys the laws of the country." The statement says that while condemning the motive for this action by the Government, Congress points out that the overwhelming majority of Indians do not want liquor rights. "Must we be total abstemious? Our religions forbid the use of intoxicating liquor. We appeal to the Indian people not to apply for permits which would allow them to get liquor for consumption in their homes." Dealing with the effect on the statement says that the liquor and catering trades afford a wide avenue of employment to Indians. No provision has been made for alternative employment and hundreds of people will be

then means of living. "By departing from the ordinary methods of punishing offenders of the law, the Government appears to have

been actuated by its usual anti-Indian feeling—a desire to make matters unbecomable for the South African Indian community."

SUDDEN DEATH OF MR. HOFMEYR

THE Rt. Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, died at his home in Pretoria at 8.45 p.m. on Friday, December 3, at the age of 61. The end came after a heart attack due to overwork and strain. Mr. Hofmeyr had a remarkable career. At the age of 12 he passed his Matriculation. At 24 he was appointed Principal of the Witwatersrand School of Mines,

the following year and Mr. Hofmeyr at once backed up Smuts and when the War Cabinet was announced he found himself second-in-command of the Government and the United Party and Minister of Finance. He worked very hard in those war years.

He was re-elected Chairman of the United Party in the Transvaal



Mr. J. H. HOFMEYR

which became under his guidance the Witwatersrand University.

Mr. Hofmeyr's career in politics was almost remarkable as his academic progress. Ten years after entering parliament, he became Minister of Finance, a Deputy Prime Minister in the Smuts War Cabinet. When he was 32 General Smuts offered him the post of Administrator of the Transvaal. He accepted the offer and served as a popular and efficient Administrator until 1929.

In 1929, General Hertzog, the then Prime Minister, offered him the post of High Commissioner in London. Mr. Hofmeyr refused the job. In the same year he joined the South African Party, and he was elected Member of Parliament for Johannesburg North. He held Liberal views strengthened by strong religious convictions and often disagreed with his colleagues in the Cabinet over the Native question. He was a great sympathiser with Native aspirations and in 1935, while a member of Cabinet, he voted against a Government Bill which proposed to abolish Native Franchise in the Cape. Mr. Hofmeyr believed strongly in the continuance of the ties between South Africa and the rest of the Empire.

In 1936 he went to India as the head of a South African Delegation. In 1938 he resigned from the Hertzog Cabinet. War came

only a month ago. On that occasion General Smuts said: "Hold fast to what we have. We have in Mr. Hofmeyr a man of vision and thoroughness."

Tributes To Mr. Hofmeyr

S.A.P.A.'s correspondent, says that the members of the South African Delegation in Paris were stunned on hearing the news of Mr. Hofmeyr's death. Mr. Eric Louw commented: "It is a tremendous shock to us."

General Smuts

General Smuts told S.A.P.A. "The Death of Mr. Hofmeyr is a sad loss to South Africa. He was one of her most brilliant sons, devoted to her and to humanity at large. I am deeply grieved and shocked. He was a man of the highest moral character and his loss is irreparable. He will be mourned by everyone and his name will live in the history of our country."

Dr. D. F. Malan

The Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan said: "With the loss of Mr. Hofmeyr, South Africa has lost one of its greatest and most talented sons. His energy was apparently unlimited. His views often clashed with popular opinion, but he never hesitated to stand by his inner convictions, even at great personal sacrifice. He rendered great service to South Africa in every sphere."

Mr. N. C. Havenga

Mr. N. C. Havenga, Minister of Finance said: "It is a tremendous blow to South Africa. Although we were political opponents, I always had the highest admiration for his integrity and ability as a statesman. We, his political opponents, mourn his loss as much as his own Party followers."

Mr. Manilal Gandhi

Mr. Manilal Gandhi, who is on the "Tairca" bound for India, radioed a message saying he was deeply shocked by the news of the death of Mr. Hofmeyr. The message adds: South Africa has lost a brilliant son. It is a great misfortune to the country to lose such a personality at this most critical juncture. My deepest sympathy goes out to Mr. Hofmeyr's mother and to General Smuts. With Mr. Hofmeyr's death, he has lost his right hand."

Secretary To The High Commissioner For India

The message from the Secretary in the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa, Mr. R. T. Chari, to the Prime Minister, Pretoria, reads as follows: "Please permit me to convey most sincere regrets on behalf of Indian Government and myself at South Africa's grievous loss by Mr. Hofmeyr's death. His untimely death will be mourned by democrats throughout the world. Please convey deepest sympathy to Mrs. D. C. Hofmeyr in her sad bereavement."

S.A. Indians Mourn Death Of Mr. Hofmeyr

The sudden death of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr has come as a shock to the Indian people of South Africa. Although Mr. Hofmeyr did not fully subscribe to the legitimate aspirations of the Indian and the non-European people for complete equality, he consistently advocated a more tolerant approach to colour problems in our multi-racial society.

Particularly at the present time, when dark clouds of racialism and intolerance are hanging heavy over our country, his death removes from the South African political scene a man who, despite tremendous opposition, continued to pursue a policy which he believed to be in consonance with justice and fairplay for all, irrespective of race or colour in the Union of South Africa.

The South African Indian Congress, on behalf of the Indian people of South Africa, has sent telegrams of condolence to Mrs. D. C. Hofmeyr and to General Smuts on this great loss sustained by all the people of the Union. The South African Indian Congress was officially represented at the funeral of Mr. Hofmeyr.

DONGES'S REPLY TO ORGANISATION

REPLYING to a deputation of the South African Indian Organisation which met the Minister of the Interior in Pretoria on November 26, Dr. T. E. Donges said that it was indisputable that tension existed today between the Indians and the Europeans in South Africa. The hardening of the attitude of the Europeans was due in the first place to the attitude taken by India in placing South Africa in the dock at the United Nations for three successive years.

In the second place, it was due to the exaggerated and irresponsible statements made by Indian leaders in South Africa, and in the third place because of the entry of illegal immigrants from India.

It would have eased the tension considerably had the South African Indian Organisation in the past repudiated those irresponsible utterances by Indian leaders.

Another fundamental fact to be borne in mind was that there was a feeling that the Indians, no matter what the legal position might be, were not considered an indigenous portion of South Africa.

The policy of the Government was to ease the friction first by adopting the principle of repatriation.

There was nothing unjust in that solution nor anything that might be called a stigma.

There had been repatriation before in the history of South Africa, when the Afrikaners were repatriated from Angola and the Argentine.

It was the intention of the Government to apply it in a friendly way and with the assistance of the other Governments concerned. This policy would not be divorced from justice. There would be full compensation.

It would take time, but it was the ultimate target to reduce the Indian population in South Africa to the irreducible minimum.

Meanwhile the policy of apartheid would be applied. It was a two-way traffic; not a case of superiority or inferiority but of difference. If that was not done, the friction and strain would be increased.

It was in the interests of both sections that it should be applied. But it would have to be applied in fairness to all sections. The policy of apartheid aimed at the elimination of tension.

The Minister said that the matters raised in the memorandum would be discussed with the appropriate authorities, and everything possible would be done within the framework of the Government's policy.

The Minister also stated that the Indians would be given a chance to state their views on Part I of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946.

Deputation's View

Mr. P. R. Pathe said that, while appreciating the Minister's frankness, the Indians by no means acquiesced in the policy outlined by him.

The deputation opposed the repatriation of Indians, which they described as being against all legal and moral ethics. They condemned the Government's policy of apartheid, which they described as an affront to their national honour.

The deputation was led by Mr. Pathe and was introduced to the Minister by Mr. S. R. Naidoo.

The delegation submitted to the Minister a memorandum in which they stated that they approached him as South African Indians.

"Our natural home is South Africa and our outlook in life is entirely South African," the memorandum stated, "the Indian community in South Africa form an integral part of the population."

"We are very much agitated over your recent utterances on the Indian question," the memorandum continued. "You have, to our consternation and deep sense of sorrow, indicated in unmistakable terms that the solution

to the Indian problem is repatriation."

The delegation submitted that the Union Government could not repatriate the national and on country in the world which is India, would accept any repatriated Indians from South Africa.

The exchange of population in Europe and in India is being quoted as a justification for a scheme of repatriation.

"Such exchange of population not only stands condemned in the eyes of the world but the loss of lives and the resultant starvation and poverty will always remain as a stark and morbid chapter in modern history."

Discussing the Government's policy of apartheid the memorandum stated the Indian community of South Africa had always opposed the principle of separation. Apartheid involved a complete separation of the various races and was an affront to the national honour of the Indians as it signified their people as an inferior race.

Apartheid, the deputation submitted, would entail untold misery if carried out to its logical conclusion and the economic structure of South Africa in which both the Europeans and non-Europeans were inter-dependent would crumble as a result.

"Apartheid could not by any means bring about harmony among the many races that constituted the population of South Africa, for it was racially discriminatory."

SUGGESTIONS SOUGHT TO AMEND CHAPTER I OF ASIATIC ACT

MINISTER OF INTERIOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

AT a meeting of the Nationalist Party held in the City Hall, Maritzburg, on November 28, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, announced that he had decided to appoint a committee to consider suggestions from the people of Natal as to the best way of amending Chapter I of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946. He said he had decided to do this because Chapter I had not worked satisfactorily.

The Minister felt that the time had arrived when the Act should be revised, and for that reason he was inviting the people of Natal, Indians included, to submit their suggestions to a special departmental committee which he would appoint. The committee would comprise the chairman of the Asiatic Land Tenure Board, Mr. D. S. van der Merwe, and, he hoped, the Attorney-General of Natal, Mr. W. J. McKenzie, K.C.

In order to eliminate the friction which existed between the Europeans and Indians it would

be necessary pending the fulfilment of the Government's repatriation target, to apply a policy of separation or apartheid. Dr. Donges went on.

"There is no question of it being just. Segregation has not only a one-way effect. If I am segregated from a man he is as much segregated from me. There is no stamp of inferiority or superiority attached to it."

Part I of the Act had not worked satisfactorily. Nearly always when applications were made to the Board they were opposed. This would only mean an endless future of friction.

The committee would be constituted by the Minister of reference.

- (1) To receive and consider proposals for the amendment of Chapter I of the Act and to report to the Minister.
- (2) To investigate whether urgent amendments should be made during the next session of Parliament and further amendments in a more permanent, which may be necessary.

intended and which could not be introduced during the next session of Parliament.

All suggestions would have to be before the committee by January 1949.

"I hope the people of Natal will take advantage of this opportunity," said Dr. Donges. "I want to feel sure that when I do something the people of Natal and South Africa are behind me."

Dr. Donges elucidated to the meeting what he had told representatives of the South African Indian Organisation in Pretoria.

It was the target of the present Government to reduce the number of Indians in South Africa to the minimum he said. This was a principle approved by the Big Four under the Potsdam Agreement as the most equitable means of solving a minority problem.

India and Pakistan were tackling their minority problem by mass migration of population from one country to the other. The principle was the same as South Africa proposed with her Indian minority.

With this in view the Union Government were prepared to have a round table conference with the Governments of India and Pakistan.

"On this basis I believe that the people of South Africa are prepared to support the policy of repatriation. It will take time, but it is our target," said the Minister.

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44-45

Mr. MENTZ: It is not I who did this. It is the hon. member. Now the hon. member comes along in the House this afternoon and he tells us that we in South Africa also discriminated at one stage, that we have brought a catastrophe upon ourselves in South Africa. Did he then differ from the late President Kruger at that time, or is his attitude now that at that time we should just have put our hands up that we should not have muddled what he came of the republic and that we should simply have handed over the country to the enemy? I do not think that he brings any honour to himself by describing that attitude from 1899-1902 as a catastrophe which we brought upon ourselves. Thank God for the stand made by the Republic. The honour and fame of South Africa was upheld and that is why the people still stand today where they stand. So the hon. member carried on throughout his history. He came later to the time of the Second World War, and when he found that the mighty Russia was in the war, who did he do then? When the hon. member saw that the powerful Russia was entering the war, he blessed the arms of Russia, notwithstanding the warning given by this Party when we were in the Opposition. Today the hon. member says: "Cruelty him."

This matter we have been discussing now started at U.N.O. where the hon. member played a hand in its creation, and he received such a tremendous impression of the powerful U.N.O. where the coloured nations are in the majority, that he came to South Africa and warned us to be careful and to take heed of world opinion. We had to show the world how we treated our non-European races in South Africa; and what does he do? As a result he comes along and introduces this senseless Bill which we want to repeal this afternoon, and that is where our trouble started. The hon. member introduced the Bill, and what were his main reasons? I want us to examine that for a moment. In the first I find that he said in his speech

The Bill is essentially to provide special peace and a good ordering of the society here in South Africa.

I want to ask the hon. member whether he has brought about peace by that action. No. He continued with it. He proceeded with it, though it was marked for. The Indian population in South Africa turned their backs on him and said: We did not ask you for it, we do not want it, we want the full equality in South Africa and nothing less. The hon. member started a fight in regard

FULL TEXT OF DEBATE OF ASIATIC BILL

(Continued From Last Week)

to this matter. Nobody had asked him for it, and when the Prime Minister made an appeal to him and asked him to keep these things out of U.N.O. as they were domestic affairs and as we were not going to tolerate any interference with our domestic affairs, the hon. member wished to pose as a world statesman and he brought this matter under discussion with the result that we are today in troubled waters. I say that since the introduction of this Act we have had less peace in South Africa than we had before. Who have the Indians done? As a protest they have proceeded to violate the law of the land. They have proceeded in passive resistance and to dragging the good name of South Africa into the mud not only here but also overseas. I think therefore at this stage we can completely reject the reason which the hon. member advanced at the time. He said that if we did not pass the Bill "we may drift on the rocks." He passed the Bill and his Party landed on the rocks. Also in this regard in which he said that we would drift on the rocks, his Party wrecked itself on the rocks. The hon. member said—

This question may become a first-class international case, and the intention is to prevent it from becoming such.

That is exactly my objection against the former Prime Minister. He did not pause for a moment to find out whether this step which he intended taking in South Africa would be to the welfare of his people and his fatherland. No, he asked whether it would be the best thing to do in the eyes of world opinion.

Mr. TIGBY: Non-sense.

Mr. MENTZ: He said that repeatedly and he also says it here. He was more concerned with world opinion than with the welfare of South Africa. He wants to be in favour abroad but he did not have his hand on the pulse of South Africa. He did not ask himself whether this measure would be in the best interests of his own people and in the best interests of his fatherland, and that is exactly our difficulty with the hon. member. He has lost touch with his own people. When he comes to the important problems of the country, then he does not direct his view to the interests of South Africa, but he asks what the world says about it. In the outside world he does not want to say what his own people think. That is exactly what we have again the hon. member. He says—

We must give them political status, a voice in the affairs of this country, a platform on which they can speak and produce their own future.

The hon. member put it so clearly this morning when he said that through this action of the hon. member he was creating a block of non-European representatives in South Africa, which under certain circumstances may get the balance of power in the House which will result in the fact that they will practically rule South Africa and we nearly had such a state of affairs in South Africa. They say that the hon. member had won a couple of seats then it did and the result was a checkmate, then the Natives representatives sitting over there would have been able to turn the scale in this House. They would have been in a position to decide whether we should take part in future wars or not. They would have been in a position to demand that the franchise should be extended to the non-European races in the north. They would have controlled the wealth and the woe of the people of South Africa and they would have been able to dispose of the "N" of this side of the House. We stand for one thing and for one thing alone and that is that the legislative power in South Africa shall remain in the hands of the white man. We dare not allow it to come into the hands of the non-European. We maintain that also in this respect the hon. member has created a danger for South Africa and thank God that South Africa has decided to put a Government in power which will secure the survival of white South Africa.

Mr. SUTTER: Go on. You are doing well.

Mr. MENTZ: Now I want to come to the hon. member Mr. Johannesburg West (Mr. Tighy) and I want to ask the hon. member at once whether he supports the hon. member for Johannesburg North and whether he believes in his principles.

Mr. WARING: He does not believe in your distortions.

Mr. TIGBY: Your distortions are disgraceful.

Mr. MENTZ: That hon. member should not talk a lot of nonsense. I think he should be in Johannesburg and not round the country, and I must say what I indicated earlier that I would say some time of time. He has been going round the country lately saying that he never says or does anything inside or outside this

House for which he has not had the sanction of his party and his leader, the hon. member for Pretoria East; and I assume, therefore, that he also has the approval of the hon. member for Johannesburg West. If that is not so he must get up here and tell us so. A grave danger has been created. The Deputy Prime Minister of South Africa at that time went so far when this Bill was introduced that he said, "I am not satisfied with this Bill." He said that he agreed to the Bill only in part. It was only the first step in the right direction. He said: That is not all, more will have to follow. He was asked what the next step would be and here we have his reply recorded in Hansard—

The next step is that municipal rights must follow.

Is it any wonder that the hon. member caused a commotion throughout Natal and South Africa? What are Natal members sitting opposite going to do? I know that they have definite instructions from Natal. We know that. They need not shelter behind a commission of enquiry. They must tell us whether they want the Indian franchise or not. There is no way out. The hon. member for Johannesburg North has gone further. He got up in this House, and listen to what he said—

I am in favour of the ultimate removal of the colour bar from the constitution.

What colour bar? The Parliamentary. I want to ask the hon. member for Johannesburg West whether he agrees with that.

Mr. TIGBY: May I ask you a question? Are you going to remove the Indians from your constituency?

Mr. MENTZ: My reply is that if we get the first part of the Act right which we are going to do, then I will do my utmost. My reply is therefore in the affirmative. Then the hon. member for Johannesburg North said—

I put it very clearly, if my hon. friends want me to use it for making political capital out of it, they can do so.

The hon. member did not only say that this was his opinion, but he said that he was speaking on behalf of his party and he threw down the gauntlet.

Dr. JONKER: What did the previous Prime Minister say about that?

Mr. MENTZ: The hon. member for Johannesburg North went to the country and I challenge you to deny that he stated there that he had said that he was not satisfied with the Bill.

Dr. JONKER: Read what the previous Prime Minister said shortly afterwards.

Mr. MENTZ: I want to repeat that the hon. member for Johannesburg North stated clearly that everything he had said, was said with the knowledge and approval of his leader, Field Marshal Smuts and his party. I challenge the hon. member for Gardens to repudiate his leader. My time is short. I just want to say that we on this side in every crisis we have to face, in every problem we have to contend with, ask the question: "What would

be the best for the future of our people and our country?" and we act accordingly. We are prepared to uphold the honour and prestige of white South Africa and I want to conclude with the words so often used by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, in saying to hon. members on the opposite side: We are prepared to fight to the bitter end; let the dogs bark, the caravan will continue on its way.

(To be Continued)

U.P. AND A.P. MUST STAND TOGETHER

'DIE SUIDERSTEM' (United Party) says that the Nationalists, in order to avoid a defeat in Parliament on the question of Native representation and the Colour suffrage, indicate that they want an immediate general election on the Colour issue.

"The United Party," the newspaper continues, "must look the significance and meaning of this matter straight in the eye. It has the chance to strengthen its position considerably by persuading the moderate elements which supported the Nationalist Government on May 26, to rejoin its ranks."

"If Dr. Malan should decide to fight the election on the issues on which he and Mr. Havenga disagree, it will inevitably mean that the United Party and the Afrikaner Party, which has the same views on the matter, would have to fight shoulder to shoulder against the dangers and threats inherent in Dr. Malan's policy."

The newspaper concludes by saying that Mr. Havenga temporarily saved the country from a crisis which involved immense dangers, but that he must also realise that the country could not be saved permanently from Malan and his dangers unless the moderate group of people, who saved the country in 1932 from a downfall is put back into power.

"There lies the task and also the possibilities for the future," the 'Suiderstem' decides.

The 'Cape Times' (United Party) referring to Mr. Erasmus's speech at Rustenburg in which he again mentioned the republic, says that it is time that Dr. Malan stopped wild talk by his Cabinet colleagues.

"What was the precise implication of the statement made by Mr. Erasmus, that the first principle of the Nationalist Party is a republic?" asks the Times. "And what was his purpose in making it? As it stands the statement is pointless. It was merely a reiteration of a principle of the Nationalist Party's constitution which is common knowledge."

"But Nationalist spokesmen of

the standing of the Minister of Defence rarely makes pointless statements on subjects like this. The assumption is that there was considerable sinister substance in his announcement, or that, by conveying the implication that the Government's set design is to achieve a republic, Mr. Erasmus deliberately intends to delude his audience and stimulate false hopes for the sake of consolidating some political support."

"That would be a thoroughly dishonest thing. But whatever the purpose, it is time that an end were made to this practice of Cabinet Ministers and other leading spokesmen of the Government popping up all over the country and making statements without offering the slightest qualification or information in explanation."

Desirable Move

The 'Cape Argus' (United Party) says that the plan of campaign drawn up at the United Party Congress at Steynfontein is "both practical from a Party point of view and desirable from a national angle."

"The United Party," it continues, "is therefore looking ahead to the time when the public will begin to realise what Broederbond hidden rule really means, and will desire to return to former and safer methods."

"What is new is proverbially fine; and a great many people are today inclined to accept the Nationalist at their own valuation, high though it is. The Nationalists are certainly deaf to any warning that the measures they propose may breed serious difficulties."

"The United Party plans to keep closely in touch with the public and to explain in the simplest terms the alternative policy which a convinced would be far better for the well-being of the country."

"Dr. Malan and his colleagues are obviously poised for a leap in the dark. They are convinced they will succeed on firm ground. But already there are signs that

they misjudge the outcome of their rash experiments, and that they will find themselves and the country in serious difficulties."

Own Enemies

'Die Burger' (Nationalist) says that the biggest enemies of the Indians in South Africa are the Indians themselves because they spoil everything they touch.

"Four years ago," the newspaper continues, "as a test, permission was given to the Indians to purchase liquor without hindrance. What followed?"

'Die Burger' says that the results were that Indians bought liquor freely, not for their own consumption, but to resell it to Natives.

"It went on so much," the newspaper states, "that the Gov-

ernment has been forced to recall the privilege. If a group misuses its privileges in this manner, then it forfeits all its claim on compensation."

The newspaper adds that the Indians claim more equal rights in the country, but misuse the smallest privilege granted to them. Of all the non-European races in the country, states the newspaper, the Indians were the most quarrelsome group at home and the most slanderous group overseas against the country "in which they want to be citizens while they are acting like foreigners."

"They refuse co-operation with the Government but make excessive use of other laws—like family allowances—so that these have to be withdrawn from them."

UNHAPPY CHOICE

COMMENTING on the recent election of Mr. Kahn, a Communist, in the Union House of Assembly, as a Native representative, the 'Cape Times' dated November 22, writes under the above caption:

The system of Native parliamentary representation has been dealt a hard blow by the election of a communist. In the battle the Nationalists are fighting, there are of less importance than propaganda and the Nationalists have made a distinct propagandist advance. From 1936 the Natives' representatives have been an asset to Parliament. They would have graced any elective assembly anywhere in the world. Mrs. Ballinger, Mr. Mahaboo, Mr. Buchanan, the late Mr. Hemming—they were all first rate ability, of impeccable honesty devoted to their cause and enjoying the respect of political friend and foe. In the election of these members the Native voters displayed a maturity of choice and a sense of responsibility which their most purblind critics could not challenge.

All this has been lost by the election of a communist. Over the democratic case for Native representation must be weakened when it can be shown that this democracy leads to the strengthening of communism, the most potent anti-democratic force in the world to-day.

In fact, there is no personal reproach to Mr. Kahn. He has made an admirable town councillor and we do not doubt that as an independent he would have made an eloquent and forceful advocate of the Natives' point of view. But no man, however sincere his motives and accomplished his talents, can hope to triumph over the head weight of prejudice. In the hands of

the communist label. A regrettable feature of this whole business is that the communists themselves did not take action to avert the obvious consequences of a communist victory. The Communist Party knows as well as we how Mr. Kahn's success will be used to discredit the Native voice and the system of Native representation. It does not matter whether the prejudice against and the dislike and distrust of communism are justified or not. What matters is that this prejudice and distrust exist, and that by an elementary political axiom they can be extended from the member to the voters he represents. If the communists were sincere they would be the last to place this new weapon in the hands of South African progress. If the communists meant well to this country they could not swing in a matter of months from a boycott of the whole country to Native representation to an acute profit-taking from the Native elections. If the communists have any sense of realism and any real feeling for the people whose cause they advocate, Mr. Kahn would resign his seat.

Indian Sacks Reach Union By Way Of Singapore

The Singapore newspaper, 'Morning Tribune' reports that shippers have broken the Indian and Ceylonese ban on the export of gunny sacks to South Africa by re-exporting them from Singapore and Hong Kong. Well informed sources, quoted by the newspaper, said that gunny sacks were re-exported last September from Hong Kong. Recently another ship arrived in Singapore carrying gunny sacks for export to Singapore. But they went on to South Africa. The newspaper said:

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

BADGE the approver, had supplied the police with the outward structure of the conspiracy and the only thing that remained to be filled in to make a complete living picture was to supply the intention needed to complete the theory of conspiracy. Narayana Dattatraya Apte, second accused in the Mahatma Gandhi murder case, told the Special Court on November 13.

Apte said: "I had already stated that I had been in the company of Nathuram Godse on January 20 and that I had been to Gwalior with him in connection with the staging of a demonstration at Delhi. The police tried to connect these by reasons of logic.

"The only thing the police wanted was that somewhere two revolvers should be brought to from somewhere. This object was achieved by securing the evidence of Dada Mahadkar, Dhilli Malhotra and Badge.

After my talk with Mr. Nageswari, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, he was practically convinced that there was no conspiracy. He always asked me as to why we had come to Gwalior when we could have got arms and ammunition in Bombay. I told him that he was unnecessarily obsessed with the idea of conspiracy. Our intention had been to stage a demonstration.

Then Sahib Patwardhan, Mr. K. Patel and the Governor designate of Bengal and several other visitors came to see us in the lock up and had long talks with us. Although the police knew that no conspiracy had been established, still they thought that when a person of the stature of Mahatma Gandhi had been assassinated there must, somehow, be a big conspiracy, which could not be one of an ordinary nature.

"The identification parades in Bombay were conducted in a very fair manner by Mr. Chest Brown, the Chief Presidency Magistrate.

Witnesses' Attitude

The judge, You have heard the entire evidence produced on behalf of the prosecution against you. Now you like to suggest why these witnesses have deposed against you?

Apte, Ramchander and Sargat Singh have deposed against me because of the pressure of the police. The evidence was taken for purposes of concoction. I, Dattatraya, and Madhukar Kule have appeared in court and have deposed in favour of the police. I have deposed that I was in

and Madhukar have deposed against me because of the pressure of the police. They thought that in case they did not depose against me they themselves would be hauled up in the case. Badge had been tortured and harassed by the police to depose against me. Vasant Joshi has appeared against me at the instance of his father, G. M. Joshi, who had been kept in custody at the C.I.D. office. He must have thought that if he did not give evidence in accordance with the wishes of the police he would get into trouble.

Would you like to say or suggest anything more before the court?—According to me, there were two isolated incidents—one on January 20 and the other on January 30. After the first incident I and Nathuram Godse were expected to be arrested. Many theories were put up to connect the incidents of January 20 and January 30. Newspapers started from the theory of an international conspiracy. The police confronted me, when I was in the C.I.D. lock up, with some documents saying that we had received help from the British and Russians.

Arrest Of R.S.S. Workers

The police then found that that theory was not tenable. They then came down from international conspiracy to the provincial states conspiracy. I then remembered that a reference had been made in the papers to Alwar and that Nathuram was at Alwar on January 27, 28 and 29. People were brought to the C.I.D. Office saying that they had seen Nathuram Godse on January 24 and January 30 at Alwar. An inquiry was then instituted to find out if Alwar State had a hand in the conspiracy. The Maharaja of Alwar was "dethroned." This was followed by wholesale arrests of Hindu Mahasabha and R.S.S. workers.

Do you want to adduce any evidence to rebut the prosecution evidence and support the allegations made by you?—I do not want to adduce any evidence either in rebuttal of the prosecution evidence or in support of the allegations made by me.

The court adjourned till November 15.

(To be continued)

BAN ON GODSE STATEMENT

Godse's statement in court in the Gandhi murder trial has been banned in Gissa Province and Orissa states, under the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act according to a notification published in the 'Bhaskaran'

Extraordinary."

Alwar: Under the Public Safety Act, the Chief Commissioner, Alwar, has banned the publication or circulation of Nathuram Godse's statement in Court.

Madras: The Madras Government have, under the Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1947, prohibited all printers, publishers and editors in the province from printing or publishing the statement made by Nathuram Vinayak Godse accused in the Gandhi murder trial, in New Delhi.

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महान नातीन मुद्रातीन भाग भुभार प्राप्तीया भुभर वक्र

व्या : सीखिनन्ता प्याह इस्ट्रे डेट पीयामा पुशभुभार

वीथि : भाग भाग भाग भाग भाग भाग भाग भाग भाग भाग

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मुद्रा, पीथि, अमरी, न्याया, विचार, प्रमाण, इत्येते भवे.

ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન.

મહામા મોંઘીલના હસ્તે
સને ૧૯૦૬નાં ૨૬ પાણી.

પૃથ્વી: ૬૧ મું—અંક ૬૭

સુક્રવાર તા. ૧૦ ડિસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮.

ક્રમાંક ૫૭૬૯ પૃષ્ઠી. ૪

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

સુક્રવાર તા. ૧૦ ડિસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

ડૉ. રાંગીસ અને ઓરગનાઈઝેશન

આ પ્રધાન ડૉ. ડી. ડી. રાંગીસે
ઈન્ડિયન કોલો કોમની પત્રી ભેલ
નાર તરીકે સ્વિકારવાનો અન્કાર કર્યો
હતો અને તેના કેમ્બ્રિજના મુલાકાત
આપવાની પણ ના પાડી હતી. તેમ
કરવાના કારણો એ આપ્યા હતા કે
એ નેરશાનું સંસ્થાન સામ્પ્રવાદીના
હાથે ધરા રહ્યું છે અને તેની પ્રગતિઓ
અસાધ્ય આક્રોશ છે. પરંતુ સાહ્ય
આદીકન ઓરગનાઈઝેશનને તેમણે સ્વિ-
કારણી ને અને તેના ઇન્ફોર્મશન મુલ્ય
કાલ આપી છે. મુકામ પ્રધાન નર-
થી ઓરગનાઈઝેશનને મળેલા સલાહ
યા સી રાંધ પ્રાકૃત ના મુલ્ય છે. આજ
મા ઓલ્ટી હાલની સરકારને વડે રાજ
આત્મા કરવા ને અવકાશ આપવામાં
નથી. આ સરકારે પાતળી નીતી દરખ
અન્કારમાં નિઃશંકપણે રાજ્ય કરી લીધી
છે. તેણે કહેલા મેનેજમેન્ટી આપણ
લોકોમાં આ હકમાં આપણું પોતાનું જ
મદદિ પરંતુ આપણી બાંધ પ્રમાણ
અવિષ્કાર સુધારા છે તેના વીચાર કર
વાની સાચી આપણી જોઈએ. આ
મેનેજમેન્ટ મત્તુષરે વાળવાને બળની
ગરબ છે. આ બળ હો આપણા ન
કોમ અને હોઈ અને પુના આપણું
જમાર નથી આજા રાખા રહ્યા હોઈએ
તો આપણે મહત્વમાં છીએ. “આપ
મુલા વિના સર્જો નહિ પહેલાંયા.”
“હોઈએ મહત્વ ના મદદિ પુરા” આ
કહેવતા આપણા મુકામ હતાવરની
ગરબ છે. આ મત આપણી છે અને
આપણે અત્યંત કરા કરવા તમપર નહિ
દોષમે તા ઇન્ફોર્મશન કોષ પછી પણ
આપણી મદદિ આપી શકે નહિ. આ
કહેવ નેટલું સહેલું છે તેટલું કરવું
સહેલું નથી. ખતી દેવે એ વખત
સહેલું નહક આપણે અને છે અન્કાર
“અન્કાર ય મરેજો” નો મત આપણે
અમલમાં મુકવા તમપર મુલ્ય પડેલી.
હાલની સરકારે ગંભીરે તરફના અન્કાર
છે પરંતુ તે સ્વિકારને માત્ર ગત રહી
છે એ વીરે મરણ સહેલું નથી. આ
કોમીસ કહી રહ્યા છે તેમાં કયું માન્ય
આપા અન્કાર નથી. તેને ૧૬
છે કે હોઈ સલાહના કોષ હોઈએને
રિપોર્ટમાં કરવામાં (સ્વાગત મોદલ)

દેવામાં) અને તેઓની પત્રી આજામાં
ઓછી કરી દેવામાં રહી છે. અને
એ વસ્તુ, તેઓ કરે છે કે માનવાયે
કરવામાં આવશે એક માણસનું માણ
જગતી દેવાની વાત કરવી અને માં
આવે તેમ કરવામાં આવે કરવો
છે એ વસ્તુને મેળ થી રીતે મેલી તપ
રીપોર્ટમાં કરવા અને કોણ આ દેશ
મા કહેવી રહી શકે આક્રોશ,
જેઓ આ દેશના મુજબનીઓ છે,
અત તપ આ રહ્યા અન્કાર કરે છે
— એ મરતીમાત્ર પર મરત સ્વિચાર કોષ
માનવીના મુલ્ય માનવા માનવા
પુરાવામાં નેઓએ તેઓની પાસેથી
આ રહ્યા આપી પાસે છે તેઓ ૧૫
એકમાત્ર રીપોર્ટમાં મરતો માપક
મળ્યા. અને પુરા મરતો આપણે
રીપોર્ટમાં કરવાની વાત માત્ર માટે
“પુરા મરતો” યુ કહેવાને તેના નિર્ણય
કાળ કરી મરત. એ મરતો મળવામાં
કોમ તપ તેના નિર્ણય કરી શકે અને
મરતને રીપોર્ટમાં કરવાનું અન્કારમાં
આપી રહ્યું છે તેઓને પુરા મરતો
સુધારા રહે તે પહેલાં તો આ દેશ
નાવારે સર્ધ ભમ. એટલે સરકારને
પરતી મરત તે સુધારી છે, કે જેની
તેનામાં સામલીમ મોટ મળ્યા છે, અને
એ મરતો તે જાણ રહી છે તે જોતા
સાલી સ્વપણી તે જાણએ રહી પરંતુ
આ દેશ પરજ નહિ પરંતુ આપી
માનવાનીયર આપા પુરક ને જ સાંતી
કેલણી.

મી. જી. એચ. હોફ- મેયર

નીવાનો એક મહાન માનવ
કે જેને આપણે મી. જી. એચ.
હોફમેયર તરીકે ઓળખીએ છીએ,
તા ૩-૧૨-૪૮ના દોષ્ટ આ
દાની કુનીયા છોડી સ્વર્ગવાસી
થયો. અને હાલ આશીકાને
તેના મવામાં મહાન મોટ પાડી
ગયો. હાલ આશીકા મરતેન

ની જામતમાં બહુ સમૃદ્ધ નથી.
જેમ આશીકા આ દેશના આમાન્ય
આશીકાથી જુદા હતું તેવી અક્ષિત
ને આપણું આ દેશને પાછવે તેમ
હતું નહીં. રંગીન પ્રજા માટે
કોટા પણ ન્યાય અને હીલસાણ
મળે તે માટે તેણે હંમેશાં પ્રયત્ન
કર્યો છે. દેનીયલની માફક એક
લાલેય આ પ્રયત્ન આદર્યો
હતો. અને તેની માફક તેને
પણ અહીના રાજદવારી વાતા
વસ્તુમાં આ હિત્ય માનવાતાના
મોદલોને પ્રચાર કરવામાં
મુશ્કેલીઓ નહી હતી, અને
તેમાં જીવ્યોને મળે છે તે
કરતાં પણ કોઈ કરતાં વળાવતા
મળી હતી. પોતે તે ને પરમાત્મા
તરફની દૃષ્ટિ જાણીને મળ્યો
હતો.

પ્રધાન માનવાની અને કરવા
મા હોઈ કોમ પાછી પાછી
નહી રહે એટલું જ નહિ પણ
તેની મહાનતા માટે હંમેશાં
માન આપશે. આવા મહાન
આશીકા રાખી માણસોમાં મી. જી.
એચ. હોફમેયર અનેક રહ્યા
જોગ્યે છે તેના આગેવાને પ્રજા
સુખિત આપે અને મહાન હયાતું
પ્રજા તેમનાં મુલ્ય માણસી અને
અન્કારમાં અને આપી પડેલા કુખ
ને સહન કરવા અક્ષિત અંધો.

શાયનીય પસંદગી

યુનીયનની ધારસલાહમાં નેરીવેલા પ્રતિ
નીપી તરીકે એક કોમ્યુનીસ્ટ ના
કદાવની કુદ મુલ્ય કોમર અન્કાર
મુદલ્લી વિં કીક કરતાં વેપ દાખલ
જપતી મળ્યાં કરતા માં પ્રમાણ
અંધ છે.
કોમ્યુનીસ્ટની મુદલ્લી અક્ષી પાછી
મેન્ટમાં નેરીવેલા પ્રતિનિધીયના પ્રમાણ
અન્કાર કરતાં મળેલા છે.....નેરશાની
હોઈ રહ્યા છે તેમાં દરજોનાં
કરતા પ્રચારની રીતન વખતે અન્કાર
છે અને નેરશાનીયો આ માનવાતા
જપતીય પોતાના સામમાં પ્રચારમાં
કરશે.

૧૯૪૬ની સાલથી નેરીવેલા પ્રતિ
નીપીઓ પાછીને અન્કાર મુદલ્લી નેરશા
છે. કુનીયાની કોષ પણ પ્રચારમાં
નેરશાને તેઓ શોભે એવા નીવડ્યા છે.
મોસીસ મેક્લીનર, મી. મોસીના, મી.
અપ્પાન, સ્વમંદમ મી. મોસીસ એ
અપ્પા પ્રથમ કોરીના, નિઃશંક પ્રમા
જીવતા કરવાનારા, કાર્યદક્ષ અને રાજ
કોષ તીવ્ર અને યજ્ઞ અન્કારમાં માન
કરવાનારા હતા. આ મળેલાની મુદલ્લી
માં નેરીવેલા મોદલોએ એવી સામુખ્ય
બરેલી પસંદગી અને અન્કારમાં
માન દાખવા દતાં કે મળે નેવા સખ્ત
કીકારથી પણ વધી નહિ મળ સકાય.
કને કોમ્યુનીસ્ટની મુદલ્લીઓ એ સમુલ્લ
નહ મળ મળ. મળારની કુનીયા
મા અન્કાર. આપણમાં આપણે
મા અન્કાર. આપણમાં આપણે
નીકર એક અજાણવાઈ નામ અન્કાર
કહે છે તેને અન્કાર કરતાં છે.
ત્યારે નેરીવેલા પ્રતિનિધીયના પ્રમા
નવેલા પડી નહી

આ પ્રમાણે કોમમાં ના કદાવની
શોભે અમને અન્કાર કહેવા નથી.
કોમર મળેલાનાર તરીકે તેમણે પ્રચાર
નીપ કોમ કરેલું છે અને એક અન્કાર
પ્રમાણ સખ્ત નહિ નેરીવેલા કેસની
તે મળેલા પ્રતિ અન્કાર કરી સકાય
કેલ એ વિં અમને નરશા મળ
નથી. પરંતુ મળે તપ મુલ્ય માનવા
ના અને કુનીયા માણસથી પણ કોમ્યુ
નીસ્ટની માપથી વેદા મળેલા દેવેશ અને
અખમમાં કુદ કરી નહિ સકાય. આ
આપણે જાણવું અતિ શાયનીય તપક
એ છે કે કોમ્યુનીસ્ટની વિનમળ આ
દેખીતું પાછેલા નીપમળું અન્કારવાને
કોમ્યુનીસ્ટોએ પોતે કોષ પણ મળે
નહિ લીધું ના. કદાવતા વીળખને
નેરીવેલા મળારને તેમજ નેરીવેલા પ્રતિ
નિપીવની પ્રમાણે દક્ષતા માણવાને એ-
કપમાં કરવામાં આવે એ કોમ્યુનીસ્ટ
પાછી નહ સારા રીતે મળે છે, સામ્ય
વાર સાંતોના દેવેશ, અખમમાં અને
અવિષાસ મળેલાં છે આ મેરશાની
એ સલામ નથી, અમાસ એજ ૧૭ કે
અ દેવેશ અને અવિષાસ નહિ મળે
છે. અને તેના રાજકીય સામ કોષ
વાને એ દેવેશ સામ્યના તપમાંથી

જેઓનું તે પ્રતિનિધિત્વ કરાવે છે તે સભાસભા તરફ વાળવામાં આવશે. કોમ્યુનીસ્ટો આ સામ્રાજ્ય હાલ તો સાક્રિય આક્રોશની પ્રતીતિના સહુઓના હાથમાં આ નવું રાજ્ય તેઓએ મુક્યું નહિ હોત. જો કોમ્યુનીસ્ટો આ દેશનું ખોલ જ બદલાવે હોત તો તેનીયોના પ્રતિનિધિત્વની આપણા પ્રધાનના અધિકારમાંથી માત્ર થોડાજ માસમાં તેનીવ મુદ્દણી માંથી સાજા જીવાળી લેવાની તોત્ર રજિત વાળાવવા મંડી પડ્યા નહિ હોત. કોમ્યુનીસ્ટોનો સત્ત્વ વચ્ચું કંઈ પણ ખાલ હોય અને જેઓના કેસની તેઓ સિમાવત કરી રહ્યા છે તેઓ પ્રત્યે ખરી સામણી હોય તો બી. કદાલ પોતાની સેકરેટરી રાજ નામ આપી દેશે.

એશીયાટીક કાયદાના પહેલા ભાગમાં સુધારા માટે સુચનાની માગણી

ચુલ્હી પ્રધાને કરેલી આદેશાત

વેન્ચર ના. ૨૬ જાન્યુઆરી ૧૯૪૮ના મેમ્બરોના મોટા મેમ્બરોમાં મળેલી મેમ્બરોશીટ પાર્ટીની સભામાં ચુલ્હી પ્રધાન ડી. ડાવિસે મહેરે ૨૫: ૬૫ કે ૧૯૪૬ ના એક્સપ્રોસેસ તેન્ડેન્સીઝ અંદરના પહેલા ભાગમાં જેવી રીતે સુધારા કરાવે તેની નાટાલના લોકો પાસેથી સુચનાઓ મેળવવા એક કમીટી નીમવામાં તેમણે રજાવ કરી છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે સમગ્ર મા પહેલાં માય અરેજનર કામ કરેલો નહિ હોવાથી તેમણે આ કસાવ કરે છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે તેમને પ્રાપ્ત છે કે કાયદાના ફેરફાર કરવાની જરૂર છે અને તેમાં નમન રહેવા તીમવામાં આવે તાર ન તાર રીપાર્ટેન્ડસ નાપરી સમગ્ર પોતાની સુચનાઓ રજા કરવા ને દોહીઓ સહીત સપવા માગવામાં હોયને આમજણ કરે છે કમીટીમાં કોમ્યુનિસ્ટો જેન્ડેન્સીઝ મોટા પ્રમુખ ના ડી. એક્સ વેન્ડેન્સીઝ, અને તેમને આપ્યા છે કે નાટાલના એકરેતી જનરેસ ના જાલમ. જે એક્સપ્રો. કે. ડા. રહેશે. ડી. ડાંગીસે કહ્યું કે સુધારાઓ અને દોહીઓ વચ્ચે ન અરેજનર વર્તે છે ને હુર કરવાત, સરકારની રીપોર્ટી કોસનવી મોજાવા વાર પટે તે સુધારાવાળ સુધારાવાળાની નીતી અમલમાં મુકવાની ગરેર પડશે.

તેમણે કહ્યું કે આજના કસુ અનવાળી નેરવાળાની નથી. મહાવ રાજ્યનું એક સરકારી સર કરવામાં નથી. એક સાલસથી જે દરિયાવેળે થાકે તે ને માગાયા પગ તેલેસેજ રીપાર્ટે વાલ નવા ન હોવામાંથી કે ઉમવાની કાપ એકુ કહ્યું નથી.

શ્રીમંત્રીની દ્વારમતથી દીવેલી સક્રિય આક્રિશ આવતા શામળા કોષણ

શ્રીમંત્રીને પત્ર મોકલનાર દીવેલી કમિટી સભા છે જે સભાના કોષણ સાક્રિય આ દોશ મોકલવાપરના દોર અને સીસાવ ની સરકારના પ્રતિનિધિને શીમંત્રીને મોકલી નામ્યા છે અને તેઓ શ્રીમંત્રીને અને ડોંગીસેથી જોયળા સાક્રિય આક્રિશ રવાના કરવા સામ્યા છે. તે કહે છે કે વિચારુ કરેલથી જાળવવામાં આવ્યું છે કે સમગ્રતા કાયદા નવા સુપરેજનમાં કોંગ્રેસેથી રી એક્સપ્રોસેસ કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા. એવે આવાદીયે સીમંત્રીને માટે સુધારવામાં આપેલા જોયળા સમને પીલ્લુ એક વરદાવ સીમંત્રી પોર આપ્યું હતું પરંતુ તેને સીમંત્રીને થી સાક્રિય આક્રિશ રવાના કરવામાં આવ્યું હતું.

કાયદાની પહેલા ભાગ પરાગર કામ કરેલો નથી. મોટાને જાલમ જાલે અરેજનર વાળ છે અને સમગ્રતા કરેર વચ્ચે તેમને રીપાર્ટ માલ છે. આથી અનવાળા વાર મહેરો પરાગર થવા કરેશે.

(૧) કમીટીની કામ સુધારામાં ને વચ્ચે રહેશે.

કાયદાના પહેલા ભાગમાં સુધારા કરવાની સુચનાઓ મેળવવી અને તેના ને વિચાર કરેશે. અને પ્રધાનને રીપાર્ટ કરેશે.

(૨) મોટુ પરિવર્તન કરનારા સુધારાઓની અસરમજ થાય અને નાપરી મેન્ટની અમલી પાડવા માલ તદિ કરે તે ન સુધારાવાળ અમલમાં સુધારા આપવી મોકલમાં કરવાની ગરેર છે નહિ તેની નવાસ કરેશે.

સપવા સુચનાઓ કમીટી સમક્ષ ના. ૧૫ જાન્યુઆરી સુધીમાં આવી જવી નેમ્બે.

ડી. ડાંગીસે કહ્યું: “શુ આજા રાજ્યનું જે નાટાલના લોકો આ નકરો જાલ મેશે. કસ પગ કરે તેમાં નાટાલ ના અને સાક્રિય આક્રિશના લોકોના અને નામ કે તેની કુ આથી મેળવવા કમિટી પ્રત્યે.”

તા રાજ્યમાં પ્રતિરોધમાં સાક્રિય આક્રિશ મનિચ્ચન એરેગનાનરેજનને પોતે શું કહ્યું છે કે ડી. ડાંગીસે આજા અને કહ્યું કે આજાની સરકારના નેમ આક્રિશ આક્રિશથી દોહી વસાને કોષણમાં એકી કરી મદાવવાની છે સહુમતીના સુધારાને લોક સરકારના પાટળી માલ નહીં એક

માર રાજ્યમાં મોકલનાર કરારની રૂમે રિપાર્ટ છે.

દોર અને પાકરનાન આર દેરામથી પીલ્લ દેરામાં સામુદાયિક વસાલત કરી કરે પોતાના સહુમતી સવાસના ઉકેલ માલ રહ્યા છે. એવર સિદ્ધાંત સાક્રિય આક્રિશ પોતાની દોહી સહુમતીને વિરોધી પાડવા માલ છે.

એરગનાઈઝેશનને ડી. ડાંગીસેનો જવાબ

વેન્ચર ના. ૨૬ જાન્યુઆરી ૧૯૪૮ના મેમ્બરોના મોટા મેમ્બરોમાં મળેલી મેમ્બરોશીટ પાર્ટીની સભામાં ચુલ્હી પ્રધાન ડી. ડાવિસે મહેરે ૨૫: ૬૫ કે ૧૯૪૬ ના એક્સપ્રોસેસ તેન્ડેન્સીઝ અંદરના પહેલા ભાગમાં જેવી રીતે સુધારા કરાવે તેની નાટાલના લોકો પાસેથી સુચનાઓ મેળવવા એક કમીટી નીમવામાં તેમણે રજાવ કરી છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે સમગ્ર મા પહેલાં માય અરેજનર કામ કરેલો નહિ હોવાથી તેમણે આ કસાવ કરે છે. તેમણે કહ્યું કે તેમને પ્રાપ્ત છે કે કાયદાના ફેરફાર કરવાની જરૂર છે અને તેમાં નમન રહેવા તીમવામાં આવે તાર ન તાર રીપાર્ટેન્ડસ નાપરી સમગ્ર પોતાની સુચનાઓ રજા કરવા ને દોહીઓ સહીત સપવા માગવામાં હોયને આમજણ કરે છે કમીટીમાં કોમ્યુનિસ્ટો જેન્ડેન્સીઝ મોટા પ્રમુખ ના ડી. એક્સ વેન્ડેન્સીઝ, અને તેમને આપ્યા છે કે નાટાલના એકરેતી જનરેસ ના જાલમ. જે એક્સપ્રો. કે. ડા. રહેશે. ડી. ડાંગીસે કહ્યું કે સુધારાઓ અને દોહીઓ વચ્ચે ન અરેજનર વર્તે છે ને હુર કરવાત, સરકારની રીપોર્ટી કોસનવી મોજાવા વાર પટે તે સુધારાવાળ સુધારાવાળાની નીતી અમલમાં મુકવાની ગરેર પડશે.

તેમણે કહ્યું કે આજના કસુ અનવાળાની નેરવાળાની નથી. મહાવ રાજ્યનું એક સરકારી સર કરવામાં નથી. એક સાલસથી જે દરિયાવેળે થાકે તે ને માગાયા પગ તેલેસેજ રીપાર્ટે વાલ નવા ન હોવામાંથી કે ઉમવાની કાપ એકુ કહ્યું નથી.

સાક્રિય આક્રિશના પાટળામાં રીપોર્ટીએસન અમલમાં મુક્યું છે. આરે આરેકા અને આરેકાનરેજનમાંથી અક્રિશને રીપોર્ટીએસન કરવામાં આવ્યા હતા.

સરકારને કરારો તેને નીમવાવથા અને મામતી વચ્ચેની સરકારની સદામતથી કામ પાડવો છે. નવા ને તેમાં ખંગ કરવામાં નહિ આવે. પાટળા કરેલો આપવામાં આવશે.

તેને રજાત કામને રેજુ નાક્રિય આરેકામાં દોહી વસાને આરેકામાં એકી કરી નામવામાં આ જનિમ એમ છે. સરકારના પાટળાવાળાની નીતી નવા પાટળામાં આવી આમા રિપાર્ટી જેન્ડેન્સીઝને સપવા નથી.

આ રિપોર્ટી પુનીવન સરકાર દોર અને પાટળાવાળાની સરકારો સમને રહેનેડ રેજન કોન્ફરન્સ કરવા તમામ છે. આ પોરેજી કુ પાટળા જે સાક્રિય આક્રિશના એક રીપોર્ટીએસનમાં મોકલવા ને રેજી આવવા ખુદી થ. તેને રખત કામને મુદ્દુ આમાઈ એમ છે.

પરંતુ તમામને સપવા રે, જે એમ નહિ થાલ તે અરેજનર વચ્ચે કરેશે.

સીના કિલનું
આ નીતી સાજુ પાડવી એ સીના કિલનું છે. પરંતુ તે સપવા વચ્ચે પાન્યામજી સાજુ પડવી એકમો. મહાવ રા પડવાની નીતીને લેતું તર રાષેલી સામણી સાંત પાડવાની છે.

પરમાને કહ્યું કે રેપુરેસનની પાટળામાં કાલેલી સપવા જાળવેલી માગવા રજાવવા અધિકારીઓ સાથે ચર્ચા કરવામાં આવશે અને સરકારની નીતીના હરમાં રહેને જાન્યુ સપવા કરવામાં આવશે.

વચ્ચે પ્રધાને કહ્યું કે દોહીઓને રહેરના રીપાર્ટીએસન જેન્ડેન્સીઝ મોકલના પહેલા કામને રે પોતાના પીલ્લ રેજીવાળી નેર આપવામાં આવશે.

રેપુરેસનને અર

બી. પી. આર. પહેર કહ્યું કે પાટળા ના નિવાસવાળાની અરે ૨૬: કરીએ છીએ પરંતુ તેમણે કલેવેલા નીતીને દોહીઓ મળવા થાલ રાજે તેમ નથી. દોહીઓને રીપોર્ટીએસન કરવાની વાતને રેપુરેસન પરિવર કરી અને જાળવ્યું છે એ સપવા સરકારી અને નેનિસ મિલિટરીથી રીપેર. જ. સરકારની જાલમ માપવાની નીતીને તેજી રિપાર્ટ. કાલે અત્ર જાલમ. નેર દોહીઓના સાક્રિય મહેરનું નવામલ કરવામાં છે.

રેપુરેસનના મીડર બી. પી. આર. પહેર હતા અને બી. એક્સ. આર. નાપરેને તેની આખવાસ કરાવી હતી.

પ્રધાન સમક્ષ રેપુરેસને રજુ કરેલા નિવેદનમાં જાળવ્યું હતું કે આરે માક્રિય આક્રિશના દોહીઓ નવી રજા આલે કરીએ છીએ સાક્રિય આક્રિશ અમારે સવાસવિશ વતન છે અને મામતી જરવાની રિપોર્ટી નવા સાક્રિય આક્રિશ છે. સાક્રિય આક્રિશના દોહી આ રેમની વસતીનાં જાલરેક માલ છે.

દોહી સવાસવરની આપની કમણા ના રેજીઓથી અને પગા ઉકેરવા છીએ

ની સપવાને ઉકેર રીપોર્ટીએસન માં રહેશે છે એ અપવાદ વાતથી અમને મજાજ બેર અને નિરાસા કાપવા થાય છે.

નવી રેકોર્ડોનું શીપમેન્ટ આવી ગયું છે

શીલ્પ રેકોર્ડો: ફરેકનું હાથ શી. ૬-૬.

| રતન | પનો સેટ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧. | ઝીનત | ફનો સેટ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧. |
|---------|---------|-------------|---------------|---------|-------------|
| મનલી છત | ૪ " | " ૧-૧-૦. | સંગમ | ૪ " | પા. ૨-૫-૧ |
| ભગત | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧-૦ | સપના | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧ |
| ધરના | ૧ " | પા. ૧-૧૬-૨ | ચંદન | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧-૦ |
| શીકારી | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧-૦ | શીલ્પ પ્રતિભા | ૪ " | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧ |

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- 14722 અપીલ દુ મોલેલ
- 14733 ખાલ હામેલ કોલદ
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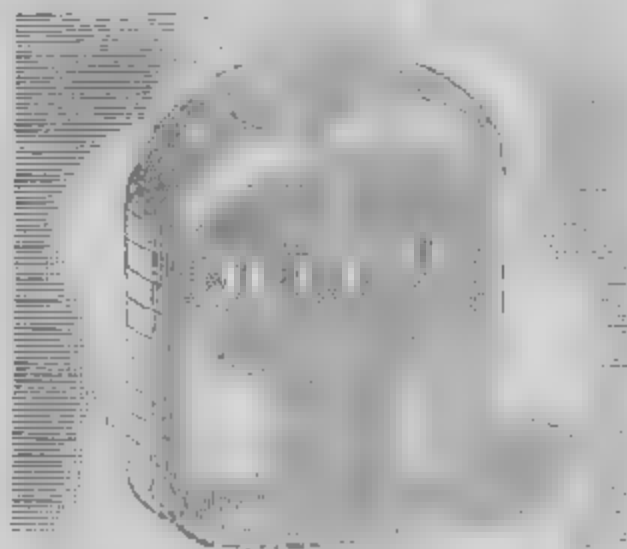


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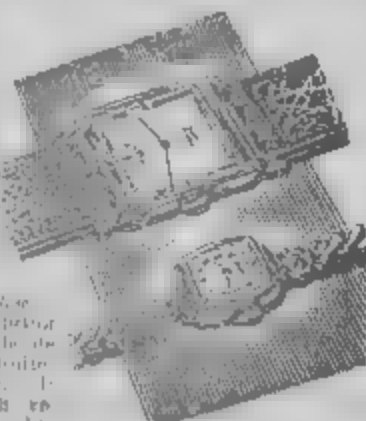
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FRIDAY, 17TH DECEMBER, 1948

Domestic Concerns

U.N.O. was designed to promote world peace and progress by ensuring the Four Freedoms to the peoples of the world. It would be difficult to over-estimate the profound significance and far-reaching importance of that resolve and its implications. Rightly appraised, they will be an inspiration, a detente, a departure from and a rising superior to the hitherto prevailing purely material outlook—commonly known as power politics—it only inasmuch as Duty is placed above Self-interest. Duty is made synonymous with right conduct and right conduct with the demands of conscience, however exacting.

But the implications involved go far beyond this. They embrace a tacit recognition of the essential unity that underlies the diversity that differentiates a unity that links each human member of the whole called Mankind in every other in the great adventure all are sharing—called life. They go far towards regarding mankind as an organic whole—a single organism, of which races and nations are but the constituent parts or members. They envisage a common purpose, a common objective which transcends remote, nevertheless common, goals towards which mankind is slowly and

painfully groping its way. They identify 'rights' with 'righteousness' and as incompatible with the inflicting upon another of wrongs, and would seem to give the long-delayed affirmative to the age-old question, 'Am I My Brother's Keeper?' The weak are entitled to the protection of the strong and 'jungle ethics' condemned as an affront to human dignity and a hindrance to man's progress.

The programme above contemplated may, of course, prove to be too idealistic for immediate or even early adoption in its completeness, but it is profoundly significant that it is sponsored by men who so far from being mere visionaries, are generally recognised practical men of affairs, and as such perceive that the artificial barriers, the walls of separateness, that hitherto have divided and kept the members of the human family apart are breaking down and that interdependence and co-operation must, in the best interests of everybody, replace exclusiveness and self-seeking. In such circumstances no nation can be a law unto itself.

The standard of right and wrong having been determined (The Four Freedoms) must be accepted and faithfully complied with both in regard to what should be done and what

should not be done. This, of course, demands some surrender of what is called 'sovereignty'. Self-denial and renunciation, rightly appraised, are not, however, bad things. On the contrary those whose opinion have commended them with the greatest respect contend that they are virtues best calculated to advance man's growth and progress.

The Union's policy of Apartheid really amounts to nothing less than an emphatic refusal to associate itself with this advance in the life of human life. It claims the absolute right to be a law unto itself in regard to all matters within its own borders. What yet a member of U.N.O. as Government disputes the right of that body to question its reactionary treatment of its Native Coloured and Indian peoples. It resents criticism as an unwarrantable impertinence and claims privilege to what it contends, are its own purely domestic concerns, its business and nobody else's. An attitude not so very unlike the slave owners who resented the injustice of any man being deprived of the right to whelp his own nigger. There is at least one short straight and complete answer to this plea in bar—as lawyers would term it. All who claim to be the victims of injustice, oppression or the denial of such rights as are recognised by The Four Freedoms, are entitled to have recourse to the Tribunal whose function it is

to secure and safeguard them, U.N.O. or other such a Tribunal or nothing.

Whatever constitutes an offence against the principles enshrined in The Four Freedoms is legitimate for investigation by that Tribunal. The 'plea in bar' of 'domestic concerns' is no more admissible than it would be in a Court of the Union were it advanced by a father charged with starving, criminally assaulting or otherwise abusing the child, the authority he was entitled to exercise over his children. A charge so laid may, of course, fail; prove to be ill-founded, but it would need considerable courage for the defendant in this case to suggest that the Indian complainant has not made out a *prima facie* case. The defendant's admission of his contention that the 'white domination' end justifies the means, regardless of the consequences alone supply that. The most tragic part of the whole business is the Government's unwillingness (or inability?) to recognise the folly as well as the wickedness, of its Apartheid policy, to see that what it is doing is a boomerang, its failure to subordinate expediency to principle, and to appreciate that in the ultimate upreckoning, in which never profited a nation but on the contrary inevitably ensured its down-
fall.

THE TRUE WAY TO PRERERVE "WHITE CIVILISATION"

By C. W. COUSINS

Formerly Director Of Census and Statistics

NOTH "white" civilisation or any Government as it will make the European race numerically dominant in South Africa. The natural force of Native races makes this impossible. The only way white civilisation can preserve itself is to have civilisation to the non-European majority too. Otherwise, not only will the "black peril" bogey become a real peril, but white civilisation itself will degenerate through its own unworthiness.

In the Report on the Union Population in 1921, a note which has been in this column may be found, giving the number of Europeans and non-Europeans at previous censuses, and then (calculated on the basis of those figures) the growth of each section of the population for a period of 30 years, i.e., up to the year 1951 as it would be if, but only if, the rates of earlier increases were maintained.

This illustration, printed in black and white, represents a vast preponderance of black, and unfortunately was used for its repulsive political purpose to illustrate the so-called Black Peril claim.

Of the 5th case covered by the Diagram "B" had passed when the last Union Census was taken in 1921, the results which provide comparative figures, testing the hypothetical increases in the diagram against actual increases as shown in the latest Census. The following figures are given for ready reference:

European population: 1921, 1,519,400; 1940, 2,022,690; in 1951, 2,525,980.

Non-European population: 1921, 5,409,090; 1940, 6,549,270; in 1951, 7,689,450.

There is here, in this comparison, no suggestion of any real folk who cling to the fantastic belief that somehow or other their political leaders will make good their declared election promises and see to it that that which is inevitable is prevented from happening. These leaders will find themselves as powerless to arrest the tide of population increase as was King Canute facing the waves of the sea.

All that was ever been accomplished by the present Government in its "policy of white civilisation" is that much vaunted achievement of "statecraftship" which divides passengers on the Capetown railway platforms into something like the white sheep and nondescript goat followed by the presentation to the Indian

community of an additional thong for the whip which the Union representative will have to face and South Africa will have to feel in Paris; followed again by a gratuitous attack on the status of Coloured voters, and yet again by the promise to withdraw the right of Native representation by breaking the solemnly pledged word of the white "trustees" to their African "wards."

Does not the whole of this accomplished provide a sorry spectacle, both for ourselves and those in other lands, who come to wonder whether white civilisation, if that is really what it stands for, has worth worth preserving? We too must realise that a performance so stupid and immoral alienates in our own land the mass of our population, on whose goodwill and co-operation our future depends, and in the councils of the world those good and powerful friends who have stood by South Africa hitherto.

Until the population in future generations increases beyond what may prove to be the carrying capacity of the land, there is every indication that the non-white section, with its immense preponderance at the start, will increase that preponderance. This may occur at a diminishing rate, but it will continue until the holding capacity of South Africa calls a halt—or unpeels a diversion.

In all this time, by some means or other, either wisely provided by the representatives of "Western Civilisation"—better described in Winston Churchill's phrase as "Christian civilisation"—or, failing that, obtained in a less wholesome or even in some pernicious manner, the mass of the African population will gradually shed its past and assume in education and in manner of life much of the characteristic forms and qualities represented by the white population.

Generations ago, it might have been possible—possible, though not necessarily desirable, and always difficult—to have divided the white from the black and Coloured. The time has long since passed, and it is not easy to believe in the honest ignorance of those political leaders who so clamorously promised racial separation at the last election. It is far easier to believe that they deliberately misled the people or, as an alternative, that leaders and supporters alike were ready for the cry as a convenient smoke-screen to conceal their

real object: to secure for "a section of a section" of the people a position of naked race discrimination.

The nobler-minded person, thinking of these things and allowing his mind to grasp the significance of the tidal flow of population, will face up to the simple truth that the only way in South Africa to preserve "Christian Civilisation" is to give it wisely and open-handedly to those for whom we stand as sponsors. Not only is this the wise course, it is the right one; and between right and wrong there can be no argument.

What then of our carefully guarded "White Civilisation"? No man can answer that question. There is no guide to the so distant future. But this much may be said with conviction: the right road cannot lead to the wrong end. That which is of real value in our much cherished civilisation will endure: it is the dross that will be cast aside.

SOUTH AFRICA RIDING TO ITS FALL

RAJA MAHARAJ SINGH PREDICTS NON-EUROPEANS' REVOLUTION

THE South African Government had not the slightest moral excuse in its stand regarding South-West Africa and by its rigid colour bar it was precipitating a revolution of non-Europeans against Europeans "within the life-time of many of us," said Raja Maharaj Singh, Governor of Bombay, in an interview recently at Bombay.

When asked about the debate in the United Nations regarding South-West Africa, Raja Maharaj Singh said: "Article 77 of the U.N. Charter contemplates the placing under the trusteeship system of territories previously held under mandate. All such territories which were administered by colonial Powers such as Great Britain, France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand have been placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations, but the Government of South Africa has, for the last three sessions of the U.N. Assembly, refused to follow the example of other colonial Powers.

Under the trusteeship system, the administering Power is bound to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants and their progressive development towards self-government. This is contemplated under Article 76 of the Charter.

"The Government of South Africa has repeatedly disregarded the all but unanimous recommendations of the U.N. Assembly in this matter. Instead, it

if, on the other hand, a policy of shameless dishonesty prevails and the wrong road is taken, there will be engendered a cancer of moral rotteness that may take possession of the nation. A dangerous stage of deterioration may set in. Then in the distant, unseeable future, what if the African proves himself our equal, or even the better man?

There is now for South Africa only one safe course, to accept the position that, while racially and socially the races of their own volition maintain their distinctiveness, for all material and economic purposes each must take its place as an integral part of the general population. Each race needs, and may prove itself the complement of, the other. Our reliance should be placed primarily on good faith, then on mutual goodwill, and finally the recognition of the fact that the material and spiritual interests of each are common to all. —The Star (Johannesburg).

bases its opposition on two arguments. The first is that the people concerned are opposed to coming under the trusteeship system. This may be true of the European minority in South-West Africa which enjoys political, economic and social privileges denied to the African inhabitants. The latter for the most part are a simple and illiterate people. It is impossible to believe that they would prefer to come under the South African Government instead of being brought under a system which insists on their development towards self-government.

Technical Objection

"The South African Government maintains the colour bar in all its hideousness in every department of life to an extent unknown in any other country, not excluding the southern States of North America. Nobody knows this better than I, for I was Agent-General for India in South Africa for three years.

"Another argument used by the South African Government is that legally a mandatory Power is not under compulsion to place its territory under the trusteeship system. Unfortunately, on the two occasions when I was a member of the Trusteeship Committee, the colonial Powers supported this plea but they found themselves in a minority. At the most, it is a technical objection and opposed to the clear intention of the U.N. Charter. Moreover, no other

Power has raised this objection.

"One thing is my mind is certain. The South African Government by its rigid colour bar, both in South Africa and South-West Africa is riding to its ultimate fall. As one who has travelled a great deal in Africa, I can say without hesitation that within the lifetime of many of us there will be revolution of non-Europeans against Europeans in which the former are bound to win in the long run and will have the support of all Africans, all Asians and large numbers of Europeans."

Referring to the statement of Mr. Louw, leader of the South

African delegation to the U.N. about the treatment of Depressed Classes in India, Raja Maharaj Singh said: "Mr. Louw's comparison of the treatment of the Depressed Classes in India with that of the non-Europeans in South Africa is altogether false and misleading. If the same treatment was given to non-Europeans there today, as is accorded to our brethren, the Depressed Classes in India, there would be no colour problem in South Africa. I am speaking of 1948, not of course of 90 years ago. The South African Government would not dare to have any non-European in any cabinet, central or provincial." A.P.J.

INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIA

PRIME MINISTER'S SURVEY AT PRESS CONFERENCE

INDIA'S role in Asia and her future relationship with the Commonwealth were discussed by the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru at a press conference in New Delhi on November 12. By virtue of historical processes, the Prime Minister said, India had to be completely an "Independent Sovereign Republic." Any other course would lead to less co-operation with the world, rather than more. Pandit Nehru also felt—and this was his personal opinion and of those who thought like him—that in the world as it is today, it was not desirable to break non-tariff and seek isolation. "No country can be completely isolated; whether it was legally so or not, was immaterial," he said. Therefore, subject to our being completely independent, not only in fact, but in practice, in regard to our domestic and external policy, we should develop as many contacts as possible. Apart from world contact through the United Nations, there was the continuing contact with the commonwealth countries.

"In that contact there are both advantages and certain disadvantages but it is a contact which is bringing a number of mutual advantages to all concerned, provided it is looked upon in this way."

Pandit Nehru reiterated that the question whether India should be a Republic was finally to be decided by the Constituent Assembly. Nevertheless, certain preliminary explorations had to be made before a final decision was reached, and his talks in London had proceeded on the basis of the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly, which declares India to be a "Sovereign Independent Republic." The Prime

Minister added that he would continue informal discussions in New Delhi. After a stage these discussions could be a little more formal, and ultimately, when something definite emerged, the Government of India and the Indian Constituent Assembly would formally consider the final decision.

It is learnt that on December 10 the Congress Working Committee decided that India should remain in the Commonwealth.

Closer Co-operation Between Asian Countries

Dealing with India's role in Asia, the Prime Minister said in his brief stay in Paris he found a marked desire among the representatives of Asian countries to have a closer association with India in the United Nations and in other spheres.

Pandit Nehru deprecated any talk of India's leadership in Asia. Nevertheless various factors like India's geographical position, her resources, her bigness and pivotal position with regard to defence, made her the easiest meeting ground for Asian countries. He would wish to encourage that kind of development not as a kind of grouping against anybody, "but as a measure protecting one's own interests and the interests of world peace."

"Our general approach to this problem," he said, "is this, and we shall continue to confer amongst ourselves and the United Kingdom and the Dominion Governments, to find how far this approach could be realised in practice."

Referring to Indonesia, Pandit Nehru said that what happened in that country intensely interested India and other Asian coun-

tries. "If by any chance, things flare up there again as a result of aggressive action, this is going to have the most far-reaching results. I think there is some chance in Indonesia of peaceful union being employed. The point is that this kind of thing, which happened in Indonesia has consequences here and in the whole of South East Asia."

"I found a lack of realisation of all these aspects in both London and Paris. The people there were so concentrated on their immediate problems such as the Western Union that of course we in important problems—that they did not see other problems which were not only important to themselves but mightily affected them. I think the general discussions in both these places helped to bring out the proper perspective in the consideration of these questions."

Talks With Foreign Statesmen Abroad

Answering questions about his visit abroad, Pandit Nehru said he had three meetings with the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, M. Vyshinsky, and three with Mr. Winston Churchill. His talks with M. Vyshinsky had been "very interesting, friendly and full." With Mr. Churchill also he had very friendly talks mostly about the past. In Cairo he talks with Azam Pasha and other Arab leaders had been largely concerned with the development of the general concept of Asian unity.

In reply to a question on the spread of Communism in some Asian countries, the Prime Minister said the leaders of the Communist movement had overplayed their hand and injured their own cause either as a result of political immaturity or because they acted under orders from another place. There was also another aspect to the question; and that was the attitude of the colonial powers. In Indonesia, for example, because of an attempt to continue colonial domination large numbers of people got frustrated. They had thought the Republic would give them a chance but when it did not they went over to somebody else, not that they were Communists.

Pandit Nehru stated that when in Paris, he had discussed with various Asian representatives the question of holding the next Asian Relations Conference. It was originally fixed to be held at Hongkong in China. But as a result of these discussions it was found that the only suitable place to hold the conference again was India.

RE-UNION OF HEARTS

SHRI VINOBA addressed a few words to the people gathered for prayer at Indore. He referred to the great tragedy that had occurred in India. "Victories of Pakistan had prompted the idea that there were two nations in India and that they could not live together. It was an erroneous theory, but a large number of Indian Muslims had been carried away by that propaganda. Shri Vinoba did not allege that the Muslims had no grievances. Grievances did exist but there existed proper remedies for them also. That the millions of people should quit their homes was certainly not a remedy. The results would have been far better if efforts had been made to solve them in a friendly spirit. But that method did not appeal to a large section of the Muslims. The events, which followed were extremely distressing. He was told that from Indore also many Muslims had gone to Hyderabad and other places, but they had subsequently to return to their old places, and that had put them in difficulty. They had certainly erred in migrating away like that. But even so Indians should help them to resettle. That was the way to re-establish unity. Everything said and done, the two were not alien. Only their modes of worship were different. The Muslims might not assume that they would have complete freedom of worship in India, the Government would advise them to endeavour to identify themselves with their Hindu brethren. Different modes of worship was no bar to mutual regard and friendship. They must develop mutual friendly relations and regard India as their own mother-land. He would suggest to them, continued Shri Vinoba, to learn the language of the land. Nagari was still foreign to them. A few amongst them had picked up a little English, but Hindi they did not know. He urged them to learn the other style and script is well. That would help the growth of friendly relations. Referring to the speech of a Muslim Shri Vinoba said that the audience could hardly follow what that speaker had said. Shri Vinoba himself could follow it only because he knew a little of Persian, Arabic, and Urdu. One should speak a language which one's hearers could understand. Continuing Shri Vinoba advised them not to be influenced by dispirited groups of people elsewhere, but to develop mutual love and confidence. If the re-union of hearts could become easy, and a day might come when those who had separated could reunite.

FULL TEXT OF DEBATE OF ASIATIC BILL

(Continued From Last Week)

Mrs. BALLINGER Mr. Speaker, our position on these benches in regard to this Bill is peculiarly difficult. But there are reasons why we propose to vote for the amendment, which I feel I should make an effort to make clear to this House.

I do not think I need remind the House that we were opposed to the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, to the whole of that Bill. We are still opposed to the whole of that Act. I would have been much happier to-day had I been facing a proposition from the hon. Prime Minister to repeal the whole of the Act and to reconsider the whole question of the relationship of the Asiatic community in this country to the general community of the country. I think that would have been a much happier position for all of us. I want to explain again why we were opposed to the land sections of that Act from the beginning. We were opposed to any interference with property rights of any section of the community in a country which is based on private property rights. We still maintain that opposition. We know from experience of the position of the Native population just what such restriction of property rights can mean. We were also opposed to the representation sections of that Act. We are opposed in principle to any form of communal representation which it was proposed to establish in that Act for the Indian community and which is the system under which we hold our seats in this House. We have always maintained that this is not a sound system of representation. I may add, for the information of those who have some sense of logic, that we hold these seats in order to propagate in this House, where policy is made and laws are framed, that this system is bad. We believe that the system of communal representation is unsound for a variety of reasons.

One is, that where parties are unevenly balanced, as they mostly have been in this House while we have sat in it, there is a marked tendency on the part of members who represent white constituencies to neglect entirely the people whose interests are believed to be represented by a group such as ours. I consider it seems in order to propagate in this House, since we took our seats in it, that members on both sides of the House have tended to regard the representation of Native interests as our particular obligation. While they have claimed to be the trustees of 8,000,000 wards, they have failed entirely to meet those wards and to understand their needs or wishes. They have regarded that as our special job. The result is that a widening gap

has developed, in the political field, between those who claim to have the responsibility for the racial political minorities of this country and those minorities themselves. In other words, this type of representation in my experience leads to marked neglect of the people who are represented by group representation, by those who claim that they have a responsibility for them. But again, when parties are not so unequally divided, as is the case at present, there is the inevitable tendency, so marked in the attitude of the hon. the Prime Minister, to regard this representation with fear and to argue that it should be removed because there is a danger of it forming a bloc in which, in the words of the hon. Prime Minister—in my opinion, very significant words might undermine and neutralise the will of "the Volk." I think that was probably the most significant statement that was made in the course of the morning's debate. The Prime Minister said specifically in his capacity of the Leader of this country, that these blocks of non-Europeans might undermine and wipe out the will of the Volk. In other words, "the people," are the Europeans of this country.

An HON. MEMBER No, he meant the members of his own party.

Mrs. BALLINGER I accept the correction of hon. members at this side of the House, that "the Volk" has an even more limited interpretation than I have given it. That, I think, is the great additional danger of this type of representation. It puts the citizens of this country into separate groups; and it creates conflicts between those groups that are a menace to the peace of the country. I myself seek to pursue logic to the best of my ability. I find it is incredibly difficult to understand the hon. Prime Minister's proposal now to abolish Native representation, to wipe out the possibility of Indian representation, lest these might provide a bloc which will nullify the will of the people whom he represents, who vote for those who follow him and yet he is proposing to establish a new non-European bloc in this House. Perhaps the hon. Prime Minister will explain to us how he conceives the representation of Natives and Asiatics as a possible menace to this House and yet does not foresee the same sort of menace from a new bloc of Coloured representatives in this House. It is part of this plan, he has told us, to take the Coloured voters off the com-

mon voters' roll and to give them something which he has said is not good enough for Natives—he has said he is not going to give the Natives something better—and at the same time he is going to try and persuade us that he does not believe that that Coloured representation will be the danger to Europeans that he sees in this possible non-European bloc of Native and Asiatic representatives. These are my own general reasons, and the reasons of those who take their stand on the same platform as I do, for saying that this type of communal representation is not a sound type of representation. That was why we voted against it in 1916 when this Act was brought forward. But to say that we are opposed to this type of representation does not mean that we are prepared to accept the proposition which the hon. Prime Minister has brought forward to-day. We may not believe in this type of representation, but we still do not believe in no representation at all, which is what he offered. We who sit on these benches take our stand on the right of every section of the population to be represented where policies are framed and laws are made. That is the essence of the democratic system. That is the essence of the principle of government by consent which is the political philosophy to which we claim to subscribe in this country. It is the only way in which this principle can be effectively applied under the form of government which we have chosen. This Parliament is the supreme governing authority of this country. If it is to do its duty to all the people of this country in terms of the democratic principle then it must provide representation for the people where the laws of the country are made. That is the essence of the system that we have inherited and under which we live. In the circumstances, therefore, simply to remove the type of representation provided for in the second chapter of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act, with its provision for this communal representation, is not to meet the situation in which we stand. We believe that it is absolutely essential that every one of our racial groups should be represented in this House if justice is to be done and if peace is to be created in this country. I say advisedly peace created, because peace certainly does not exist in this country today. We are not going to have peace in this country unless in every section of this country is re-established confidence in those who today hold the reins of Govern-

ment. My own view of the situation is the one I put forward when the hon. Leader of the Opposition brought in his Bill in 1916. My attitude then is my attitude today. That the time is long past when the Indian community in this country should have some representation in this House, and I believe that the only safe representation in this House for any section is representation on the common voters' roll. I think South Africa took a disastrously wrong turning when it removed the Africans from the common voters' roll in the Cape Province. I think it will take another disastrously wrong turning if it removes the Coloured population from the common voters' roll in this Province. The only way it can get fully on to the democratic track again is to widen the voters' roll and bring in, not great batches of people—I am not claiming that every non-European should be put on the voters' roll, I claim that the voters' roll is in fact a voters' roll with a qualification. It looks like universal suffrage. In fact in terms of our type of society it is only a suffrage based on specific educational qualifications. We have the law of compulsory education in this country for Europeans. Every European must go to school and must stay there for a certain number of years of reach a certain standard of educational efficiency—there is the educational qualification. The non-Europeans have never challenged that educational qualification. They are even prepared to admit that with their background it might possibly be legitimate to ask that their educational qualification should be higher than that which the franchise law lays down for Europeans; but they claim, and I maintain with justice, that every person in this country who has what we regard as a European standard of education and who lives according to European standards of life should have representation in this House, to speak for himself and for his own people and to see that justice is done to him. I cannot understand the logic which denies that right. The hon. Minister for Native Affairs made the most extraordinary statement that could ever be made by people of a democratic tradition like ours whose political history is the history of this country, whose traditions are the traditions from which we have sprung. He said there was no reason to give the Natives representation in this House because the trustee was not called upon to give his ward a say in the affairs of the trustee—a most incredible statement in my opinion. I have already made reference to this speech in this House. Actually I believe that the terms trustee and ward are most inadequate to

define the relationship between the European and non-European races in this country. But accepting in this context, where do the interests of the ward end and the interests of the trustee begin? Does this House not govern and control every aspect of the life of the non-European people? Does it not propose to go on controlling every aspect of the non-European people? One thing that has emerged abundantly clear from all the efforts we have made to elicit information as to what that policy means in practice, one thing has emerged though it has not been directly stated by hon. Ministers who seemed to find it very difficult to make direct statements in this regard—that is, that in those areas where a national home is to be built up for the Natives, the Natives are going to live constantly and forever under the guardianship and control of the Europeans. This has been made abundantly clear every time this issue has arisen. It was made clear again in the hon. Prime Minister's answer to the hon. member for Queensland (Mr. Van Collier) when he told the hon. member that the Europeans in Native areas need not worry about the future as there would never be a time when they would not be wanted there. My point is this: there is no single matter that has been dealt with in this House that has not its non-European aspect. There is nothing we do here that does not affect the lives of the non-European people. Now, if the principle of democracy stands for anything it stands for government by consent, and government by consent can only operate if it has the practical backing of the right of man through his representative to offer that consent where policies are being formed and laws being made. I take my stand again on the claims, and I know that my colleagues stand on the same platform in this regard, that what it should do is to provide every one of its racial minorities with representation through the common voice roll, in this House. The common voice roll would at least have the merit of seeing that some of those who sit in this House will occasionally meet the non-European groups in this country and hear what they have to say and know what is going on among them; and, representing joint interests of all groups, they will be able to shoulder these joint responsibilities which they should take. Then they will prevent the growth of these terrific barriers between the racial groups in this country which are the menace and the danger to this country. I would remind the hon. Prime Minister that, whatever he may feel about the non-European groups in this country and I am anxious about his feel-

ings in that regard—they are part of this community and they are our responsibility. I have experienced many saddening things in the course of this Session, but none, Sir, has been more saddening than the hatred in the voice of the hon. Prime Minister this morning when he talked about

the Asiatic population, the bitter hatred that seemed to inspire every reference he made to them in his speech.

HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

An HON. MEMBER: That is going too far.

(To be Continued)

Things In General

U.N.O.

Despite a last minute appeal by the leader of the South African delegation, Mr. Eric Louw, in which he described the complaints of India as "frivolous," the Assembly decided on December 6, by 43 votes to 13, to reconvene at Lake Success in April next year when the South African Indian question will be discussed.

When the U.N. adopted the Declaration of Human Rights, an ambitious document setting out in 31 Articles, man's rights and his duties towards the community, South Africa abstained from voting.

On December 11, the twelve weeks old third session of the Nations General Assembly came to an end having accomplished very little, and leaving behind a number of loose ends. The session has left many delegates with the conviction that drastic reforms must be made in the Assembly's procedure to prevent a repetition of this year's partial fiasco.

Before completing its session the U.N.O. declared itself in favour of admission to membership to Austria, Eire, Italy, Finland, Portugal, Transjordan and Ceylon.

Congress Session Begins

The 55th session of the Indian National Congress that is being held at Gandhinagar in Jaipur, began on Tuesday, December 14, when the torch of freedom was brought from Meerut to Gandhinagar. Acharya Vinoba Bhave opened the Sarvodaya Exhibition also.

On Wednesday, December 15, the President, Parashu, Sitaramayya arrived in Jaipur from where he was taken to Gandhinagar. The occasion was the most colourful seen after 10 years. The procession was led by a decorated elephant holding the national flag. The volunteers looked very smart in their white uniforms as they marched in front of the President. After a column of Sikh volunteers came the President's car pulled by colourfully dressed bullocks.

The first ceremony performed by Dr. Parashu Sitaramayya, was to unveil a large portrait of Gandhiji.

Gandhinagar covers about 3 miles and the ponds that have been made for the open session can accommodate over 300,000 people.

On December 16, the Congress Working Committee met to discuss the agenda for the open session.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, the deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel and the Education Minister, Maulana Azad also arrived at Gandhinagar on December 16.

The open session will begin on Saturday, December 18.

Hind-Pakistan Conference Ends

Hind-Pakistan Conference ended in New Delhi on December 15. The points discussed, have nearly all come to a satisfactory agreement. The chief subjects are: border episodes, border disagreement, and trade between Hind and Pakistan. The subjects discussed were of political, economic and cultural outlook.

Rajaji's Address To Delhi Rotary Club

The Governor-General, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari addressing the Delhi Rotary Club recently, declared: "If we solve our difficulties in India, we set a laboratory example for the whole world. The world is watching us," he said "not only because we have got the largest power element with us, namely, population, but also because we are trying to solve problems, in which if we succeed we might be an example to the rest of the world." The Governor-General continued: "If once we make up our minds on the basis of clear truth, most difficulties solve themselves. Here in our country, for instance, we have divided the territory which was governed by Ashoka and Akbar into two Political entities. Most people deplore it. But mutual commerce or friendship is not prevented by partition of India. Humanity is one and we are trying to rediscover this very old truth through many organisations of which the Rotary Club is one."

S.A.I.C.'s Message To W.I.D.F.

The South African Indian Congress sent the following message to the Second World Indian Women's International Democratic Federation held at Budapest, Hungary from the 1st to 15th December 1948: "We stand on behalf of the Indian Women of South Africa, greetings to your Congress and express the hope that in the very near future our women will be able to join you actively in proceeding the aims of your Congress—the aims and ideals of women everywhere to make the world fit and secure, free from want and war for the future of our children."

Non-Europeans' Voice In Nyasaland Legislative Council

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, has approved a proposal by the Government of Nyasaland that membership of the Legislative Council there be increased to include two Native unofficial members, one Asian unofficial member and three additional official members.

New Commander Of Indian Army

An Indian officer has been selected to succeed General Sir Roy Boucher as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. He is Lieut. General M. Cariappa.

U.S. Lists 15 S. Africans As Red Leaders

The names of 15 South Africans appear in a list of 500 or more important Communist leaders outside the Soviet Union, compiled as an official report for the United States Government. Among them are Yusuf M. Dadoo, Harry A. Dadoo, G. Parnen, Barry B. Sachs, Harry Snitcher and Hilda Lillian Watts. The report says that the average Communist leaders are both rather young—30 years and long in Communist experience and add that underlying their ruthlessness their flexibility and patience, their interpretation of history is obsolete and destructive.

Bulawayo Wedding

Gajaben, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Mahanji Dullabhbhai of Bulawayo was married to Jhansabhai, son of Mr. and Mrs. Narandas Bhagabhai of Lusaka, according to Vedic Rites, on November 27, at the Hindu Hall at Bulawayo. Mr. and Mrs. Mahanji Dullabhbhai wish to thank their many friends and relatives for their kind help.

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

ACCORDING to Renter at the resumed hearing of the Gandhi Murder Trial in the Red Fort, Delhi on November 15, Madanlal Pahwa, one of the accused said in a statement that he had exploded a gun cotton slab near Gandhiji's prayer ground on January 30 last but denied the existence of a conspiracy to murder the Mahatma.

Himself a refugee from the West Punjab, Madanlal told of the plight of the non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan during their exodus to India and said it became his "obsession" to make the cry of the refugees reach Gandhiji's ears.

Madanlal said that he had only decided to make "loud noises" by exploding the slab near the prayer ground. "The idea of doing any (or any) harm to Gandhiji never crossed my mind," Madanlal described as "the blackest lie" Badge's statement in court that his part was to ignite the hue and then run to the prayer ground and throw a hand grenade at Gandhiji.

The other accused, Kishore, Gopal Godse and Apte, affirmed "with all solemnity" at their command, the plea of "categorical denial" of all the charges levelled against them in connection with the incidents in Bhai House on January 20 and January 30.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the seventh accused in the Gandhi murder case and former President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a written statement before Mr. Atma Charan, Special Judge, at the Red Fort on November 20 denied the charges of conspiracy and abetment in the commission of any offence framed against him.

"I did not commit any of the offences charged against me. I had I any reason to do so," declared Mr. Savarkar, adding, "I solemnly assert that I was never a party to any agreement or conspiracy as alleged by the prosecution nor had I any knowledge of any such criminal design."

Reasserting that he was perfectly innocent, Mr. Savarkar prayed the Judge to acquit him without the least blemish on his character and order him to be released forthwith.

Two Sentences

Holding that the whole fabric of the prosecution evidence rested on but two sentences only, "the first hearsay and the second an inference," Mr. Savarkar said that the only part of the evidence which aimed to trace definitely his individual connection with the conspiracy comprised two sentences—both of them allegations made by Badge.

He said, "In the first sentence

Badge says that Apte told him that I had told Apte to 'finish Gandhi, Nehru and Subhaswadi. In the second sentence Badge says that he heard me saying 'be successful and come back' to Apte and me, by which he inferred that it might have referred to the first sentence told by Apte. Everything else that goes to swell up the voluminous record of the prosecution evidence is meant to intensify the stage effect, and, so far as my case is concerned, must be taken as ineffective."

"Of the two sentences in Badge's evidence in which alone an effort is made to connect me definitely and directly with this conspiracy, the first sentence is hearsay. Badge, the approver, alleges that Apte told that to him. Apte and Godse both deny that they ever told it to Badge and that they were never told by me as alleged. There is absolutely no evidence to corroborate Badge's allegation. The first allegation of Badge is not only hearsay but uncorroborated hearsay."

Mr. Savarkar added that, as regards the second sentence, which Badge said he personally heard me (Savarkar) tell Apte and me, "be successful and come back," he said, "in inference that it might have been in connection with the conspiracy. Moreover, Apte and Godse both asserted that the story of the visit of the three to his house and the allegation of his (Savarkar) having uttered that sentence 'be successful and come back' is a fabrication and totally false."

The statement added, "Thus inasmuch as the case against me is found to rest entirely in the two above mentioned corroborated hearsay told by the approver and the second uncorroborated inference drawn by the approver—both of which can never be held as convincing evidence in any court of law. I submit that the whole case against me gets automatically demolished and my innocence unquestionably established."

Referring to the approver's deposition against him, Mr. Savarkar said that Badge alleged that a meeting took place at Savarkar's Saden at the end of 1946 at which Mr. Savarkar was alleged to have spoken on the Hindu-Muslim question and to have said that the Hindus should resist if Muslims attacked. Even supposing what Badge alleged was true, still the meeting could have no connection with the conspiracy case, but the fact was that there was no such meeting, and no speech was made by the accused at all.

Badge's Evidence

As regards the approver's evidence that "Apte told me that Tatyasa (Savarkar) had decided that Gandhiji, Nehru and Subhaswadi should be finished and had entrusted that work to them," Mr. Savarkar said "taking it for granted that Badge himself is telling the truth when he says that Apte told him that sentence the question still remains whether what Apte told Badge was true or false. There is no evidence to show that I had ever told Apte to finish Gandhiji, Nehru and Subhaswadi. Apte might have invented this wicked lie to exploit Mr. Savarkar's moral influence on Hindu Sanghainists for his own purpose. Both Apte and Godse deny emphatically the allegations that they had ever told Badge any such lies regarding me and that in order to save his skin and secure pardon as an approver, Badge had told these lies to incriminate me under police pressure, or to solicit their pleasure as he knew that the police were extremely anxious and desperately trying to get some evidence, true or false, to implicate me in this case."

Coming to the next point in approver's evidence, Mr. Savarkar totally denied having seen Godse or Apte on January 17 or any other day near about nor did he say to them "be successful and come back," and he (Savarkar) had never predicted that Gandhiji's hundred years were over, to Apte or to anyone else, he said.

'Absence Of Proof'

Mr. Savarkar added: "Whether Badge has lied or Godse and Apte have lied to exploit the moral influence which my name exercised on people to further their alleged criminal conspiracy, in either case it cannot incriminate me in the absence of any independent, direct and material proof to connect me with the criminal knowledge or participation in that conspiracy."

After analysing the various incidents mentioned by Badge, Mr. Savarkar said: "Badge's motive in giving false evidence against me is clear. He saw that the police were working frantically on the basis of some shadowy suspicions they had to rope me in this case by hook or crook."

Badge must have realised that the police might be hoping that if they could implicate some outstanding public leading figure in this case, they could bank on sensational publicity and sell

advertisement for themselves throughout the country which otherwise was not likely to happen. As an accused on such serious charges a man like Badge must have felt that the only way to save his skin was to turn an approver and to render himself acceptable to the police as an indispensable approver, the only implied condition was to deny false evidence against me."

Association With Godse

Mr. Savarkar submitted: "The analysis of the documentary evidence produced by the prosecution proves it indisputably that Godse and Apte were only associated with me in so far as the Mahasabha work was concerned. Not only that but amongst those thousands great and small, who were associated with me in Hindu Sanghainist cause, Godse and Apte were only two. That is all. They were neither chosen specially nor exclusively trusted."

"The prosecution alleged that it had in its possession an ever-whisking documentary evidence which would prove that the accused and especially Godse and Apte had an association with him (Savarkar) of such a nature that they had been unquestionably loyal to him as their guide and guru that they could not have conspired and acted in the way they did without consulting him and but for his sanction, the act (committing the murder) would not have been done at all."

Possession Of Letters

"Holding that the allegation was entirely unfounded, unjustifiable and was meant only to prejudice the court against him, Mr. Savarkar said that out of 10,000 letters which the prosecution had in its possession as his correspondence running over a period of some ten years, not a single word or a line had been found to incriminate him. It exploded altogether the prosecution's allegation that the documentary evidence it had in its possession would inevitably lead to prove my complicity with Godse and Apte in the alleged conspiracy."

He said: "It was absurd. The part of the prosecution to assert dogmatically that Godse and Apte must have consulted me in this conspiracy and that I should be held as incriminated in it." Mr. Savarkar said that he did not know Madanlal. The latter never met him nor had he (Savarkar) any correspondence with him or any other whatsoever. Holding that the evidence of Dr. J. B. Lal, Dr. Agard Singh and Mr. Mohan Lal were hearsay, Mr. Savarkar said that he was not connected with

Savarkar said that it should be excluded out of consideration as far as the determination of his guilt or innocence was concerned."

Drawing the attention of the court to what he called the "positive" side of his defence, Mr. Savarkar said: "I have been accused of so wicked a crime as to abet the murder of Gandhiji and of an incitement against the life of Pandit Nehru too. It would be absolutely relevant if I try to bring to the notice of your honour the personal feelings I cherished regarding Gandhiji and Panditji too."

Fundamental Differences

Narrating his association with Gandhiji since 1908 Mr. Savarkar said: "In spite of fundamental differences in our ideologies on some points and in virtue of close affinity on others, there ever continued a mutual respect for and a personal goodwill to each other."—A.P.J.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar took about two hours and a half to read his statement in the court. Tears came from his eyes and he was seen wiping them with a handkerchief as he said that he too had fought as a soldier in the fight for political independence, and had suffered and sacrificed for 50 years in a measure not less than that of any other patriotic leader in his generation. At last that fight had been won and a free and independent Indian State was born.—A.P.J.

The U.P.J. adds after Veer Savarkar, accused No. 7 in the Mahatma Gandhi Murder case had read out his statement, he was questioned by the Special Judge.

Judge: About two or three days after the end of the first week of January Madanlal told Dr. Jain that you had heard about his exploits at Ahmednagar and had sent for him. When Madanlal came to you, you had a talk with him for two hours, patted him on the back and said, "carry on." Would you like to suggest anything?

Mr. Savarkar: This is all false. I did not see him at all.

Mr. Savarkar added that he had no knowledge about Miss Modak's dropping Nathuram Godse and Apte in front of his house on January 30. He also denied that Nathuram Godse and Apte went to his house the same day about 9 p.m. with a bag containing some explosives and left shortly after.

Q. On January 15, in the compound of Dikshitjee Mahabai, Apte told Badge, in the presence of Nathuram Godse, that you had decided that Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Solankar should be finished and had entrusted the work to

them. Have you any suggestions to make in this connection?—This is entirely false. I did not say any such thing to Apte or to anybody else.

Q. Do you want to put up evidence in defence?—No.

After the examination of Savarkar was over, Dr. Parchure, accused No. 8 in the case was called upon to read out his statement. After Dr. Parchure had finished his statement the court adjourned.

MRS. PANDIT FOR INDIA LEAVING COMMONWEALTH

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation to the United Nations said in Paris on November 21 that she favoured withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth. In an exclusive interview to the U.P.A., Mrs. Pandit said that a decision in this respect would be taken by the Indian Parliament within two months and added that she thought in future friendship between Britain and India should be built on "solid basis of free will" but with India outside the commonwealth.

Other points made by Mrs. Pandit were:

The United Nations: "I think the United Nations must be equipped with a police force ultimately. I feel very strongly that if the U. N. is not going to exert its moral force in a more definite manner, it will continue to weaken its prestige.

The reason U. N. record is so sad in many cases is that we don't accept the U. N. court. We skirt around it and try to interpret it for ourselves and in our own way. The Charter is a good instrument for our needs and one should accept it fully even when one does not agree with it. The Charter presents a great challenge and we should make a greater gesture toward acceptance of it." Hyderabad: She regards Hyderabad a closed question and does not expect it to be brought up again while the Assembly is in session. Mrs. Pandit said that she had heard nothing of reports that she might be sent to Washington as India's Ambassador, and said that she planned to return to her present post as Ambassador to Russia when the U. N. General Assembly ended. Mrs. Pandit added: "I am in the Indian Diplomatic Service so I may go anywhere."—U. P. A.

Students Volunteer For Dirty Work

More than 150 British students have volunteered to spend their Christmas holidays working for municipalities to ease staff shortages. All are promised dirty work to start with, but have chances of promotion.

NEWS ITEMS FROM INDIA

India Celebrates Pandit Nehru's Birthday

India on November 11 celebrated the 50th birthday of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Ceremonies included special prayers and public meetings were held throughout the country to pay tribute to the Prime Minister's services to the country and in the cause of democracy both in India and the world. Governors and Ministers of the Provinces joined with millions in wishing the Prime Minister many more years of life in the service of the nation. Hundreds of messages were received by the Prime Minister from all parts of the country and from abroad, wishing him wishing him long life and prosperity.

Victim Of Partition

When Ch. Surat Singh, Additional Deputy Commissioner, accompanied by Mr. S. L. Khosla, District Refugee Officer, was passing in a car through a bazaar in Muz, a 50-year-old Sikh refugee, shabbily dressed, stopped the car and pressed for purchase of all oranges he was holding in a basket. Ch. Surat Singh, who recognized the refugee as an old acquaintance, asked him what had happened that forced him to go about selling oranges. The refugee talked of his miserable plight and said unless he sold all the oranges he had in the basket he would not be able to feed his children in the evening. The Commissioner, who purchased some oranges from him, said later that before partition the refugee owned about 40 buildings in Lahore.

Hyderabad Women Want Freedom From Purdah

The Muslim women of the State have submitted a memorial to the Military Governor appealing to him to come to

their "aid" for the abolition of the 'purdah' system. "You have given the men in the State freedom of movement, freedom of speech and freedom in every respect. Please come to our aid and get us free from this oppression," the appeal is signed by so 'purdah'-deshir Muslim women. The appeal concludes: "We want deliverance from man's tyranny over us and we look up to you for it."

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| INDIA SPEAKING (Various contributions on economic, political, cultural and social problems of modern India) | 15 | 0 | | | |

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મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીના કહેલે
સેને ૧૬-૩માં સ્થિતિ.

ಪ್ರತಿ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ೨-೧೧, ೪

$$f_1(t) = 1, \quad 1 \leq t \leq 2, \quad f_2(t) = 2t - 2, \quad 2 \leq t \leq 3,$$

શુદ્ધાત્મી દ્વંચીમ લીલાસિ હે ન
અભય કલ સખા ॥ પૂર્ણ શુદ્ધ
પા છે તે લીલાગ અભયે મુક્તિ
પરથી શુદ્ધપણું કરતા કે
દશાઈ ભજતા કરા. પરકરવશે
આમ અભયોગન અર્થને
પ્રત્યેક જાણનારને

૧૦. આજેનાં બે કાંઠે પાન ફરતે
 મનમાં પડે એકે નાની નાની
 મનમાં આંસુ નાની મુઠાને
 નાની નાની પાંડે ને મનમાં
 કરે એકે એક ને કરે ને આજે
 મનમાં પડે “મારે સ્વર્ગ-
 મન” એ અમલ કરે એકે પડે.
 અમલ એ અમલી આવે એકે પડે.
 ના પડે એકે કરે એકે પડે કરે
 પડે સ્વાર્થમાં એકે મન
 અમલમાં એકે પડે એકે
 નાની એકે સ્વાર્થમાં એકે
 અમલમાં એકે એકે કરે એકે
 મનમાં એકે પડે એકે
 નાની એકે એકે એકે એકે

[illegible]

તેવી રીતે મારી નાખવાના ન્યાયી
કરના હોવા કરતા એના જેવી છે.
એના એક ચોક્કસ સંચોદ અને
કુટુંબ જવાબ એ છે કે એનો અન્યા
યના અને કહેવાના યોગ સ્પષ્ટ પડ
યા છે અને એના આદેશવત મતાના
અકેકા " નવીનતા " હોવા છે તેમ
ને ફનીવાની એ મહાન ન્યાયી
સંગઠીત પ્રજા મહુલા પાસે ન્યાય
આપવાનો અધિકાર છે અને તે
નું સંરક્ષણ કરવાની તે સંસ્થાની
કર્તવ્ય છે. સંગઠીત પ્રજા મહુલા
એ પ્રમાણે વર્તવામાં આનાકાની
કરશે. તો તે પરી ભારત. જેવી રીતે
સુનીયત્ત સરકારના કોઈ ન્યાયમ
હીરમાં કોઈ પણ પીતા પેતાના
ગળાકે બુધે મારવાનો અને કહે
રવું મારત્ત કહેવાનો હોવા એમ
કહીને ન કહી શકે કે એ મા
ણાક છે અને તેથી કચેરી

६३३३ ५६५५ ५७५७ ५८५८ ५९५९
 ६०६० ६१६१ ६२६२ ६३६३ ६४६४
 ६५६५ ६६६६ ६७६७ ६८६८ ६९६९
 ७०७० ७१७१ ७२७२ ७३७३ ७४७४
 ७५७५ ७६७६ ७७७७ ७८७८ ७९७९
 ८०८० ८१८१ ८२८२ ८३८३ ८४८४
 ८५८५ ८६८६ ८७८७ ८८८८ ८९८९
 ९०९० ९१९१ ९२९२ ९३९३ ९४९४
 ९५९५ ९६९६ ९७९७ ९८९८ ९९९९

આ પાયાના કહેણા જનક
તો એ દરીયા છે કે સુનીયન
અરકાર પાતાની " એ પાદકેલક "

—ઈલાયકાપણાની— સારવ શીતીની
શીકુરતા અને મુખોર્ધ સમજવા
માગતી નથી કે સમજી શકતી
નથી કશું કે એ દાખ્યનીતીમાં
તો પાતાનો કુદાડો પાતાના
પગ પર મારવા જેવું થઈ
જવડની મણીમાં તો દાડ પડી
દેશને પોતે કહેલો અન્યાય પાતા
ને દી કાઢાઈથી થયો નથી.
પણ તે અન્યાયી પાતાનો નાશ
અશક નોતરે છે.

૨૫ મધ્યમ ગાદિયે અને દુર્લભામણી
લીલિયોના એક ટેમ્પુર પામળમાં
મધ્યમ કરવા કળીડી લીમવાનું જાહેર
છે. જુગ કાળમાં આવી કળીડી
ઓ અને કળીકુંડા નીમવાના આપ્યા
કાગી અને તેના પરિણામો કહેવા અંત
જાવ ગણુ આપણુને છે, આ જામળની
તે કળીડીઓ જુલુડા મકરની છે. આ
કળીડીઓ નીમવાનું કુખ્ય કારણ તે
નૈરાયણીકા પાદોને ગાદામણ એ તે
જોના ટેકો અને તે મુદે છે એટલે તેનું
પરિણામ પણ નેટલુદા ફેરફાર છે
દિલ્હીમાં ઉપર નીચે આજેના પદમાં
છે, તેમાં કેવી જામળની કુખ્યાનીમો
જાપણી તે જણ આપણે જાણ અદર
નથી.

સાથિય આશિષન ધંધીયાન એવર
 રોનાપ્રલેભ આ બાપતભરે કુળે પુત્રામ
 ૧ અને ગુસ્તી વાણ્ય હોયી જીતે તે
 આ એ એવર કાલે --શીખાડી
 ૨ એ રોનુઅર એકકાલે રાખાં કોણ
 ભાગી ગયાડી નહીં આપવાની સંધિ
 હી અગર ૧૧૧૧૧૧ ૧૧૧૧ ૧૧૧૧
 ૩ અને એવી આસાર રાખી કાળે
 ૪ નાણા સુઝકાળે ૫ ૬ કાળેકાળે
 ૭ નીકળી કાળેકાળે ૮ ૯ ૧૦ ૧૧ ૧૨ ૧૩ ૧૪ ૧૫ ૧૬ ૧૭ ૧૮ ૧૯ ૨૦ ૨૧ ૨૨ ૨૩ ૨૪ ૨૫ ૨૬ ૨૭ ૨૮ ૨૯ ૩૦ ૩૧ ૩૨ ૩૩ ૩૪ ૩૫ ૩૬ ૩૭ ૩૮ ૩૯ ૪૦ ૪૧ ૪૨ ૪૩ ૪૪ ૪૫ ૪૬ ૪૭ ૪૮ ૪૯ ૫૦ ૫૧ ૫૨ ૫૩ ૫૪ ૫૫ ૫૬ ૫૭ ૫૮ ૫૯ ૬૦ ૬૧ ૬૨ ૬૩ ૬૪ ૬૫ ૬૬ ૬૭ ૬૮ ૬૯ ૭૦ ૭૧ ૭૨ ૭૩ ૭૪ ૭૫ ૭૬ ૭૭ ૭૮ ૭૯ ૮૦ ૮૧ ૮૨ ૮૩ ૮૪ ૮૫ ૮૬ ૮૭ ૮૮ ૮૯ ૯૦ ૯૧ ૯૨ ૯૩ ૯૪ ૯૫ ૯૬ ૯૭ ૯૮ ૯૯ ૧૦૦

ਅੰਤਿਮ ਅਭਿਪ੍ਰਾਏ 'ਦੀਪਿਕਾ' ਤੇ ਅੰਤਿਮ
ਅੰਤਿਮ ਅੰਤਿਮ ਅੰਤਿਮ ਅੰਤਿਮ ਅੰਤਿਮ ਅੰਤਿਮ ਅੰਤਿਮ

૨૪) શ્રી રાજકોટ કચેરી નાની સગીર અગામી
 રજા પછીના નવી રજાવાળા ખેતર અગામી
 આગામી રજામાં અગામી થઈને પહેલાંના
 વખતેના અગામી પછીના અગામી રજામાં
 રજામાં અગામી રજામાં રજામાં રજામાં
 રજામાં રજામાં રજામાં રજામાં રજામાં

મહત્તી ને. રહેજો સુખના ન. —
(૧) મશિકેશ જામી, કમૈયા મેતી
માતી જામ રાખાં કો.

(2) અગાઉની બહેન જે, ૫મી
અપ્રેલ ૨૦૧૭ના રોજ અતે નેરોડીયામાં
ગોરાડો નો અગાઉ ઈ. આરે મુરદ
કાઠ લેવા જે, ૧૫મી મુકુ નેરોડી ઈ.વ
ની આરે ને રૂબેની નીચે, ૧૫મી
ગીયડાલિંગ ને આરે ૧૫મી ઈ.વ ૧૫
અગાઉની મુરદો અતે ૧૫

(3) 1942-43 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45
24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45
24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45 24-45

(V) વૈદ્યના સૂત્રના વૈદ્યના કોવાને
નિયમ જોઈ રહ્યાં નથી. ગોળા, ગોળા
કરે છે, કે કેવળના માનસના વિશ્વ
પાણી વધે, પછી નિયમ ગોળા રસ રહ્યા
માપ છે, જ્યાંથી કે અનુભવ નીચે રહ્યા
પણી કે નિયમના માનસ છે.

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પી. પી. ના મારફતેના પોસ્ટલ વ્યાય કરાયા નહિ ગયે. એમનાર મોકલનારાઓએ એમનાર સાથે એક નવવા પાસ્ટલ મારફતે મોકલવા મંદુરગાની કરવી.

મેનેજર, 'ઇન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન'

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ગાંધીજીનું સાહિત્ય

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—ધી જાપાન બજાર—

તમે પ્રસંગ માટે ઉત્તમ વસ્ત્રોનાર ખરીદવાનું જનતાનું માનીતું મદ.
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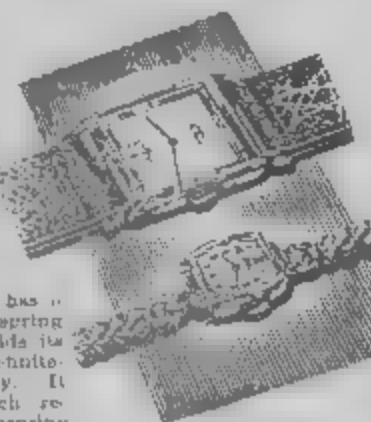
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IN 1903

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 24TH DECEMBER, 1948

The Only Way

YET another Commission (we here pardon this time it is a Committee or is it two Committees?) has been appointed to assist the Government *pro tem* to put the presumptuous Indian "where he belongs." That place in the opinion of this apartheid pledged Government, or anywhere outside the Union. No secret has been made of this Government's intentions: it is either to get rid of us by force or bribery or, if we prove too obstinate and difficult to react satisfactorily to either of these methods, to so crush us beneath the weight of still more disabilities and restrictions that our continued existence here will have been made impossible. This in short, is to be the proverbial "last straw," the final act in some sixty years of discriminatory racial legislation probably unparalleled outside of Czarist Russia or Nazi Germany.

That its victims-to-be—certainly some eighty or more per cent. of them—are South African born whose forebears were actually imported by the ship load to save Natal's sugar industry from ruin that educationally, industrially and in their mode of living they have, largely, if not wholly, adopted white standards; that to most of the younger generation South Africa is the only

land they know; that by their industries and enterprise valuable businesses have been built up and considerable vested interests acquired are considerations that are to be conveniently ignored. We are dangerous obstacles in the way of the Government's apartheid policy—its "no damned nonsense attitude towards any aspirations its non-whites may have been foolish enough to entertain—and if our disposal entails hardship "well, that's just too bad!"

We may expect the usual face-saving devices to be adopted: an opportunity afforded us or those among us thought to be most likely to "listen to reason," to tender evidence. We shall be well-advised to unite in the firm resolve completely to boycott both committees. We have been warned in brutally frank language—in terms that reflect the contempt in which we are held—of the dark future before us. We may take it for granted therefore that the function of the committee or committees will be to help the Government decide how the kicking can most effectively be done and done with the least minimum of publicity and sound.

Now whatever may be our domestic differences, which are very much the

same as those of other communities, we are certainly of one mind in this. We neither want to be kicked out nor kicked at all. Consequently we are not interested in helping our enemies to arrange how when and where the kicking is to be administered, but rather in preventing a thoroughly united front to the attack when it comes and meeting it with dignity and courage. One taking any part at all in the committee proceedings is only likely to be misinterpreted as some sort of acquiescence by the community or that section of the community that is represented. We are not without experience of the employment against us of such "divide and conquer" tactics: the playing off by the authorities of one section against the other. It is this danger, perhaps more than any other, against which we need to safeguard ourselves. We shall be only fooling ourselves if we entertain any illusions about any one section of us being loved more or hated less than any other.

We have a double-edged sword—Patience and Endurance—invincible when worthily wielded. Its other name is Passive Resistance, a weapon divine that makes one soul more than a match for the flesh of all mankind, and brute force impotent against both.

We are probably about to be faced with the severest test and trial of our souls of all the many we have had to meet during the past sixty years. Let us stand

this as perhaps Providence intends we should regard it, as our opportunity to show that the measure of a man is his character and not the colour of his skin or his country of origin that we are worthy of the rights to which we lay claim. In spite of all the evidences to the contrary we are accused of having no goal above the lust for money making. In passing, we might report that more particularly in Natal we are the Nabothe in a re-enactment of the parable of Naboth's Vineyard. It is for us to prove that we at least realise that "Man cannot live by bread alone" that we place at least as much store upon being afforded reasonable opportunities for intellectual and spiritual growth as for growth of our banking accounts.

There is quite another aspect of this struggle we dare not disregard. Though most of us are South African born and know no other home than this, we owe a duty to our forebears, and our eastern origin. We are in the habit of referring to this as "self-respect." In this regard, we are trustees of a very real and sacred trust.

Gandhiji showed us the way to meet evil. We cannot all be Gandhis, but we can show that his lesson has not quite gone unlearned. It certainly looks as though in the not very remote future we are to be afforded an excellent opportunity. May it not be that Bapoo is watching to see how we rise to the occasion?

Clear Thinking

THE UNION it faces the Indian community requires three steps to be taken by our leaders without delay. There are (1) clear thinking; (2) unity and (3) planned action.

There is no such confused thinking among us, the differences among the leaders arise from fancied and real differences. The first step is to analyse the causes of these differences to eliminate those that are imaginary; to reconcile those that remain so that unity of the masses and leaders may be quickly established.

The foremost of these illusory differences is that which is supposed to divide the Hindu from his Muslim brother in South Africa. The Nationalist Government hopes to end this cleavage and play upon it to its own advantage. A whispering campaign is afoot to this end. Broad lines are dropped here and there. In plain speech and concealed turns of phrase the impression is sought to be created that the government could get on with the once Muslims if only the wicked Hindus were not there to spoil everything. Pakistan will, it is hinted, exchange their rule for South African coal; it is only India that is making trouble. Union delegates shed episodic tears at the U.N. Assembly about the alleged ill-treatment of Muslims in India. Our Muslim brothers laquer in audible sobs whether they can secure 'Malay' rights in this country.

Let us stop and think this one out. What is the position on the Indian continent? There are undoubtedly differences between the Governments of India and Pakistan; the chief one is over the Kashmir issue. But the hundred and one items on which the two Dominions differ do not get the headlines. Conferences at all levels between the two governments have functioned and many differences soon there will cease to exist. Those who build on the present differences between India and Pakistan will shortly find that they are in the unfortunate position of a man who intervenes in a quarrel between husband and wife and suddenly finds that they have made it up and turn on him together in anger. Secondly, while some of our contemporaries delight in referring to the Dominion of India as Hindustan or Hindudom, the fact remains that of India's 300 millions, 40 millions are Muslims; there are two Muslim Ministers in the Indian Cabinet, two Muslim Governors of Provinces, 1 Muslim Ambassador representing India abroad. All except a handful of Indian Muslims in the Union hail from what is now in Indian territory and outside Pakistan. In any case

are we Union nationals or not? If we are, what direct concern have we in the labels Indian and Pakistani? Before we break ourselves on this illusion, let us stop and ask whether we are not being misled by those in whose advantage it is to divide us.

In any case on the questions of South-West Africa and Indians in South Africa the views of the Governments of India and Pakistan are identical. Here is what Mr. Mubashir Hussain Choudhry (Pakistan) told the Fourth Committee of the U.N. at Paris in respect of South-West Africa:

The distinguished delegate of India has already drawn our attention to some of the relevant paragraphs of the Trusteeship Council's report. These paragraphs clearly show that little or nothing has been done during this long period of 20 years to bring about the progressive development of this territory and its peoples. A little more than 10 per cent of the total receipts are being expended on the indigenous population which comprises approximately 90 per cent of the entire population. Franchises is restricted to British subjects of European origin. The local inhabitants are not eligible to office and have no representation in the governing bodies. In the administration of the territory 48 per cent of the land is in possession of the Europeans and only 12 per cent is that of the children of the soil. Similarly medical and educational facilities provided for the indigenous population are hopelessly inadequate. It is difficult to understand that a people capable of understanding their situation, past, present and future, will willingly vote for the continuance of their present untenable position. This makes it all the more necessary, therefore, that their wishes should be ascertained under the auspices of an impartial body like the United Nations.

"As regards Field-Marshal Smuts' statement as quoted by Mr. Louw that South-West Africa is geographically, strategically, ethnologically, and from an economic point of view part of the Union of South Africa, I have to submit, Mr. Chairman, that these considerations matter only if the Governments of the two countries are placed in the hands of the indigenous people, or at least, if they have an effective voice in the Government. If South-West Africa is ultimately to be governed in the same way as the contiguous country of South Africa, namely by concentrating all power in the hands of the Europeans, geographical, stra-

tegical and economical considerations will lose all their importance. In any case it will be for the people to decide when they are in a position to do, whether South-West Africa should be linked up with South Africa, or whether it should remain a separate country.

"My delegation, Mr. Chairman, is firmly of the view that the United Nations cannot divest itself of the responsibility of

supervising the mandated territories and the Union of South Africa is not justified in defying its repeated recommendations for the submission of a Trusteeship Agreement."

MERRY CHRISTMAS

The Directors and Staff of 'Indian Opinion' wish their numerous friends and subscribers a very Happy Christmas.

NO WEAKENING IN INDIA'S STAND AGAINST UNION AT UNITED NATIONS

THE South African delegation expressed surprise that India, which had brought its complaints against the Government of South Africa, should not have pressed for discussion of them by the United Nations in Paris, especially after South Africa had insisted that they should be disposed of there.

India originally insisted that the matter was one of urgency and should be dealt with at the Paris meeting of the Assembly. When Mr. Eric Louw himself strongly urged the General Assembly at its meeting to continue its work and dispose of the Indian complaints, the Indian delegation was silent.

Mr. Louw said that he confidently expected that if the Indians were sincere about their representations against South Africa they would unhesitatingly have supported South Africa's plea for settlement of the discussion in Paris and not have deferred it for five months.

Indian Delegation's Denial

The special correspondent of the 'Star' (Johannesburg) writes as follows from Paris:

A strong denial of suggestions heard in the Lobby of the United Nations General Assembly that there has been a weakening in India's determination to press her complaint against South Africa on the treatment of Indians in the Union, has been put out by the Indian delegation. The fact that the Indian delegation remained silent when Mr. Eric Louw demanded that the Indian question should be considered before the adjournment in New York on April 1, was the subject of some comment.

India's silence has been interpreted in some quarters as lending weight to the allegation by Mr. Louw in the interview I had with him a few days ago, to the effect that the Indian delegation were "by no means anxious" to have the Indian question discussed at Paris.

Mr. C. S. Jha, secretary-general to the Indian delegation, told me: "If it is true that Mr. Louw

believes that India is not eager and anxious to have the question of Indians dealt with at the earliest moment then he must draw his conclusions from very flimsy material."

The Indian delegation had written to the President of the General Assembly, Dr. Evatt, stressing the urgency of the Indian question and requesting that it should be considered before the adjournment.

When asked if he was aware that the Indian delegation's letter was sent only after Mr. Louw had sent in a similar letter, Mr. Jha replied: "That may be true. What does it matter whether we or the South Africans got in first? As a matter of general principle India does not believe in asking for special priority for any particular item on the United Nations agenda."

"At the same time we attach great importance to the South African question and want to see it settled as soon as possible. The fact that we made no comment in the General Assembly when Mr. Louw delivered his final speech on Monday does not provide any basis for conclusions such as are said to have been drawn. We don't leap to our feet every time Mr. Louw opens his mouth. A certain dignity must be maintained."

His delegation was confident that India would receive more support from the United Nations Assembly on the question of Indians in South Africa than on the South-West African issue, where the Indians were not directly involved.

"India is determined that this question shall not be allowed to rest—it is one of the great questions confronting the world today and we are going to pursue it with all possible vigour when the General Assembly meets again in New York."

FULL TEXT OF DEBATE OF ASIATIC BILL

(Continued From Last Week)

Mrs. BALLINGER: I can assure you that I am not going to be browbeaten and forced to be silent by the agitation of that side of the House. I am going to say what I believe; and I believe sincerely that if the phraseology and terminology used in this House in regard to the non-Europeans are continued much longer we are never going to build any bridge of peace between ourselves and the non-Europeans at all. The terms used in regard to our non-European people, in spite of all the declarations about no oppression and how "They are going to develop under our care," the terms, the voice and the way these people are referred to in this House are an insult to their manhood and they would be less than human not to resent it. I can assure you that they do resent it. I can assure you that they do resent it very deeply indeed. Some of us have tried to keep the peace in this country; we have tried to build peace in this country, to encourage the people to hope that a conception of the needs of the whole community must gradually be borne in on those who are responsible for the future of this country. Our efforts are puny efforts, as somebody said the other day, against the tide with which we are contending. I want to repeat to the Prime Minister that everyone of the non-European groups is our responsibility, whether he likes them or not, whether he thinks that they constitute problems which we would gladly be free of or not; they are our responsibility. They are here and we have to meet the challenge of their existence. We have to meet the challenge to our statehood which their existence here implies. That is the challenge we are faced with today. It is the greatest challenge the world has seen, this challenge of finding a means by which people of different traditions and different character may live at peace with one another. That is the problem of the Christian tradition, of Christian civilisation. We are not going to meet this challenge by simply saying that we will not hear views that we do not like—because that is very largely the essence of the situation here. We cannot say that we are not going to hear in this Parliament views that we do not like. I know perfectly well why the hon. Prime Minister is proposing to abolish this Native representation in this House. He and his followers do not like the things we say. They do not like our statements of what we know to be the aspirations of the people. But even if they were not the aspirations of the whole people, in so far as we are elected by the majority of the people, that majority has a right

to be heard. The issue is pointed by the suggestion of the Prime Minister to abolish the Natives' Representative Council. Now, surely, if he was simply building special machinery for the political services of the Native people, the Natives' Representative Council would be an obvious part of that machinery. But he has told us that he is going to abolish it. Why? Because he does not like the people who sit on it. But the whole of the democratic machine has been built on the principle that people must hear the things they do not like hearing and must either persuade those who subscribe to those things to change their views or have their own views changed. And if we do not hear the views of others we can only blame ourselves if we are overtaken by disasters which we were not warned of. That is the issue.

In conclusion, I want to say, and I am going to repeat, that I shall support the proposition put forward by the hon. Leader of the Opposition. I would have liked it to be wider to include Section 1 of the Act, but that section is not covered by the Bill, and I gather we must wait for another occasion to bring it under review. I sincerely trust that the hon. Prime Minister will accept the proposition of the hon. Leader of the Opposition. It has the merit of enabling us again, on what should be largely a non-party, or rather a multi-party front, to face this problem of the position of the Asiatic groups in our midst and to try to find some agreed solution that will rescue us from the dangerous situation of making enemies of those with whom we should be friends, or else face disaster in the future. For life, as well as our future, depends upon our being able to live with one another. I think we should take every opportunity to see that. If we fail, it will not be for the lack of the effort to succeed.

Mr. FULLARD: We have just listened to the hon. member for Cape Eastern (Mrs. Ballinger) who had so much to say about the democratic system. She spoke a lot about the guardians of the Natives. I would like to put a question to her. If she leaves a will and she appoints someone as guardian of her children, does she expect that guardian and his children to do the things which she left for her own children? She also supports the amendment of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition. I think that the right time for her to ask for a select committee was

in 1946 when this Bill was before the House and not now. No, I think it is rather too late in the day to ask for a select committee now.

I do not know whether I am in a different position in this House from other hon. members but I want to say here that I went to the election in 1947 with a mandate in respect of the Indian problem. In Natal the position is quite different from that in the Free State. In the Free State we have no such colour problem. We have not got an Indian problem there. I think that Vryheid used to be a kind of neutral area between Natal and Transvaal but at present there are already (27) Indian residents. They came in there with private permits. I do not know whether the hon. Prime Minister is now going to withdraw the permits of those who are already there.

But I want to go further and I want to say that I won the election there not with the support of members of the Herenigde Nasionale Party or of the Afrikaner Party, but with the support of followers of the opposite side of the House, supporters of the previous Prime Ministers. They said that they were very fond of him and they did not like to turn against him, but there is such a thing as self-preservation. They asked me whether I would see to it that this Indian Act was repealed and I told them if my vote could help to have it repealed, then that would be the case.

Vryheid has already given its decision that this Bill should be withdrawn and I cannot do otherwise than vote for its repeal. If the Prime Minister had not introduced this Bill to repeal that part of the Indian Act, I would have had to ask him to do so.

But I go still further. There are members of the Provincial Council of Natal who are now in other House or who are sitting in this House. They could not again force the voters in an election for their seats in the Provincial Council. They all had to flee. I am not fond of challenges, but I doubt whether the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, as a result of this Act which he passed, will win half the Provincial seats in Natal. I want to ask him to withdraw his amendment or otherwise he might not get one provincial seat there, because I still have some love for him although it may be old love. In Durban the position is that 60 per cent. of the city belongs to Indians. An English-speaking person told me that there was no longer any solution to the matter. I then asked him what we could

do and his reply was that we might as well give Durban to the Indians and keep the rest of Natal for Europeans and let it open up Kosi Bay for ourselves. It says the position can no longer be saved. I would like to read from this booklet. Other friends over there do not like us to read from this little book. It is a booklet issued under the auspices of the Durban Municipal Council and the four World Councils. I only had time to read one chapter when the hon. member for Salt River (Mr. Lawrence) was overseas to serve as evidence there of how well the Indians are treated in this country. The booklet is entitled "The Indian in Natal—Is He the Victim of Oppression?"

In a letter published in the "Natal Daily News" on December 27, 1948, Mr. A. N. Desai, of Kalkhedevi, Bombay, who lived in South Africa for 20 years, and has lived in India for the past five years compares life in India with life in South Africa, much to the advantage of the latter.

"In Natal," he says, "Indians receive free education of the best kind up to Standard Six, free text books and free milk or cocoa. There are no such facilities in India." Racial discrimination in India is a life—in fact, it is one of the "worst type that the world can show."

India is in the grip of the caste system. For example, Hindus of the depressed classes are not admitted to high-caste temples. Violation of this prohibition have been punished severely, even by death. The shadow of a depressed Hindu falling on a Brahmin is a pollution for which an early bath is the remedy. Mr. Nehru and Mr. Pandit are Brahmins.

In South Africa segregation—separation of Asiatics and Europeans—is much resented by Indians, in India it is common. There segregation has always existed and recent events have consolidated it into the appearance of lasting for ever. Caste Hindus, depressed classes, Parsees and Moslems are segregated in separate localities. Life always is in danger and the honour of women always in jeopardy in the clashes of these differences. In newspapers devoted to pleading the cause of the nation one finds not only advertisements in which only Hindus should be employed, but also advertisements for segregation, for example, "No Indians in the office." In the United Provinces, the medical and engineering schools of Amritsar have been closed on the ground that the degree obtained in the United Provinces is not recog-

nised in the Punjab. An Indian in British India cannot buy property in Kashmir, and if he goes there he has to pay Kashmiri toll and customs duties. The Passive Resisters in the Union who object to barriers raised against them in moving from one province to another would be no better off in India. Mr. Nehru himself was arrested for defying the ban on the frontier of Kashmir. It is the people of India—divided, sectionalised, honey-combed with class distinctions as that country is, who are to resentful of the mild restrictions which the preservation of white civilisation in South Africa makes necessary. Where is the logic, the consistency, the fair-mindedness of such resentment? The simple fact is that it does not exist.

Then the booklet shows pictures of beautiful homes occupied by Indians, and these interesting particulars are then given—

Indians have dubbed the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946, the "Ghetto Act." Either they do not know what a Ghetto is or they are deliberately misrepresenting things for propaganda purposes. The houses shown

in this picture belong to and are occupied by Indians. They are situated on one of the best roads of Durban. The so-called "Ghetto Act" permits Indians to live in them for as long as they please. The rateable value of Asiatic-owned properties in Durban increased by nearly £2,000,000 between 1938-'39 and 1944-'45. Indians claim that they desire to acquire immovable property as an outlet for surplus capital. Information extracted from the Deeds Registry Office, Pretoria, reveals that the total purchase price of properties acquired by Asiatics in Durban between August, 1942, and December, 1945, was £1,204,314. Bonds registered simultaneously with the purchase of properties amounted to £647,969—53 per cent of the total purchase price. The inference is that it is not an outlet for surplus capital that Indians desire but promising speculative financed with borrowed money. The rateable value of fixed property in Asiatic ownership in Durban at the end of 1945 was £4,619,960. Where in this are signs of an oppressed people?

(To be Continued)

NEHRU URGES INDIA TO STAY IN COMMONWEALTH

THE Indian National Congress Party's resolution welcoming India's free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth, a general statement of Congress' objectives, was supported in committee by the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru on December 16. Nine of the 12 members of the Committee who spoke in the debate opposed association with the Commonwealth. One argument was that there was racial inequality in countries like South Africa.

Obsewaranth Das, a former premises of Orissa, opposing Commonwealth association, said that although India had forgotten past bitterness against Britain there had been continuous anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan propaganda, not only in England, but all over the world.

"I think a fair part of the British Press have a hand in this," he said.

Replying to the debate, Pandit Nehru said he agreed that there was force in the argument based on racial inequality, but contended that the situation changed every day.

Britain, for instance, had shed imperialism, he said. Even though she had some colonies, Britain was not an imperialist country and could not be one.

No country could live in isolation at present.

"To say that we should not be part of the Commonwealth is to close our portals against wider contacts. The relationship proposed is one of consultation for mutual benefit, and will not tie us down in any way.

"Do you think we shall be less independent as an Indian republic joined in a common wealth to the Commonwealth than we are today as dominions?" he asked. "If you think I feel weak, and am taking shelter behind the Commonwealth, you are making a mistake."

JAIPUR CONGRESS

The main demand of the Indian National Congress is for a republican status for the Indian Union, said Dr. Panchabai Sastri, in his presidential address at the annual general assembly of the Congress in Jaipur on December 15.

The Indian National Congress Party passed a resolution saying it is a matter of the utmost concern to it that Indonesia should attain her full freedom and take her rightful part in Asian and International Affairs. Pandit Nehru said that the Dutch action in retaining hostilities in Indonesia would have serious repercussions in India, in Asia, and perhaps in some other countries too. He said the Dutch action was con-

trary to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Congress in its present session, expressed its sympathy with all those who had suffered by the policy of racial discrimination of the Government of the Union of South Africa. A resolution on South Africa stated, "this Congress has noted, with deep regret, that the Government of the Union of South Africa continues to treat its Indian citizens in disregard of acknowledged human rights and the principles laid down in the Charter of

the United Nations."

Pandit Nehru, said in Jaipur on December 18, that India had no intention of invading Pakistan, whose fears were unfounded and uncalled for.

Moving a resolution on the objectives of the Congress Party at its annual meeting, he said, "in the world of today, problems are not solved by wars." He hoped he said, that there would be working arrangements for mutual benefits between the two dominions on such vital matters as defence, communications and trade.

NO CO-OPERATION WITH WHITES

NATIVE CONGRESS DELEGATES' VIEW

NON-EUROPEANS in South

Africa are not to collaborate with the European population in any circumstances in the future, according to every delegate who spoke at a joint session on December 17, of the African National Congress and the All-African Convention at Bloemfontein. Delegates said the Natives did not want their white representative in Parliament, nor did they want the Native Representative Council, urban advisory boards or any Bantus to continue.

The proposer and main speaker on the unity motion was Mr. Tshaba, a member of the executive of the convention. He said all Europeans could be regarded as oppressors of the Natives.

"We have accepted the view that in so far as the non-Europeans are concerned, the Herrenvolk parties are united. They stand for white domination and for oppression by the white man whether they call it trusteeship, apartheid or anything else.

"Nothing has really been altered since May 26. The velvet glove has merely been replaced by the open brutal fist, but intrinsically there is no difference between the parties.

"The European parties are all the same and we must begin to think in terms of the oppressor and the oppressed, of the Herrenvolk parties and races and of ourselves."

Several convention delegates suggested that those Natives who continued to fill posts in the Native Representatives Council and other bodies were not true to their people. Such men should resign.

Mr. Moses Kotane, general secretary of the Communist Party and an executive member of Congress, said that it was only by unifying all political bodies that they could hope to eliminate conflicting interests.

Several convention delegates then challenged him to do away

with the Communist Party" it be agreed that there should only be one Native organisation.

A resolution rejecting trusteeship or white leadership and proposing the boycott of all differential political institutions and the use of strikes, civil disobedience and non-co-operation as weapons in the fight for the Natives' national freedom, was discussed, but was not put to the meeting.

After a long discussion many of the delegates had left and the chairman considered it would be unfair to put so important a motion before a depleted congress.

It was then agreed to refer the matter to the executive meeting and it will come up at next year's congress.

The motion was opposed by several delegates who counselled caution. They said they felt the Native chiefs would not support it and that the Natives as a whole should be consulted first.

EIRE SEVERS LAST LINK WITH CROWN

The Republic of Ireland Bill severing Eire's last link with the British Crown was passed in the Senate without amendment or opposition. The Eire Government is to fix the date when it becomes law, and it is thought that April 24, the anniversary of the Irish rising of 1916, will be chosen. Speaking in the House of Lords last night the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Jowitt, said that if Britain had taken a different line towards Eire's decision to leave the Commonwealth she would have been acting in the teeth of advice of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

CASUISTRY FROM S.A.

FRANCOIS BACON, in a celebrated essay, described truth as "the sovereign good of human nature." Clear and round dealing, he observed, was "the honour of man's nature." A mixture of falsehood was "like alloy on coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work better, but it embaseth it; for these windings and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet."

Bacon found that lies were much in vogue in his day, and a little over three centuries of human progress have occurred since then, the position is obviously not much better today. Only, perhaps, that there was a little more wit and subtlety about the lies told in Queen Elizabeth's day, especially in high places.

It is doubtful, for example, whether any Sixteenth Century diplomat would have been quite as crude as South Africa's representative in the General Assembly at UN, who was reported to have said this: "The Union of South Africa will continue to ensure, as it has done in the past, that all persons irrespective of race or creed, will enjoy those basic and fundamental rights which were envisaged in the Charter."

Take the "right in life, liberty and security" since when have the non-Europeans in South

Africa, who constitute more than four-fifths of the population, enjoyed the right to liberty and security? Or the "right to privacy and freedom from interference in his home life," or again, "the right to freedom of movement and to leave any country?" Many Africans could speak feelingly of police raids at all hours, while no mention freedom of movement while we have the pass laws, no sheer hypocrisy. Dr. Douglas anyhow, does not concede the right to leave the Union to any body, Black or White.

Then the "right to equal pay for equal work," "the right to own property," "the right to freedom of peaceful assembly" and "the right to social security, an adequate standard of living, rest, leisure and holidays with pay." South Africa's representative at UN had evidently not heard of the colour bar in industry, the laws preventing non-Europeans from owning property excepting in a few restricted areas, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the decision to stop school feeding for Native children, the shanty-town slums and a host of other inequalities.

If a mixture of falsehood like alloy in coin, the sample of casuistry quoted above had very little gold or silver in it. The Bottom.

SHRI VINOBA AT RAJGHAT

SHRI VINOBA addressing the prayer meeting at Rajghat on November 12, said that as he was to leave Delhi the following day for a longer period than usual, he had been pondering over the subject he should choose for that evening. Devotees that they were, he humbly asked them to regard the Friday prayers as very dear to their hearts even after he had gone. The shastras declared that prayer is the evening brought great spiritual gain to life. To the time of the day were added the facts that they met on Friday and at the place where Gandhiji had been cremated. The offering of prayer earnestly and with faith at such a time and place and day of the week, with humbled and egoless mind, gave the devotee an usual experience of sentiments. The background behind Rajghat prayers reminded one that any moment might be the last moment of one's life, and that there was no certainty that a person would be able to complete a half-uttered sentence before death got the better of him. If we could

always bear in mind important possibility of the course of life, we would not need anything else for the purification of the mind.

After exploring various means and ways for spiritual enrichment of life, the saints all over the world had come to the conclusion that *Loka* (devoted surrender and prayer) of the Lord was the means pre-eminently the best of them. Man, whether an individual or as species of life, played but an insignificant part in the Almighty's scheme of the universe. As a matter of fact, man did not even know what exactly was the function or part assigned to him. God's will alone was being done and man was no more than just an instrument in its execution. But man's self-conceit misled him into believing that he was something very important in the world, and that egoism sullied his life. If man could only empty himself of this egoism and put on its place the spirit of self-surrender to the Divine Power, vital spiritual force would be generated in him, such as could not be generated in any other way.

had been, Shri Vinoba said, in Delhi for nearly six months, and had participated in various public activities during the period. But he must confess that the thing which brought him the greatest piece of mind, contentment and self-realization was the prayer at Rajghat. People of both the sexes gathered together at Rajghat, and kept perfect peace and order; and the prayer, too, consisted of texts chosen from all religions and was quite free from narrow, sectarianism. Shri Vinoba asked them to take the fullest advantage of the pure thing which they had unconsciously discovered and to attend the Friday prayer unflinchingly, regarding it as an inviolable engagement of the week. It was true, Shri Vinoba said, that God was omnipresent. But there were certain places, which on account of their

peculiar associations, were more suitable than others for feeling His presence. That was the reason why men attached importance to temples and places of pilgrimages. Rajghat was a place which was open to all without distinction. If those who gathered at Rajghat buried all distinctions and divisions and merged themselves in the indivisible unity and bliss of God through *bhakti*, they too would become united with Him. Prayer offered in His presence or with Him as witness gave one the same advantage as that obtained in the company of pious men. There was nothing superior in life to the company of the pious, and it was of the highest order, when the devotees too was in the purest frame of mind. He was unable to find words to describe the holiness attending a prayer to the Almighty in a place so pure and so reminiscent of a great soul.

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

ACCORDING to Renter, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, the alleged assassin of Mahatma Gandhi, confessed in the Special Court on November 8, having fired the shots that killed Gandhiji on January 30 last.

Godse, who took nearly five hours to read his statement, recounted the scene of the assassination. He declared that he shot Gandhiji at point blank range "so that no one else might be injured."

"I jumped out in front of Gandhiji," he said, "I bowed to him with my pistol in hand I had removed the safety catch of the pistol when I had taken it from inside my bush coat."

"I think I fired twice, but I later learnt I had fired three times. After I had fired the shot there was lull for about half a minute."

"I had also got excited and shouted police, police."

After he fired the shots, he said, a constable caught hold of him and members of the public seized his pistol. Someone hit him on the head and blood began to flow.

Godse denied the existence of a conspiracy to murder the Mahatma. "I had no companions in the act and I alone am solely responsible for my act," he said. "I thought it my duty to put an end to the life of the so-called Father of the Nation who had played a very prominent part in bringing about the vivisection of the country."

He criticised Gandhiji for "playing false with the people," and for "giving away parts of

India to the Muslims for the creation of Pakistan." What he had observed since the assassination had given him "complete satisfaction."

"The problem of Hyderabad, which had been unnecessarily delayed, has been rightly solved by our Government by the use of armed force, after the death of Gandhiji," he said.

Godse's voice rose as he dealt exhaustively with Gandhiji's policy. Excitedly he said: "So strong was the impulse of my mind that I felt this man should not be allowed to meet a natural death, so that the world may know that he had to pay with his life for his unjust, anti-national and dangerous favouritism towards a sectional section of the country. He told the special court that he did not demand mercy as he showed no mercy to the man he killed. He ended his statement with words 'Long live undivided India. Vande Mataram.'"

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ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

COLOUR BAR AT FUN FAIR

To THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

SIR.—Durban Indians are barred from the Fun Fair, at which Epstein's statues of Adam and Eve are being exhibited. It seems that the Managing Directors of the Exhibition thought, that, it was beyond the Indians to appreciate such Art and so there would be no demand. Perhaps they did not realise that Indian Art is among the best Arts of the world, and though we in South Africa are not artists we do appreciate Art of the highest type. Again, it was not for the Directors of the Exhibition to think whether there would have been sufficient demand or not. The just thing for them to do was to have left open the exhibition without any prohibitions to all communities of South Africa. Then, those who wished to see it could have gone without any ill-feelings. But, the germs of colour-prejudice must show themselves. It would not be South Africa, if colour bar was not visible.

The South African Indian Congress was very annoyed, and the officials wrote to the India League at London asking them to come

plain to Mr. Epstein himself. In the statement issued, the Congress said, "we wonder whether Mr. Epstein approves of White South Africa's interpretation that he created his art for persons with white skins only." In consequence of these protests, Durban Indians will leave the Fun Fair, once a week, on every Tuesday night. On these nights there will be Indian attendants at the stall to serve their own people. But are we satisfied with this? Would we, who all have some self-respect in us, despite of the numerous insults, poured on us in this God-forsaken country, like to go to the exhibition under such circumstances? It is for us to decide, whether we want to go on living under these degrading circumstances or we want to fight this menace—the colour bar menace. It is here that we awake and decided to fight and fight until we have righted the wrong. It is time we adopted the slogan, "Do or Die," and acted accordingly to it. Yours etc.

DISGUISED

NEWS IN BRIEF

An inside picture of the attitude India has adopted towards South Africa and the "reprisals" taken against them was given this week by a Union National who was stranded in Karachi for 12 days recently. The South African, who arrived in Port Elizabeth this week, was passing through Karachi when the Indian health official, decided that his papers were not in order. He was whisked away from the aerodrome to the isolation hospital where he had to remain in "quarantine" for three days. The reason for this was that there was alleged to be no date on his papers. During the nine days that he spent in Karachi, he was forced to report to the police every three days to explain why he had not left the country. While in Karachi he visited the beach where the huge notice prominently displayed in front of the beach read: "European South Africans not allowed." Another in Bombay read: "Dogs and South Africans not admitted." —"Sunday Express."

UNESCO has decided to send a neutral international personality to South Africa to study at first hand the colour and racial problems there, it was learned from Indian sources. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, the Indian delegate, and UNESCO was waiting for the

South African Government's permission to send such an investigator, whose selection was still under consideration.—Sapa United Press

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Minister for Industry and Supplies, giving reasons for his resignation from the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in a statement says that the recent decision of the Mahasabha to renew its political activities goes fundamentally against the principles which he urged the Mahasabha to accept. He points out that passions and prejudices based on communal differences must be eliminated if India is to emerge as a great nation.

Vijay Merchants Indian record of 359 not out was beaten by Nimbalkar of India. He was only nine runs short of Bradman's world record of 451 not out.

The Indian Government has sponsored a ten-year civil aviation development programme which provides for the construction of 21 new aerodromes and the improvement of three international airports at a total cost of about £40,000,000.

A bronze statue of Gandhi is soon to be erected in central Tokyo. The statue will be made by Japan's best known sculptor. The Indian Mission which recently visited Japan has stated that there is Gandhi Society in Japan which has 50,000 members on the roll. The Society is interested in studying and disseminating information about Gandhian teachings and principles. The Gandhi Society of Japan has asked for copies of all writings and speeches of Gandhi. They propose to translate them into Japanese language and publish them in book form.

Plans for improvement of the Bombay international airport involve an expenditure of about £1,750,000. Facilities will be provided for the handling of aircraft up to an all-up weight of 200,000 lbs. The work is expected to take five years to complete.

The Governments of India and Rumania have to establish diplomatic relations at legation level.

Mr. Razimuddin Khan, the Muslim League candidate, was elected as the president, to fill in the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Jinnah.

Tamizuddin Khan, president of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, accused a certain section of British businessmen of trying to maintain a monopoly of trade and business with Pakistan. He said he hoped the British Government would realise the narrowness of the attitude of these men who do not want Pakistan to develop industrially. Membership of the British Commonwealth did not imply curtailment of trade with the Soviet Union which would be a detrimental condition, he said. He added, if our independence can be jeopardised by remaining in the Commonwealth we shall never think of associating with it, but in the present era it is not possible to remain in isolation.

Family communities, throughout East Africa, celebrated on December 28, the Aga Khan's record reign of 63 years 4 months. Mosques in many places were illuminated and there were colourful processions in Nairobi, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam.

Bishops Condemn Colour Policy

"WE affirm that the proposed withdrawal of the present representation of Natives in Parliament is a breach of what was understood by the Native peoples to be a pledge given to them in 1936, and that such withdrawal is therefore to be condemned," says a statement issued by the Synod of the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

The statement adds: "We equally condemn the threatened curtailment of the present political rights of the Coloured people of the Cape Province."

The statement says that the Bishops associate themselves fully with the findings of the Lambeth Conference in July, which declared that society exists "to serve the needs of its members, not to enslave and possess them wholly, and when a society treats its members merely as a means to the securing of its ends, it becomes the destroyer of men's souls." The statement says the following resolution was adopted:

"We, the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa in Synod assembled, affirm that such principles are an especial challenge to the inhabitants of Southern Africa at the present time, and solemnly call on them and particularly the members of our church, to reconsider their race attitudes in the light of the teaching of Christ and to uphold with all their power the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in all its bearings."

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પુલ્કન ૪૬ નં. ૨૪

શુક્રવાર તા. ૨૪ ડીસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮.

પ્રકાશક પેન્ટી. ૪

“હિંદિઅન ઓપિનિઅન”

પ્રકાશક તા. ૨૪ ડીસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

એક જ પંથ

પાછું બીજું એક કમીશન સરકારને મોકલ કરવા નીમાય છે. એ બે કમીટી છે કે એક તે અને બીજી નથી આ કમીટી કોઈસીએને પોતાને ક્યાને ખસેડવાને નિમ્મલ છે, સરકારની દ્રષ્ટીએ એ ક્યાન કુનીયન ની બહાર છે. સરકારની નીતી આપણને સામ દામ કંઈથી કાઢવાની છે અને તેને પોતાની આ નીતી છુપાવવાને પ્રયત્ન કર્યો નથી. અને આ રીતે આપણે કણુલ ન થઈએ તો અનેક પ્રતીગંધા અને કાષ્ટકાઓ કરી આ દેશમાં આપણું રહેલું અશક્ય કરવાનો તેમનો પ્રયત્ન છે. આ સરકારનો આખર નીકાલ ૬૦ વર્ષની રમ સેદની નીતી પછી લેવાયો છે કે જે આરબ રશીયામાં કે તાઝી સ્વમંત્રીના પણ નહોતો લેવાયો.

રાષ્ટ્રની નીતીના કોમ ધર્મ પટેલામાંથી જગજગ અંશી કે વધુ દશ આ દેશમાં જન્મેલા અને નાકાલ પ્રાપ્ત ગાડના ક્યો અને જીવંત રાષ્ટ્રવાને પોતાનો પરચવા જેમના પુર્વજો પાયે છે તેમના સંતાનો છે. તેઓનું જીવન પારણ અને શિક્ષણ ગોરા કોલેજ ઉપર સ્થાપ્યું છે. અને આપના છુવાને પોતાના દેશ તરીકે સાકેય આફ્રિકાનેજ જાણે છે. પોતાના ખંત અને કલોય થી તેઓ મોટા પ્રમાણમાં ચંપાર અને બીજાકલ ધરાવતા થયા છે. આ બધી બીના તરફ સરકાર બે ધ્યાન નીજ બુદ્ધી જવા માગે છે.

સરકારની કલ્યાણકાપણની નીતીમાં આપણે અદકાયત રૂપ બનીએ છીએ અને આપણે એમ માનતા હોઈએ કે અહીં આપણે સુખ ચેનરી રહી શકીએ તો આપણી બુલ છે.

આપણે આશા રાખીએ કે આખ આઠા કાન કરવાની સુકવી વાપરવામાં આપણે કે જેથી આ પણને અગર આપણામાંના મધાજ પક્ષને બુધાની આપવાની તક મળશે. પરંતુ કમીટીનો સંપુર્ણ બાદીપકાર કરવામાં બને સરકાર એકમત થાય એજ સલાહ કારક છે.

આપણું બવીધ અંધકાર બસ બાંધે છે. સરકારની ઓછામાં ઓછી બહનામી થાય અને આપણું આ દેશમાંથી નિકાલ લવાય એ હેતુથી આ કમીશન નિમાય છે એ બીના આપણે ધ્યાનમાં રાખવી જોઈએ.

મધી કોમિતી જેમ આપણી કોમમાં પણ કુલ પ છે પણ આ પણે બધા આ અંક વાળ ઉપર અહમત છીએ કે આપણને આ દેશ છોડવો નથી અને સરકારની જાત બાવી નથી. કેવી રીતે અને ક્યા અને ક્યાદે આપણને કાઢવા તે કાખતમાં સરકારને મદદ કરવાની આપણને જરાય દુઃખિયા નથી. પરંતુ વખત આવે હિંદુઅન અને મોરવથી કોઈ કોમ તેના જવાબ આપવો પડશે. કમીટીના કામ કાજમાં જરાપણ બાગ લઈશું તો તેનો અર્થ એજ થશે કે આપણે સરકારની આ નીતીને અપનાવી છે. સરકારની સામલા પાડીને રાષ્ટ્ર કરવાની નીતીથી આપણે વાકેફ છીએ. અને તેજ આપણે મારે મોટામાં મોટો ચેતવારૂપ-અથ છે. અને સરકારને મદદ કરવાથી આપણે ત્રિય અથવા ઓછા ચિકાર પાત થઈ શું એમ માનવું તરી બુખતાં છે

આપણી પાસે ધૈર્ય અને સદન શીલતા રૂપી બેધારી તકવાર છે

જેનો યોગ્ય ઉપયોગ કરવાથી આપણે અજીત બનીએ છીએ. એ છે સત્યાગ્રહ-સાત વીરોધ-કે જે એવું મિત્ર શસ્ત્ર છે કે જેના થી માત્ર અંક બચતી પણ કુની વા સાથે દકકરે કીલી કદે છે અને જેની આત્મ શ્રદ્ધા આગળ પશુબળ નીમોદય બની જાય છે. છેલ્લા ૬૦ વર્ષમાં નહીં આપણે કોય એવો કપરો કાળ આપણી સમક્ષ ઝળૂમી રહ્યો છે.

પ્રથમે કીચેલી આ તક આપણને એવું પુરવાર કરવાને મળી છે કે મનુષ્યના જન્મ સ્થાન કે તેની આમકીતા રંગ કરતા તેના સફ-વર્તનથી તેની કીચમત અંકાવી જોઈએ. આપણે જેનો દાવો કરતા આપના છીએ તેને આપણે કાયક બનવું જોઈએ. આપણા ઉપર આક્ષેપ છે કે વરના પેદા કરવા શીવાય આપણને કશુંજ આત્મબાન નથી આપણે તે સાખીત કરી આપવાનું છે કે, કેવળ રોડીને જાતર જ મનુષ્ય જીવન નથી. અને જેટલા પ્રમાણમાં થત સંપાદન કરવાની તમન્ના રાખીએ છીએ જેટલાજ પ્રમાણમાં આત્મકે અને માનસિક કલ્તનીની વ્યાજબી તકો મળે તે મારે આપણે જોરૂકે છીએ.

આ લોકતંત્રી એક ગીલ બાજુ એ છે કે જેની અવગણના આપણે કરી પણ કરી શકીએ નહિ. જે કે આપણામાંના બળુઓ દશિણ આફ્રિકામાં જન્મેલા છે અને તેમ ને મારે આ દેશ શીવાય બીજે એકે દેશ તેમની માતૃભૂમી રૂપે નથી. છતાં પણ આપણા પુર્વજો પ્રયે અને પુર્વની સંસ્કૃતી પ્રયે આપણી કંઈક ફરજ છે. એ ફરજને આપણે “આત્મસન માન” તરીકે જોવામાંએ છીએ. એ પવીત્ર અને સાચા વારનાના આપણે રૂઢી છીએ.

દુર ચારનો સામનો કરી રીતે કરવો તે નાગ મદાતમાં માંખીલ એ બાબતો છે. અમે બધીએ

છીએ કે બધા માંખી બની શક નાનથી પણ આપણે બતાવવું પડશે કે એમને બતાવેલો માગ આપણે બુલ્લા નથી. એમ કેળાય છે કે નજીકના બવિધમાંજ આપણને એ ઉત્તમ તક મળવાની છે. એ પ્રયત્નો આપણે શું કરીએ છીએ તે શું બાજુ ઉપરથી જોઈ રહ્યા કશે ?

નિર્ભેળ શુદ્ધ વિચારણા

હાં કોમ ઉપર આવેલી મહાન આ પ્રાપ્તો સામનો કરવા આપણા નેતાઓ મારે તણ માગે છે. (૧) શુદ્ધ વિચારણા, (૨) સવ (૩) નિર્ભેળ કાર્ય શક્તી. અપાને આપના વિચારે અલંબ, અનિશોન, અર્થ મોટાળી વા છે. આપણા નેતાઓનો અંદરની અસમજ તેમનામાંના ગામડા ઉપર ચોરીયા. અને કારણ સરના ના ક. આપણે પ્રથમ કાળ તમા મામલાનું કારણ તપાસવાનું છે કે જે ઉપર મોટીયા ક. તપાસી તેને દુર કરવાનું અને બીજા મામલાના કારણોનું એક માનવી સમનીયો કે ક કારણનું ક. આમ થતા આપણી કોમમાં અને તેના બોમાં સવ સહે મરે સમજાવીયો કેળા ચર્ચના કારણોમાં ખાસ કરીને કોઈ અને તેજ નરસીમ બાઈએની અંદર આ દકમર તંવના અપાપ. ખત તેનો અર્થોનો અત્તની સરકાર સાથે કેળા પ માગે છે. છાની રીતે અને ભણે માં પણ તેમ કરવામાં આવે છે. કેટલીક વાર માવણમાં પાત પડતી સુકવામાં આવે ૫૦ સરકાર સારા મુસ્લીમો નો સદકાર કરવા રોજ છે. પરંતુ દુર દોઢુઆને પ્રધને તેમ પાવતું નથી. એમ પણ ક્યોમાં આવે છે કે પારા-સ્થાન શુદ્ધનો સોદા સાચે આફ્રિકાના કોલના સામે કરવા માગે છે. પરંતુ આ કોલનાને કોવતી પાત નથી એવો અદકાય જાણે છે કુનીયનના પ્રતીનિધીએ કુનામાં કોલનાના મુલની મો ઉપર શુદ્ધ થાય છે તે મારે મોટા ની દિલગીરી પણ દસીવી કરવી.

તેમજ કેટલાક મુસ્લીમ બાઈએ આ દેશમાં તેમને “મધામ” કહ મળે તે મારે પ્રયત્ન કરી રમી ક.

આપણે પહેલાં વિચાર કરવું કે કાત દોઢી સંધમાં શું ચાલી રહ્યું છે? કોઈ સંધમાં અને પાકીસ્તાનની સરકારમાં મળેલ છે તની ના પડાય તેમ

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શી. ૪૪-૧. ૨ ફુટ ૮ ઇંચ x ૧ ફુટ ૮ ઇંચ x ૧૧ ઇંચ શી. ૪૪-૧.
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૮ x ૧૦ ની શી. ૧૧ ૭ x ૯ ની શી. ૧૦.

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| રતન | પત્રો સંદ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧. | લીનલ | પત્રો સંદ | પા. ૧-૧૨-૧. |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------|-----------|-------------|
| નવરાત્રી ગીત | ૬ | ૧-૧-૧-૦. | શ્રીમત | ૭ | ૧-૨-૫-૧ |
| ભારત | ૬ | ૧-૧-૧-૦ | શ્રીમત | ૬ | ૧-૧-૧-૦ |
| કાશ્મીર | ૬ | ૧-૧-૧-૦ | શ્રીમત | ૬ | ૧-૧-૧-૦ |
| ગાંધી | ૭ | ૧-૧-૧-૦ | શ્રીમત | ૭ | ૧-૧-૧-૦ |

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- 14733 પાત્ર કાશ્મીર
- 14735 આલ્પ મ કોસે દુલ્હન પત્રી
- 14738 હસ લાલજી આ કવાસ
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- 15308 પાત્ર મુખતાજ મે કવાસ
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| મા.સી. ૧. | |
|-----------|--|
| ૫ ૧૦ ૦ | |
| ૫ ૫ ૦ | |
| ૧૨ ૧૦ ૦ | |
| ૧૩ ૧૦ ૦ | |
| ૮ ૧૦ ૦ | |
| ૫૨ ૦ ૬ ૧૨ | |
| ૫૫ ૦ ૮ ૧૨ | |
| ૫૬ ૦ ૬ ૧૨ | |
| ૫૭ ૦ ૬ ૧૨ | |
| ૫૮ ૦ ૭ ૧૨ | |

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રી. ૧૦-૧

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મોડીની માલ નામ ૧૦-૧

મોડીની માલ નામ ૧૦-૧

મોડીની માલ નામ ૧૦-૧

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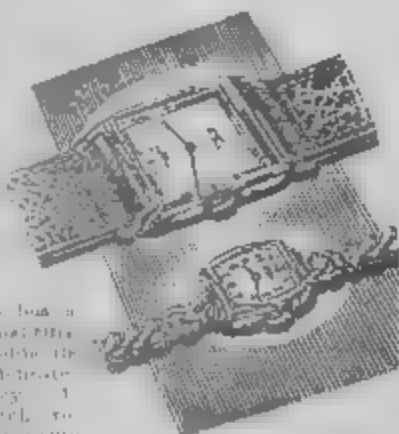
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Founded by
MAHATMA GANDHI
IN 1903

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Indian Opinion

FRIDAY, 31ST DECEMBER, 1948

1949

ANNO DOMINI The Year of the Lord approximately the two thousandth year of preaching and teaching the message of the Lord Maitreya (as He is better known in the East) that since all are children of God the Father and the Law of Life is the Rule of Love it behoves us to love one another. Salvation which is Self-realisation the ultimate goal of all evolutionary growth lies along just this path: all knowledge is of loving deeds the child.

Now, a superficial view of world happenings is scarcely conducive to a spirit of cheerfulness in the most optimistically disposed. Look where we will, it would appear that almost every man's hand is raised against his brother that if as the sages have taught, "the Law of Love must reign ere the Kalpa end," that end is but very far off. Appearances too would almost suggest that in this age-old struggle between the spiritual and the material the light and the darkness, good and evil, the forces of darkness are winning and that Good is being mocked. Not so, however, in the eye of Faith (Shraddha) something far different from and not to be identified with cro-

Mankind's pilgrimage from brute to divinity is a long one and is necessarily slow and because it is a process of building for eternity. The wheel of God grind slowly because their grinding has to be infinitesimally small. And as for time are we not taught that a great Age is (Kalpa) but a wink of the eye of eternity?

Let us, then, who have been taught to look a little deeper than the surface of things and not to be misled by mere appearances note with appreciation the evidences that the sunlight of righteousness is penetrating and promises to disperse the leaden clouds of unrighteousness. Let us recognise that the world is passing through a transition and is painfully groping its way to something better than has been that what we are witnessing, in what concerns and affects the race is something of the nature of a shifting of the centre of gravity. For example, Kipling's "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" is certainly no longer true, both are seen to be revolving round a common centre both gravitating towards the same ideologies (present extremes will eventually exhaust themselves and become merged in the inevitable "mean") each is seen by the other

with clearer vision and truer understanding and both recognise that peace, prosperity and true progress are inseparable and sought by the one at the expense of the other but are possible only if made common to all and shared by all. *The common denominator of Unity is serving itself and supplanting domination as against the diversity that differentiates.* The problems compelling attention are seen to be world problems, problems of the race as a whole and demanding consideration from a higher plane or level of consciousness than formerly. The rule of power politics and brute force is on the decline, discredited as exposing jungle ethics, and it is at last being brought home that honesty is the best policy that truth and justice pay best in the end.

The forces of reaction, as must be expected, are making an all desperate effort to defeat this new spirit and for the moment—as witness the case in South Africa—would appear to be resisting successfully. There need, however, be no fear or doubt regarding the ultimate result. The heaven of Righteousness is working powerfully. Will, thought, and right feeling are moving irresistibly towards insistence of Righteousness to Action. All we defenders of the faith need concern ourselves with is playing our part worthily and as servants of Truth that Gandhism taught us is but another name for God. It is some believe, happiness is to be found in fulfilment of duty, one may easily become a Happy New Year.

INDIA'S ATTITUDE IN U.N.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S comments on the Bill on Human Rights were quoted at the crowded plenary session of the U.N. in Paris on Thursday, December 9.

The speaker was Mrs. Laxmi Menon, who won to the brilliantly illuminated forum of the great underground theatre to say that India accepted the limitations imposed by Article 30, which began: "Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible." She quoted Mahatma Gandhi's "all rights to be deserved and preserved, come from duty. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world."

"My delegation," said Mrs. Menon, "accepts the Bill and regards the declaration on human rights as a declaration of obligation."

Mrs. Menon welcomed and supported the declaration as "the solid base of international co-operation" on the subject.

She said the Indian delegation's stand on racial discrimination and equality of the sexes had been clear and uncompromising.

"If racial discrimination is a violation of fundamental human rights and human dignity, it is wrong everywhere and should be condemned," she added.

Britain's delegate appealed to Russia to "end suppression of thought" when the U.N. continued its debate on a world declaration of human rights. Observers expected the Assembly later to give an overwhelmingly favourable vote for the declaration of rights, the "World Magna Carta" which goes beyond anything of its kind in history.

Reuter.

END

WORLD NOT THROUGH WITH WAR

—GENERAL SMUTS

GENERAL SMUTS does not believe the world has seen the last of wars. In a recent interview in Pretoria with the special correspondent of the 'New York Sun,' he was quoted as saying: "No, I don't think we are through with war. It will come again. The human race is the youngest of all animal species and we haven't learnt yet."

He told the correspondent: "The human race is still very young. We are still playing. We are budding slowly, but we are not ready yet. Ultimately, yes, but it will take a long time. It will be best for you people in America not to go on with your wishful thinking."

Asked whether he thought that Soviet antagonism would plunge the world into another war, General Smuts said: "That's a difficult question. When I talk of the human race and youth, Russia is the youngest of all. We must be prepared for the worst, but work for the best."

"Russia is East, not West. Just on the fringe of the West. They don't want war, but they are very strong. They've been using a fifth column for aggression. They have the Balkans in the bag; other countries are in the bag. A new technique—a new phenomenon. Infiltration of the Communist fifth column threatens the peace of the world. The Trojan horse is always there."

The interview was given from page prominence by the 'New York Sun' under a three-column heading.

General Election Result

On his defeat in this year's South African election General Smuts said: "I was chucked out of office six months ago. But a man remains a force whether he is in office or not. Look at Mr. Churchill. He is one of the great men of the world. He has great ideas, is a great inspirational force and has a great use of the English language."

General Smuts described South Africa as a young country in the making, with a great racial problem.

Union Is Racial Laboratory

"South Africa is a racial laboratory and the problems of racial co-operation are being worked out. The problem of colour is the biggest in human history. Here on this continent we have 150,000,000 blacks and only several million Whites—the reverse of what you have in America."

"White leadership has gone on in this country, and there is something about the European

race that is superb. But we must be fair to the black man. Fair play is the code for humanity."

"It is a magnificent country, this Africa. Once it was a dark continent, but now there is light for it all."

"We have climate and we have gold. That rent in the Temboval—it has all come within the past 50 years. More of a miracle than

MR. ERIC LOUW DOUBTS U.N.'S ABILITY TO PRESERVE PEACE

A DISINCLINATION to face facts and to take action on realities, were the main impressions which the past session of the United Nations made on him, said Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs, when he returned to Cape Town with Mrs. Louw in the Edinburgh Castle on her maiden voyage.

Mr. Louw said his experiences did not give him much ground for optimism that the United Nations was a factor for international peace.

Although the past session was the longest on record, the "plentitude of speeches" led to meagre results.

"On the big political and international issues there has been very little progress—those matters which are discussed by the First Committee. The impression I carried away was one of delaying tactics."

Whenever there was a difficulty before the United Nations, it fell back on some formula or other or discussion was postponed or, if it came to the worst, they appointed a sub-committee to which the matter was referred.

"The impression one gets is that there is a disinclination to face facts and take account of realities. There was continual jockeying for position."

"The trouble about U.N. is that there is no control whatsoever of

your Chicago."

General Smuts said that he doubted whether he would ever find time to write his autobiography. "It is difficult to be active in the affairs of the Government and write about them too."

Asked whether he would visit the United States again, General Smuts replied: "I don't know. I'm an old man now. I love America and the American people. Of course, I'd like to go back again. To me, New York City is overwhelming."—Sapa-Reuters.

the debates. You can speak as much as you like."

The result was long-drawn out debates which, in the end, did not mean a thing.

"The Italian colonies, for example, was an important issue and should have been discussed. That has now been put off until the next session."

"I got the impression that it has become a sort of fashion to speak of fundamental human rights, and what struck me was that those nations who strongly supported fundamental human rights were the nations where fundamental human rights were not recognised in practice."

If the United Nations decisions were applied in practice, it would mean interference in the domestic affairs of a number of States.

This debate was used for attacking South Africa. The attacks were ill-informed and unjustified, and he withdrew South Africa's representative.

Speaking of the international situation, he said that in his opinion it was dangerous. He had visited Berlin and there, too, his impression was that the position was unsatisfactory. There was a feeling of pessimism.

"The position in Berlin is very delicate. Some little incidents might set the whole thing alight."

Mr. Louw said that India's propaganda against the Union had had considerable effect.

around the night, immaculate figure of the leader of the Indian Dominion."

When Pandit Nehru, at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, made his first public statement from an international platform since India became independent, the Western world had another opportunity to see India's Prime Minister in action. Observers in Paris, Day says, "found the occasion an impressive one."

Describing the Pandit's career from a background of wealth through a period of renunciation of caste and years in prison to the role of his nation's leader, the 'Sun' writer states that Pandit Nehru's personal readjustment typifies the changes that India has made and is making.

Modern India has been fortunate, the article says, in the moral strength of Mahatma Gandhi and in the practical shrewdness of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. But many Indians believe that they have been most fortunate of all in Pandit Nehru, the 'Sun' states.

"Pandit Nehru took from the West the basis for his political thinking, a belief that progress is possible and an affection for machinery and fast travel," Day comments. "But he managed to do it without losing any of his Indianness." Despite his renunciation of caste and its prerogatives, he has held on to his background of Indian culture.

As leader of the nation "with chief claim to its present greatness," Day points out that Pandit Nehru took over the reins of government "when India faced a mass of troubles on a scale commensurate with the upheaval that occurred when one-fifth of the earth's people became their own masters."

The Prime Minister's early months were difficult as he faced the huge problem of communal killing, and the seriousness of the situation greatly affected him. But at the Commonwealth conference, Day declares, the Pandit was a changed man. "He was no longer the troubled leader of a country on the edge of disaster; he represented the strong government of a nation which, despite the magnitude of its continuing problems, had taken its place among the nations of the world."

Since Mahatma Gandhi's death the article says, Pandit Nehru "alone now stands for the moral power of India." "That he is aware of this and convinced of its importance is evidenced by his own remarks on moral values which the article quotes: "So long as we do not recognize the supremacy of moral law in our national and international relations, we shall have no enduring peace. So long as we do not adhere to the right means, the end will not be right, and fresh evil will flow from it." —U.S.I.S.

PANDIT NEHRU IS ONE OF WORLD'S LEADING STATESMEN

IN one of a series of articles on India, Price Day, writing in the Baltimore 'Sun,' declares that the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has emerged as one of the world's leading statesmen in the year since India became independent.

The India series is one aspect of the Baltimore paper's extensive survey of changes in the system of government of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Eighteen months ago the 'Sun' undertook to study this situation and assigned six staff members to

"investigate the strengths and weaknesses of the world-wide association of nations and dependencies." Two sections of the survey, one on South Africa and the other on Britain's changed position in the Mediterranean, East Africa and the Middle East, have already appeared.

If the west formally did not fully understand Pandit Nehru's greatness, Day says in his article, it does so now, after this autumn's Commonwealth conference in London. "There were times when the conferences seemed to revolve

VARIOUS DOUBTS ANSWERED

[In 1933-33, I had the fortune of visiting Bapuji in Yeravda Jail, in company of Shri Manabehn. Lady Thackersey and Meerabehn. The following undated letter Bapu wrote to me on my return to Sabarmati.

—PROF. P. G. MATHEW

"My dear Mathew,

"I have your three letters. Reason has its place, only it must not usurp the heart. If you will go through any twentyfour hours of the life of the most reasoning man you know, you will find that most of his acts done during that time are done by feeling, not by reasoning. The moral is that reason once developed acts automatically and rejects what is superstitious or immoral if the heart is sound. Reason is a corrective and is in its place when it remains at the door ever watchful, never moving. And this function, I claim, it does perform at the Ashram. Life is duty i.e. action. When this is reasoned away, reason has become a usurper and must be dethroned.

"Now for your second letter. I do not say that vocation should be, I say that it is, regulated by birth even as our colour and many things are. I have stated a fact in nature, not opinion. It is conservation of energy and necessary for an ethical man. But the law means only this that we are born with the tendencies both physical and mental inherited from our forefathers immediate and remote. The tendencies can be changed and ought to be when the inherited ones are evil or when necessity of service, not self, requires the change.

"Either partner at any time has the right to abstain. Marriage must be an absolutely voluntary act. When therefore, either party definitely desires to abstain for life, the other is free to seek another partner, if he or she cannot restrain the carnal appetite. But this happens only when marriage is not a matter of real love i.e. has never been a marriage in its true sense—marriage as a permanent friendship between persons of opposite sexes and therefore though it allows physical connections between them it has an ever increasing tendency to subjugate their animal passions. When there is such friendship, there is no breaking of the knot when voluntary physical satisfaction is unobtainable. There is no question of superiority or inferiority. What is lawful for one is not always so for all. But this I know that a man of God has no time for satisfying animal passions and thus loses all taste for them. In this sense celibacy is a superior state.

"There can be no question of my or anybody else's allowing or disallowing marriages. I can only say that it is wise to restrict the field of choice—subject to this, this form of friendship like any other has no limitation. But since in this form there can be only one friend for life, search becomes easier and less attended with risk if the field is restricted and familiar and yet not too familiar.

"Suicide is generally a sin even in Jainism. It is obligatory when a man has to make his choice between it and penitence as when he is about to violate the chastity of a woman and has left reason enough to know that he can escape the inferno by putting an

end to the physical frame. Fasting has been somewhat abused at the Ashram but the abuse can never become infective since it is not easy to abuse it. Hunger is a peremptory taskmaster.

"You cannot have too much of real ahimsa but the average Jain has made of it as of fasting a travesty. The average Jain only knows the husk of ahimsa and misses the kernel. Ahimsa is endless love for all life and therefore an eternal readiness to give up one's life for saving others.

"I hope this will find you in peace. But you will not get the real peace till you find full satisfaction in some permanent act of service.

Love

BAPU."

"Harijan."

"CONSOLIDATE INDIA'S FREEDOM"

PANDIT NEHRU'S CALL

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL

NEHRU, Prime Minister of India, speaking at the Gita Jayanti celebrations held in New Delhi on December 31, emphasised the need of removing all artificial barriers which divided the peoples of the world and urged the necessity of closer cultural contacts between the various nations. He exhorted the people to keep open minds and to give up narrow-mindedness which, he said, weakened a nation.

Continuing, Pandit Nehru said that three factors had a considerable influence on his life. The first two were the personalities and the teaching of Lord Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi and the third was Gita. Such personalities and scriptures, he added, did not belong to a particular nation but were assets for the whole world.

Reflecting to the recent events, Pandit Nehru said that the shackles of alien rule had been thrown off and the country had attained political freedom which was only

a milestone on their road of progress and not the end of their journey. Political independence, he added, was not an end in itself but only a means to progress and upliftment of the country and of securing equal rights to every one.

This political freedom, he added which had been achieved through compromise was followed by an aftermath which shook the whole country. They had, therefore, a heavy task of consolidating their freedom and establishing a powerful State.

Concluding, Pandit Nehru said that those who might hold the reins of the country will have to go and the responsibility of running the administration of the country was bound to fall on the shoulders of the younger generation, the young men and women of today. They should, therefore, try to imbibe those qualities which were essential to enable them to be the custodians of the destinies of their great country.

SITUATION IN HYDERABAD QUIET

Refuting the recent statement made by Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan regarding Hyderabad, asking for an early meeting of the Security Council to consider the Hyderabad situation, the Nizam of Hyderabad, in a letter to the Military Governor, says that the situation in the State is considerably better than it was some months ago, and the subjects of his State are living peacefully.

The following is the text of the letter received by Major-General Chandhury from the Nizam:

"I am surprised to see in the newspapers that Sir Zafarullah Khan has again made a statement

regarding Hyderabad and is asking for a early meeting of the Security Council to arrest what he calls 'the fast deteriorating situation in the State.'

"As a matter of fact, the situation is considerably better than it was some months ago and the subjects of my State are living peacefully.

"There is no doubt that the administration had broken down during the latter part of the last Ministry's regime but at present, the Military Government has achieved success in not only restoring but improving the administrative machinery.

"All shades of opinion in the State feel that the present administration is impartial and efficient.

"I feel happy to think that through the endeavour of the Military Government, its subjects are settling down to normal life.

"I am sorry to note that Sir Zafarullah Khan has made such a misleading statement."

Future Of Free India

"Freedom is not a political fact; it is a social reality," said Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, addressing the convocation of Utkal (Orissa) University in Cuttack. A free India must be a country of discerning people cherishing the value of truth, peace and order and "if we struggle for power, power over fellows, power to make money, power to make life more ugly than it is, it means that life has lost the dignity of civilisation," he declared. Dr. Radhakrishnan spoke of civilisation as a perpetual movement and not a static condition. "It is not a past achievement but a present reality," he added. "A civilisation without a contemporary generation of graduates is only a monument of the past." Thatching Dr. Radhakrishnan for his address at the convocation His Excellency Mr. Asaf Ali, Chancellor, observed: "If graduates were true to all the promises they had made today there was not the slightest doubt that their own future and the future of India and of the country might be taken to rest on sure foundations. There was a time when university education was looked upon as a means of finding profitable appointments under Government or of providing other careers with financial prospects."

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Mr. HULLARD: Then we come to "Housing Schemes" —

This is a view of a Municipal Scheme for Indian Housing. A boycott of such schemes by Indian leaders has caused heavy loss to the Municipality. As a matter of fact the loss on Indian Housing Schemes has been greater than that incurred on European Housing Schemes. The whole of the loss has had to be met out of the General Rates. Every effort that could be made by the Corporation was made to help the Indian community. A summary of Durban Corporation Housing Schemes for Indians as at June 30, 1946, reflects the following:

| | Houses | Cost |
|---|--------|-------------|
| (a) Completed schemes | 675 | £421,533 |
| (b) Schemes under construction | 258 | £197,131 |
| (c) Post-war Development programme | 17,600 | £12,568,000 |
| (d) Total houses provided and contemplated (18,533) | | £12,986,664 |

Indian housing is being provided as rapidly as possible and difficulties will persist.

Then I would still like to read this paragraph under the heading "Development Plans":

In its Development Programme, the City Council planned a comprehensive scheme for the construction of houses in various parts of the city, for all sections of the population. The expenditure of 45,000,000, was visualized, of which £2,000,000 was for Indians. For the carrying out of this programme a certain amount of expropriation of land was necessary. Against this Indians raised an outcry, oblivious of the fact that much less land was to be taken from them than from Europeans. Discussions, arguments and exchange of memoranda took place for months. Finally, on 19th December, 1942, the Council's proposals were approved by the Union Government. Subsequently, after another lapse of months, the consent of the Administrator of the Province, which was legally necessary, was obtained. But by that time the Defence authorities had taken over the greater part of the land on which the Indian houses were to be built, and the Council's proposals, after five years of herculean effort, were wrecked. The fact remains that every effort that could be made by the Council was made to help the Indians.

FULL TEXT OF DEBATE OF ASIATIC BILL

(Continued From Last Week)

Another paragraph: "The Truth About What South Africa Has Done"

The truth about what South Africa has done is best presented in the words of General Smuts when he introduced the so-called "Ghetto Bill" on the 25th March, 1946:

"Essentially it is an attempt to provide social peace here in South Africa. We want to establish an order of things under which the various communities in our capital society can live peaceably and quietly together."

Then we come to "Trading Licences." Firstly, the trading licences in Durban are given, and I am going to quote these paragraphs:

| | Number of licences Held by Europeans | Held by Indians |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Aerated and Mineral water dealers | 295 | 286 |
| Bakers | 20 | 5 |
| Butchers | 141 | 77 |
| Butchery-house keepers | 27 | 13 |
| Fresh produce dealers | 170 | 293 |
| General dealers | 1,942 | 1,219 |
| Hawkers | - | 42 |
| Peelers | 16 | 1,590 |
| Laundry businesses | 16 | 106 |
| Motor garages | 308 | 22 |
| Restaurants | 398 | 173 |
| | 3,513 | 4,012 |

It will be seen from the above figures that Indians in Durban, far from being at a disadvantage as compared with Europeans in matters of trade facilities, are really better off.

Trading licence figures for the Province of Natal (exclusive of Durban) are also full of significance.

| | Number of licences Held by Europeans | Held by Indians |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Wessex Town | | |
| Beard | 8 | 16 |
| Pinetown | 51 | 52 |
| Colenso | 13 | 40 |
| Pietermaritzburg | 691 | 532 |
| Howick | 45 | 39 |
| Port Shepstone | 44 | 73 |
| Barcoort | 67 | 34 |
| Isipingo Rail | 2 | 33 |
| Harding | 10 | 6 |
| Newcastle | 61 | 65 |
| Ladysmith | 94 | 106 |
| Tongaat | 16 | 134 |
| Glencoe | 58 | 63 |
| Stanger | 6 | 150 |
| | 1,138 | 1,345 |

Does it look as if the Indian is being squeezed out as far as trade facilities are concerned?

The booklet also contains a picture of a fine slaughterhouse showing the facilities existing for the Indians—

The religious scruples of a large proportion of the Indians do not permit of their eating beef. Even the flesh of other animals is eaten under the sanction of a little ceremony by them. Consequently, at the Municipal Slaughter House Indians have always had the first call on mutton. During the war there were periods when all the mutton available went to Indians, and ordinarily they get something like 80 per cent. of it. Further, to meet the demands of Indians for the complete segregation of livestock at the Slaughter House, the Durban Corporation provided a separate building at a cost of £35,000, and because from their point of view meat must be eaten the same day as it is killed, they were allowed to remove sheep carcasses at 6 a.m., whereas other butchers had to wait until 12 noon before doing so. In the matter of meat, Indians have had preferential treatment.

They do not eat beef; they must get mutton. That is how they are treated in Durban. Then I come to another chapter—"Transport: European and non-European"—

The Durban Corporation Transport Fleet comprises 203 vehicles. Included in this fleet are nine trolley-buses and 10 single-deck motorbuses set aside entirely for non-European use. Out of the total fleet of 203 vehicles, 9,522 seats are apportioned to Europeans and 3,110 to non-Europeans. In addition, there are 211 privately-owned passenger vehicles operating (under a Government licence or concession) on non-European services. The total seating capacity of these vehicles—an Indian monopoly entirely—is 8,230. From this it will be seen that the total seats provided for Europeans is 3,522 and for non-Europeans 11,340. Has the Indian any complaint in the direction?

Then we get a chapter "Will they answer the following questions?"—

1. Is there any country in the world where Indians are better treated than they are in South Africa?

2. Are they as well-fed there as here?

3. Is their property as well protected?

4. Are the amenities of life as widespread or on as high a level?

5. Is religious liberty as marked there as here?

6. Are educational facilities as great?

7. Are social distinctions less in evidence?

8. Is caste less rigid there?

9. Is there more kindness towards children, more respect for age, more pity for the poor or readiness to lend a helping hand when they are in difficulty or trouble?

10. Is sanitation as good? Are epidemics fewer? Is mortality lower? Are the general conditions of health and hygiene on as high a level as they are in South Africa?

11. Are there as many opportunities of acquiring wealth there?

12. Why did the Indians who came to South Africa as indentured labourers show so much reluctance to return to India on the expiration of their contract?

13. If the Indian's lot in South Africa is so bad, why was it that so few of them were willing to accept a free passage back to their own country?

There is a map here in this same book which the hon. member for Salt River (Mr. Lawrence) had to show to indicate how the Indians are treated and from this map it appears that 60 per cent. already belongs to the Indians. The people say the way in which this is obtained, is that if the municipalities or the Administrator of the Province should perhaps reject the applications, they come before the Minister and then they get what they want. In Beers there are two plots of this land within the area where Europeans live. What happens? If they find that a piece of land is available, then the Indians buy a house or plot in every corner here and there and as soon as this happens the plot depreciates in value and the Europeans leave the area. In this manner one gets the gradual infiltration of Indians. During the few months I was in Natal, I found that if one talks to people there, even to opponents of the opposite side, they tell you that it must be stopped; that they do not know what is going to happen. That is why I have raised these few points because I made the promise that if the measure was not repeated, I would resign my seat on it. I will certainly do so if this Bill is not passed.

Mr. SULLIVAN: In rising to support the amendment moved by the hon. Leader of this Party I do so not as a mere individual expressing his personal opinion. I speak, I believe, on behalf of my constituency, on behalf of the city I have the honour to represent;

and, I believe, on behalf of the people of Natal. My attitude to the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 was very definite. The views I expressed on that occasion are the same views as I hold today. What are those views? I supported Part I of the Act wholeheartedly, the segregation proposals. In regard to Part II I stated that Natal will never agree to the adult franchise or the placement of the Indians on the common roll. That is what the Indians want; they want political equality. We will never concede that. I expressed my view against direct or indirect representation of non-Europeans in Parliament, the Provincial Councils and local bodies as being inimical to social peace, in that it would set up racial groups in various legislative bodies. I objected strongly to the discrimination against Natal in that Natal was to have direct representation of Indians on the Provincial Council whereas the Transvaal was to be exempt. I went further and advocated vigorously a policy of uplift—health services, education services, the whole programme of social security—for the Indian people. And finally, I was one of those who asked the then Government to appoint a select committee to go into the whole question of Indian legislation.

Those views I still hold. I believe they are in the main the views of the people of Natal. The Government of the time made that Bill indivisible. In order to get Part I, the segregation proposals, Durban and Natal accepted Part II. So did I. It was a compromise; it was an experiment. I have always regarded the Asiatic Act as an experiment. All legislation is experimental; no law can be a law of the Medes and Persians. There must come a time when legislation of any nature must be reviewed. The Indian Act was an experiment. Natal, I believe, regarded it as such. In regard to Part I, which has been a partial success, there is nevertheless need for considerable improvement as a result of our experience during the experimental period. In regard to Part II, it must be written down as a failure, a dead letter. It is opposed to the Indians; they have appealed to a foreign Government to strengthen their position. They organised a foreign trade boycott which cost the country millions. They violated the laws of the country in their protest. They are now asking for a repeal of the whole Act. The attitude of the Natal Indian Organisation and the Indian Congress is still adamant against the "Ghetto Bill" as they call it. They are still organising against it. As a result of this, European opinion has hardened. The proof is the

overwhelming majority in the plebiscite held not so long ago as to whether there should be representation of Indians by Indians on the Natal Provincial Council. Natal, in that plebiscite, showed that it would not have that at any price. No Natal member finds it possible to agree to that. The attitude of the Indians, and to some extent that of most Europeans, made it impossible for the then Government to implement Chapter 2 of the Act. The Indians said No; the Europeans said No. Then why retain it? Natal would vigorously oppose representation by Indians in the Provincial Council and on the local authorities. I held to the condition that the Act should be amended in that respect. The Act as it stands on our Statute Book is in my view worsening race relations in this country. It is an incitement to race discord, not only because of the segregation proposals but also because of the political reactions reaching today to the United Nations, taken there by Indian agitators.

It is said that to amend the Act would be a breach of faith. In my view that is not so. We offered the Indians the franchise; it was a generous offer, better than was ever offered to the Natives or to the Coloured people. That offer was spurned. There is therefore, no breach of faith in amending the Act. That is my view, is the only sensible course. Why should we offer to the Indians a franchise they do not want and which they vigorously oppose? But it is there for the asking; that is the danger.

One final word. South Africa will be represented during the coming weeks at the United Nations Conference by Mr. Eric Louw. In that assembly he is not merely the representative of the Nationalist Party; he is the representative of South Africa. I therefore appeal to the Prime Minister in matter to put party aside. We shall all, in honour bound as South Africans, be obliged to support Mr. Louw. Let us do so then with unanimity in this House. That may mean, will mean, a sacrifice of party interests by us all. Let us support this issue today with the maximum unanimity. I want to urge the Hon. Prime Minister to agree to the submission of this measure to a Select Committee. That was the policy of his own party when he led the Opposition. We are asking the Prime Minister now to set up a Select Committee on his policy as laid down in this Bill.

(To be Continued)

MURDER TRIAL IN RED FORT

(CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK)

THE Gandhi murder trial entered its third phase on December 1, when Mr. C. K. Daphthary, Chief Prosecuting Counsel, began his arguments before Mr. Atma Churan, Special Judge at the Red Fort. Mr. Daphthary at the outset referred to the Bombay Public Security Measures Act as extended to the Delhi Province and said that under this Act the Special Court had been created and the Gandhi murder case was assigned to this Court.

After reading the charges against the accused, Mr. Daphthary submitted that the central point was the actual murder of Mahatma Gandhi which was not disputed by any of the accused, the question which was disputed by the accused was the conspiracy between Nathuram Godse and the other accused to murder Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Daphthary dealt with the case and said that matter really began about November 1947. In November Digambar Badge (approver) while going on a pilgrimage to a place in Bhar Bato met Narayan Apte, Apte wanted arms and ammunition from Badge. Badge at that time, apparently, had not any with him but said that he would arrange. Eight or ten days later Badge returned to Poona, made arrangements to secure the "stuff" and went to the "Hindu Rashtriya" office. It was in evidence and had been substantially corroborated that somewhere about June, 1947, Badge, in addition to dealings in weapons which required no licence, also commenced to deal with illegal trade in arms and explosives.

Assignment Of Policies

Nathuram Godse, Mr. Daphthary continued, had two life policies. He effected the nominations on those policies, one in favour of the wife of Narayan Apte on January 13 and the other in favour of the wife of his brother Gopal Godse on January 14. Each of those nominations was witnessed by Apte. It was prudent to point out that although Nathuram Godse, Apte and Gopal Godse had made comparatively lengthy written statements and had answered a number of questions put by the Court, neither of them had told the Court why it was necessary or why in fact those policies were assigned. It was legitimate to point out that here was an act, it was not disputed, full of significance yet no explanation whatsoever had been offered only because that act was cap-

able of only one construction and that was that it was positively in the minds of Nathuram Godse, Apte, Gopal Godse and Madanlal at that stage, that an offence was going to be committed. Short of that there was no possible explanation. At any rate, Mr. Daphthary continued, he was satisfied for the moment in pointing out that there was a coincidence in Nathuram Godse assigning the policies, Gopal Godse applying for leave and getting some money from Nathuram Godse and Nathuram Godse and Apte going to Bombay and Badge and Shankar also going to Bombay on January 14, Badge taking the stuff with him.

It was in evidence, Mr. Daphthary went on to say, that Nathuram Godse and Apte travelled from Bombay to Delhi on January 17 Karkare and Madanlal also arrived in Delhi. They put also admitted by both of them. Karkare gave an assumed name. At the hotel they were visited by Gopal Godse.

Mr. Daphthary then said that a conspiracy need not and often could not be proved by direct evidence it could be proved as much by circumstantial evidence as any other fact could be proved. It was not always possible, having regard to the nature of the crime, that some one should be produced who was in position to say that so and so agreed with him. Quite independent of Badge if various instances which have been mentioned were proved by other evidence then this was essentially a case where the court could with ease infer the existence of a conspiracy.

After eight days Counsel for the Crown has succeeded in showing that there were other people than Godse, involved in the Gandhi Murder case.

Mr. Daphthary proved step by step that all the accused were one way or another connected with the assassination. Mr. Daphthary stressed the fact that the whole plan was made by Apte, and others helped him while Nathuram Godse was his tool.

(To be Continued)

NEWS ITEMS FROM INDIA

Governor-General's Birthday

The Governor-General of India, Sir C. Rajagopalachari, completed 65 years this year. A correspondent, who went to Government House to inquire about this birthday, had an interview with His Excellency and this is what His Excellency had to say on his birthday—"My birth must have taken place on some day or other in the year and so I must have a birth in 1948. Unfortunately, my father who knew how to set horoscopes has so much confidence in himself that he mislaid my horoscope and my birth could not be fixed when he tried to get me married towards the end of the eighteenth century. Inquiry among aunts and uncles produced some kind of date which were found to be self-contradictory and rejected. So I am in the position of the peasants of my district who generally do not know their date of birth. "This is one of the reasons why I asked my enthusiastic friends in Madras to drop the idea of celebrating my birthday this year, for, one does not feel exhilarated when all the time one is uncertain the date is wrong. But one day an author, and having received the invitations of many friends today, I at once feel as if today was my birthday. I think it would be a good thing to reserve birthday celebrations for children to whom really birth is an interesting mystery. As for me, I am a work-monger and not a worrier of the calendar."

Tributes were paid to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India for his services to promoting communal harmony, at a meeting held on Tuesday in Madras organized by the Young Men's Society of Madras, a Muslim institution, to celebrate the Governor-General's birthday.

Mrs. Naidu's Call To Graduates

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, addressing the annual convocation of Patna University on December 6 exhorted the young graduates to take up the challenge of the age by making active efforts throughout their lives to abolish illiteracy, untouchability and other social and economic inequalities and to be more chivalrous towards women and to treat them as her equals in all walks of life. The degree of Literature, *Honoris Causa* was conferred on Mrs. Naidu on behalf of the University by its Chancellor, Mr. M. S. Aney.

Gandhi City

K. G. N. writes in 'Harijan' dated December 12 "I have received suggestions to support a demand for renaming New Delhi after Gandhiji (regret I am unable to do so. Not that there is anything wrong by it itself in name the Capital of India after Gandhiji, but if a place named after him was to be made the Capital of India, I should think that the Capital itself should be shifted from New Delhi to a city to be built after Gandhiji's ideas, which New Delhi is not.

Kashmir Tribute To Sikhs

At a farewell parade Srinagar December 9 Sheikh Abdullah, Kashmir's Prime Minister, expressed the State's gratitude to the Sikh Regiment which for over a year has been fighting in Jammu and Kashmir. As a token of 'perpetual appreciation and gratitude' he presented to the regiment silver inscription of a chrome leaf on a walnut stand. Addressing the soldiers, Sheikh Abdullah said, "You have emblazoned your name in the minds of every man, woman and child of Kashmir by your extraordinary valour and character. I do not congratulate you on your resounding victories in Kashmir as much as for the place you have won in the hearts of Kashmiris. You have represented India and Gandhiji by serving the poor in whatever manner you could and have firmly implanted free India's flag in Kashmir. You have been able to check communal hatred because yours was a mission of love which Gandhiji and Guru Nanak preached in the past."

Solidarity Of Kashmiris

"Kashmir is already well on the way to victory and the day of her complete liberation is not far off," observed Mr. Mohamed Shafi, a prominent leader of the Kashmir National Conference who is on a short visit to Bombay. Speaking at a tea party given in his honour by Khan Bahadur Mahomedally Allabux, Mr. Mohamed Shafi said Kashmiris had never allowed communal considerations to affect their solidarity. He referred to the determination of the people to permit no interference by non-Kashmiris in their internal affairs and to establish throughout the State their right shape to the future.

Destroyers Bought By India

The three destroyers "Kohli, Ham," (Flotilla Leader), "Ko-

dar" and "Kaldas" the acquisition of which by the Government of India was announced earlier, will be renamed "Rajput" (Flotilla Leader) "Ranjit" and "Rana" respectively, says a Defence Ministry press note. The destroyers will assume their new names at the time of the actual transfer to the Royal Indian Navy early next year. These destroyers were built in 1942 and have each a displacement of 1,000 tons. Their armament consists of four 4.7 inch guns, four two-pounder pom-poms, eight 20-m.m. guns, eight 21-inch torpedo tubes besides the most up-to-date radar equipment and anti-submarine devices.

NEWS IN BRIEF

The Bombay Government will introduce during the next session of the provincial legislature a new prohibition Bill which will have drastic provisions offences arising from illicit distillation smuggling and illicit trade in non-liquor.

On December 23, the King approved a specimen design of coins from which the words, *Ind, Imp.* (the Latin abbreviation for Emperor of India) had been removed because of Britain's surrender of power in India. The new coins will be struck as from January 1, but some time will elapse before they reach the public.

India intends to press the Security Council for the withdrawal of Dutch forces to the truce lines in Indonesia according to unofficial reports in New Delhi on December 22.

Mysore's fame as the exclusive home of gold production in India is now further enhanced by the "strike of rich gold" in the deserted old workings at Bellora, which is situated in thickly wooded jungles near

Kotkur (about 45 miles from Bangalore). The gold deposits in the new workings seem to be more than promising and this venture, unlike the other foreign-owned mines of Kolar, is wholly undertaken by the State Government.

Colour Bar In U.S.

Civic leaders from all sections of the nation protested that racial discrimination in the district of Columbia, the Federal Capital area, was a "blot on our nation." They labelled the Federal Government as the chief offender saying that the practice of "systematically denying" the negroes equal employment opportunities had set a bad example for both the capital and the nation. Sharing the blame, they said, were those who championed "white supremacy" and the real estate, commercial and financial interests which considered planned segregation "a matter of good business." The allegations were made in a report by the National Committee on Segregation in the Capital and a copy of the report was presented to President Truman who said he would read it with interest and close attention.

DURBAN SEASON

CARTWRIGHTS FLATS

Nightly—8 p.m.
Matinees—3.1st Dec. and
Sat. 1st Jan.

SEASON ENDS SATURDAY 1st JANUARY

XMAS ATTRACTION

PAGEL'S 50th YEAR JUBILEE CIRCUS

FEATURING

RAY WALKER

"LADY OF THE LIONS"
with 10 LIONS and a
BENGAL TIGER

"ALL IN ONE ACT"

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Life of Vivekananda and
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—By Romain Rolland 12 6
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The Indian States Problem
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To be had from:—

The Manager,
INDIAN OPINION,
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For Flawless
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ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન.

પ્રથમ ગોપીકાન્ત કર્ણે
એ ૧૯૦૧માં સ્થાપ્યું.

પ્રકાશક ૬૬ મુ—અંક ૫૦

શુક્રવાર તા. ૩૧ ડિસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮.

કુલક નંબર પાની. ૪

“ઈન્ડિયન ઓપિનિયન”

શુક્રવાર તા. ૩૧ ડિસેમ્બર, ૧૯૪૮

નવું ૧૯૪૯નું વર્ષ

આ વનુ વર્ષ' શીરતી સંપ્ર-
દાયનું છે. હજારનું
વર્ષ' છે. બગવાન હંમને પુર્વાના
દેશોમાં 'બગવાન જોયેય' તરીકે
ઓળખવામાં આવે છે. તેમનો
ક્રિપદેશ છે કે સર્વે હંમરના
સંગત છે, અને પ્રેમ એજ જીવન
નો સીદાંત હોવાથી પરસ્પર પ્રેમ
રાખવો—હોવો જોઈએ. બધે
હજાર વર્ષોથી આ ક્રિપદેશનું પ્રેમ
પુનઃ વાચન રહ્યું થયું છે. સૂકવી
એટલે આત્મ સાહારકાર અને એ
છે આત્માની પ્રગતીનો છેવટનો
આકાર

આજે દુનીયામાં જે જે જાના
યો જાની રહ્યા છે તેનો વીચાર
કરીએ નો પ્રેમ તેવા આશાવાદી
હોઈએ તો પણ તેનાથી આનંદ
થવો અશક્ય છે. એમ ત્યાં
જુઓનાં એજ એવામાં આવશે
કે બાઈ બાઈની સાથે કામ
કાપારે છે. કાપી મુનીઆએ
કહ્યું છે કે કલ્પનો અંગ આવે
તે પહેલાં પ્રેમનું શબ્દ મરો પણ
એ અંગ હજી થઈ શકે હર હાથે
છે. આ જમાનાના બનાવો એવા
એમ જણાય છે કે, જમાના
જુના ભૌતિક અને દિશ્ય, અંધ
કાર અને પ્રકાશ, દુષ્ટ અને
શુદ્ધ, વચ્ચેના કુદમાં જાણે કે
અંધકારનો વિનય થાય છે અને
હંમરની સફરથી થઈ રહી છે.
પરંતુ પ્રેમવાળને તેમ જણાતું
નથી.

પશુપાત્રાથી દિવ્યતામાં પહોંચ
વાની મનુષ્યની જીવન યાત્રા
પ્રથમ હાંપી છે. વસ્તુતઃ પ્રીતિ

પ્રીતિ પ્રથમથી થઈ રહ્યું છે. કારણ
કે એ તો સાબત છે.

હંમરની ચક્રી પ્રીતિથી ચાલી
ધકી છે. કારણ કે એને બહુજ
બારીક કાળવાનું છે. સમયને
માટે શું આપણને એમ શીખવ-
વામાં નથી આવ્યું કે એક કલ્પ
પણ સાંપત હંમરના આખના
પણકારા જેટલો છે. જેઓ ઉકા ઉતરીને એક શકે છે
તેઓ બાક્ય હંમરથી બોળ
વાઈ ન જતાં ને ઉકાણમાં
ઉતરી ને એ જણાશે કે
અસત્યતા કાળા વાદળોમાંથી સત્ય
ના કીરણો પ્રેરેશી રહ્યાં છે. અને
તેથી અસત્યના કાળા વાદળો
વીળેશઈ જશે એવા નંબય છે.
આપણે જાણું જોઈએ કે દુની
યા સંકાંતી કાળમાંથી પસાર થઈ
રહી છે. અને જુલકાળ કરતા
વધુ કલ્યાણને રસ્તે પ્રગતી કરી
રહી છે. જાણે કે શુદ્ધતા કપોલ
ના મધ્ય પ્રીકમાં કંઈક ફેરફાર
થયો હોય એવું આપણને જણાય
છે. પુર્વાના જલ્પીતા કવી ક્રીષ્ણાંગ
નું એક શ્રુત છે કે “સુર્વ તે પુર્વ
અને પશ્ચીમ તે પશ્ચિમ અને તે
જાન્નેસે કદાપી મેળ સંભવેજ
નહી.” આ શ્રુત હવે સત્ય નથી
હોયતું. કારણકે બન્ને એકજ
કેન્દ્ર તરફ પ્રગતી કરી રહ્યા છે
અને બન્ને એકજ આકાર
તરફ પ્રગતી કરી રહ્યા છે. સાચી
સમજ ॥ અને નિર્ગંધ દ્રવીથી
બન્ને એક બીજાને સમજવા
મથી રહ્યા છે. બને બન્ને એટલું
તો જાણતા થયાજ છે કે એક
બીજાને જોળે, ખરી યાત્રી, વૈભવ,

અને સાચી પ્રગતી અશક્ય છે.
પણ જો સર્વેનો આશ હોય તોજ
તે શક્ય છે. વિવીધતામાંથી એક
તા તરફનું આ પ્રયાણ જરૂર
ધ્યાન ખાંચી રહ્યું છે. જે પ્રશ્નો
અત્યારે ધ્યાન ખેંચી રહ્યાં છે તે
પ્રશ્નો—સમસ્ત મનુષ્ય જાતીના
બંધે આખી દુનીયાના પ્રશ્નો
ખન્યાં છે અને પહેલાંના કરતાં
ઉચ્ચ કક્ષાથી તે પ્રશ્ને સ્પષ્ટ ઠેવાઈ
રહ્યું છે.

પશુબળ અને સત્તાધારી શાસ્ત્ર
નીતીનાં વળતાં પાણી થયાં છે.
તેના કંપરથી વિશ્વાસ ઊઠી ગયો
છે કે એ તો “જંગલની” નીતી
છે, અને છેવટે દરેકને સમજાતું
ગાય છે કે “પ્રમાણીકતા એજ
સાચી નીતી છે.” તથા સત્ય અને
ન્યાયનો છેવટે વીજ્ય જ છે.

આ નવા આદ્યમયને પસંદગ્ય
આપવા માટે દરેકે કે પ્રત્યાષાતી
બયો એકત્રીત થઈ રહ્યાં છે
અને ધડીબર તો એમ જણાય છે
કે તેઓ સક્રિય સામનો કરી રહ્યા
છે. કામલા તરીકે કશિણ આદિ
કા, તેમ જ સત્ય અતિમ પરીણામ
વીધે બધા કે સંદેહ રાખવાની
જરૂર નથી. નેક્રીનું ખરીર પણ
જ બળવતું છે. વીચાર, શુદ્ધ
લાગણી અને સાચી અભિલાષા.
સત્ય અને ન્યાયના અમલનાં
માર્ગે વધી રહ્યા છે, જેઓ
ધર્મ અદામાં માને છે તેમજ
સત્યના લાયક-સાચા ભેવક તરીકે
પોતાની ફરજ બજાવવાની છે.
મહાત્મા ગાંધીજીએ શીખવ્યું
છે કે “સત્ય એજ ધર્મજ છે.”
જેમ કેટલાક માને છે તેમ પોતા
ની ફરજ બજાવવામાં સાચું મુખ
સમાયેલું હોય તો આપણે માટે
આવતું નવું વર્ષ ખરેખર સુખ
દાઈ જાતી શકે.

ત્રીજા વિશ્વ યુદ્ધ વિશે જનરલ રમટસ

ન્યુ યૉર્ક સનના ખબર પત્રીના મુક
કાન ફરમાન જનરલ રમટસે
જણાવ્યું કે દુનીયામાં મનુષ્ય ગત હજુ
તરન જીવતા છે. હજુ આપણે રમતી
પાળી છીએ. પરંતુ આપણે ધરતરે જ
તું બાપ છે. આપણને તોપાર થતાં વા
ર લાગશે. છેવટે આપણે તોપાર થઈ
શું. અમેરીકોનોતે મારી નકાદ છે કે તે
મહે તેમના વિચારો દેખાત ખનાવવા
લોખંડે.

રશીયાને ફરમાવટથી દુનીયાનાં
બીજા ભાગો ઉગી થશે કે પ્રેમ તે સવાય
તા જવાવમાં મળ્યાવ્યુ આ યુદ્ધ
લી બંધો મવાય છે. કુ બપારે મનુષ્ય
ગતની વાત જાણે તેમ રશીયા જ
જામાં જીવવા છે એટલે તો આજ
જો સારા પરિણામ મારે કામ કરવાનું
હ અને ખરોખર મારે તોપાર રકવાનું
છે.

ગ્રીમનાનો પેક્સ
સમ મામ અને મારા એ વળ રમ્પા
ધન મારે છે એમ જાણી કરી કહે છે.
જે જીવતા બે રહેતે નથી જતુ તેને મારે
નાહતો રમ્પાજ બાકી રહે છે. બીજી
કહેવત છે. “વાસ્તવિકો મોરે કામ અને
સખરે કાલે મોરું” એક સાધુ પૂરપ
નું વાક્ય છે. “જે આપણે ને મળવ્યું.
જે આપણે ને ખવોડુ. જે એકકું
કયું ને રમ્પાના નાથમાં સોંપ્યું.”

રમાળ પાંતો પ્રેસ છે. તે કે
પશ્ચિમની નાતોર છે ન્યાયને પ્રદાન
મમતી નથી પણ તોપારી પુરતી છે.
અને તેઓ બળવાન છે. પશ્ચિમી કતારી
આ બની તેઓ કુમતો ફરે છે. બાક
ન શક્યો તો તેમજે પદાવ્યા છે ખીત
એ માટે તોપાર છે. સામ્યવાદી પાંચ
માફકારીઆ થઈ તેઓ પ્રેસ છે. અને
તે રીતે દુનીયાની સાંતિને નાજમમાં
મુકે છે. આ તેમના કુમલાતી નવી
રીત છે. પ્રેસનના મોડાના અંદરના
ધરકરના જેવી તેમની સાત છે

સુદખીમાં મળેલી કાર બાખવામાં
પ્રાણી જનરલ રમટસે જણાવ્યું કે મને
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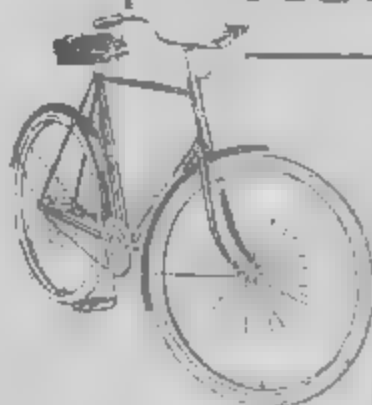


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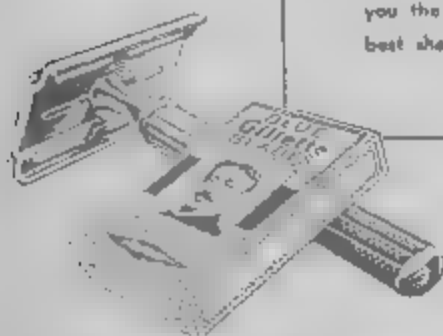


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| અપુરુષ સર્વોદય આજ કાલ સી, પુણ્યમાં લેવાતી કૃતિ ઉપર પ્રભાવ | |
| પ્રથમા અભિપ્રાયે છે એવો લખાયા છે તેનો સંગ્રહ | ૨ ૬ |

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| કોષો હિંદીસાહ્યના મહાન લેખક છે તેમના પુસ્તકો કિંદુ ખર્ચે, | |
| સરસ્વતી ઉપર અલખાણ પાડે છે. | |
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| કિંદુ ખર્ચે | ૧૦ * |

વિદેશી સાહિત્ય

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| અલખા રામના સ્વયન પ્રસન્નને સ્વયન સંગ્રહ તેવી કોસો નવીન કથા | ૧ ૩ |

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| સીસીયં આ સુર પાતાઓનો સંગ્રહ | ૧ ૧ |
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